QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH PAPERS

PRELUDE TO PAKISTAN

20 February - 2 June 1947

APPENDICES

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APPENDICES

FIRST SERIES
Volume I
Part II

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QUAID-I-AZAM PAPERS PROJECT
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[1]Civil Disobedience Movement

Foreword

In the Foreword to Part I of this volume of *Jinnah Papers*, I took the readers *along* my odyssey of digging out the material partially contained in this volume However, a Foreword to Part II is in order As would have appeared to the readers of Part I, my entire academic career has centred round one goal, that of the retrieval, conservation and compilation of the records of the All India Muslim League (AIML) and the *Jinnah Papers* With the publication of the first volume of these Papers, only a start has been made, the publication of the entire Papers is bound to take many more years This is not surprising in view of the challenging and arduous task of locating, arranging in a chronological order, editing and summarising the documents in the various series I have no doubt whatsoever that one day—not too far in the future—the mission undertaken by me will be completed and the entire Papers of the Founding Father of Pakistan would be available to scholars and the general public This is a befitting homage to the Quaid which, of course, was well-earned and well-deserved by him

I should be forgiven for introducing a personal element while writing this Foreword My future plans are at the Mercy of God Whose creatures we are But if Providence spares me, I shall continue this work despite my indifferent health and personal anguish of being away from my small family in London, specially my little grandson Asad Ali For me the publication of the *Jinnah Papers* has been like a religious duty because of my personal devotion to Mohammad Ali Jinnah who continued to inspire me ever since I, as a student, had the good fortune of meeting him in Aligarh in 1943 as a humble worker of the AIML and as his ardent devotee There is yet another reason which has sustained me and spurred me to plough what at times appeared to be a lonely furrow This was the death of my 25-year-old son, Salman Zaidi, a graduate of London University, on 21 December 1983, the very day I underwent a heart operation Salman had lent a hand in this work and it was his wish that we—his mother and I—do not stop carrying out our mission which we had initiated and undertaken way back in 1966 There were times when my spirits gave way, for example in October 1991 when I had three successive heart surgeries But that beautiful and inspiring maxim of Babar, 'All is lost, yet everything is not lost—the indomitable courage', kept me going At that trying hour in October, I pleaded and prayed to God to give me a lease of life so that I could complete at least the first volume of the *Jinnah Papers* for publication Like a helpless creature, but full of hope, I repeated the

famous lines of Cardinal Newman

Lead Thou me on
Keep Thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant scene, one step enough for me

But now that Part II of the volume is in the press, that 'one step' does not seem to be 'enough for me' Sometimes I feel that at this stage of my life I have taken too great a responsibility However, thanks to the generous help of my colleagues in the Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project, I have been encouraged to continue this work In Browning's words

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed
his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

And why should my 'reach' not exceed my 'grasp'? Jinnah's words which I committed to memory in my student days resound in my ears once again and fill me with courage and hope

> Courage, character, industry and perseverance are the four pillars on which the edifice of whole human life can be built, and failure is a word unknown to me

Z H ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
National Archives of Pakistan
Islamabad
2 June 1993

Introduction

Part I of this volume contains documents touching mostly on the political problems that Jinnah was called upon to address during the period 20 February to 2 June 1947 With a view to facilitating a fuller appreciation and understanding of some of the issues raised therein, supplementary material, culled from various sources, has been provided in Part II in the form of Appendices In all there are 14 Appendices which provide relevant evidence on a number of important issues

Appendix I contains documents reflecting the initial response of the Muslim League leadership as well as press comments on the British Government Statement of 20 February 1947 Statements indicating the Congress reaction have also been included

Appendix II contains the Cripps Offer of 1942, the thrust of which was that no province could be coerced into acceding to the Union and that an acceding province could later opt out of the Union if it so wished This Appendix also includes the relevant AIML Resolution

Appendix III contains the text of the Cabinet Mission Plan which envisaged a Union embracing both British India and the Indian States and comprising three Groups of Provinces with a three-tier constitutional arrangement along with the right of Provinces to opt out of their respective Groups

Appendices IV and V deal with the communal disturbances in Bihar and Bombay respectively, which erupted after the Direct Action Day observed by the AIML on 16 August 1946 The virulent and inveterate hatred and animosity between Hindus and Muslims found its most violent expression in these disturbances Especially, the riots in Bihar were widespread and witnessed horrors and orgies of communal violence on an unprecedented scale

> Brutalities unknown in human history happened such as pressing the [unborn] child out of a pregnant woman, cutting few months [old] babies in front of mothers and making them drink the blood, all-out killing of women and children, large-scale murders in mosques, etc [1]

Appendix VI contains a report suggesting migration of Muslims to contiguous Muslim minority areas in order to beef up the Muslim minorities and thereby reduce their vulnerability to Hindu aggression The areas so marked have been indicated by maps

Appendices VII, VIII and IX are based on press reports which trace the day-to-day progression of the Civil Disobedience Movements launched by the ML in the Punjab, NWFP and Assam to protest against political repression of the Muslims by the respective Provincial Governments From

sporadic protests the movements burgeoned into vigorous mass campaigns The press reports included in these Appendices shed interesting light on, and provide valuable information about, the organisation of the protest movements and the spontaneous and enthusiastic response they evoked from the supporters and sympathisers of the AIML They also highlight the harsh and repressive measures adopted by the administrative authorities in dealing with the upsurge of mass protest suppression of political and civil liberties of the people, imposition of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and promulgation of Public Safety Ordinances The Civil Disobedience Movements, especially in the NWFP, in effect brought the goal of Pakistan nearer by substantially augmenting the strength of the Muslim League in that province This was indeed a prelude to the referendum which the AIML won in July 1947

Appendix X contains the Memorandum of the Cabinet Mission stipulating that, with the emergence of self-governing or independent Governments in India, the paramountcy vesting in the British Government would revert to the States themselves

Appendix XI contains some of Jinnah's important statements of the period covered by this volume They focus on Jinnah's abiding faith in Pakistan being the only solution of the Indian problem, his unwavering determination not to yield on the demand for Pakistan, and his efforts to mobilise the Muslim masses for the achievement of that goal

Appendix XII on the partition of Bengal and the Punjab highlights the interesting fact that the boundaries had been determined as early as February 1946, though actually demarcated in August 1947 The drawing and redrawing of maps was done by neither Wavell nor Mountbatten Instead it was the handiwork of that *eminence grise*, V P Menon, and of B N Rau Obviously the boundaries were drawn in such a way as to make Pakistan as "small and unattractive" as possible, hoping that Jinnah would reject a truncated Pakistan out of hand But Jinnah was the last person to be taken in by such manipulation or to succumb to intimidation

Appendix XIII lists the results of the 1945-46 elections to the various Legislative Assemblies These results marked the final emergence of the Muslim League as the sole representative body of the Muslims of India

Appendix XIV contains records of Mountbatten's interviews with Jinnah and other AIML leaders It brings into sharp focus the divergent aims of the two parties—the British and the Muslim League—, one urging adherence to the Cabinet Mission Plan and the other remaining steadfast to the goal of Pakistan This battle royal reveals the mettle of the two principal protagonists—Mountbatten and Jinnah—, one given to

blandishment and bluster, the other unflinchingly committed to his goal, fighting a lone, if resolute battle against daunting odds

Z H ZAIDI

[1]Appendix IV

APPENDIX I

REACTIONS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT STATEMENT OF 20 FEBRUARY 1947

I.1

A VERY IMPORTANT STATEMENT, SAYS MR JINNAH[1]

KARACHI, February 20 Asked about his reactions to H M G 's statement[2] today in Parliament, Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said he was not in a position to say anything now, until he had seen the full report

Mr Jinnah added, "It appears to be a very important statement and requires very careful examination before the Muslim League or I can express any opinion with regard to it

"We shall consider the matter and take such course as we think proper to deal with it, as soon as possible "—API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 22 February 1947
[2] No 1, Vol I, Part I

I.2

A NEW APPROACH[1]

As one reads the statement[2] issued on Thursday by His Majesty's Government one cannot help feeling that it represents a new approach to the Indian problem Mr Attlee and his colleagues appear to have realised at last what the Muslim League has repeatedly asserted, that the hope of framing an agreed constitution for a United India was an idle dream All attempts made to that end have failed because they were based on an unreal approach It is significant that the new statement studiously avoids any reference to the future working of the so-called Constituent Assembly in which the Congress Party alone has been intermittently enacting the farce of constitution-making since December 9 His Majesty's Government, by two passages in Thursday's statement, recognise by implication that this rump Constituent Assembly is dead In paragraph 7 they say "His Majesty's government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution *approved by all parties in India*[3] in accordance with the

Cabinet Mission's Plan."[4] And again in paragraph 10: "His Majesty's Government agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein *by a fully representative Constituent Assembly*." The significance of the words we have italicised is clearly this that the Constituent Assembly which is at present functioning is not sufficiently representative according to the express terms and provisions of the Statement of May 16 and therefore the continuation of its labours on the present basis is futile. Ever since the Congress revealed its intention of putting its own arbitrary interpretation on fundamental provisions of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the Muslim League has been declaring that the Constituent Assembly scheme as envisaged in that Plan could not work. It has taken the British Government nearly 8 months to recognise this fact, but better late than never.

Muslims welcome the declaration that the British Government propose to transfer power to Indian hands by a specific date as well as the broad outline indicated in paragraph 10 read with paragraph 13 of the statement, of the manner in which power is to be transferred. The possibility is visualised that power may be transferred as a whole to some Central Government, or to some Provincial Governments, or "in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interest of the Indian people." At the appropriate time H.M.G. will negotiate separate agreements for the purpose "with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power." It would appear that H.M.G. still fight shy of saying clear things clearly. They might as well have stated categorically that agreements would be entered into with the Congress for the Hindu majority areas and with the Muslim League for the Muslim majority areas. If paragraph 13 has any meaning this is the only manner in which agreements for the transfer of power can be successfully negotiated.

It is a rebuff to the Congress that the earnest petition of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and his Congress colleagues for the removal of the League Ministers from the Interim Government has not even been taken notice of, much less granted. It was a presumptuous and even foolish demand to make and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel acted with singular lack of foresight when he categorically announced a few days ago that he and his party would resign from the Government if the Muslim League stayed in. He must have read Thursday's statement with a feeling of consternation because he must now either carry out his threat of resignation or eat the humble pie. We have little doubt that this great sword-rattler will find it much more profitable to stay than quit—and by profitable we mean quite a number of things. He should at any rate know now that it does not always pay to play the political gangster.

In spite of certain actions of Lord Wavell which during the past

year often led to untoward situations and consequences, the sudden termination of his Viceroyalty will cause wide regret That he has been throughout well-intentioned cannot be doubted, and it may well be that in certain things he had to act not as a free agent but under orders from London Whatever the Muslims have suffered due to what they at times regarded as his mistakes or his weakness no bitterness towards him will linger in their minds

[1]Editorial *Dawn*, 22 February 1947
No 1, Vol I, Part I
Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[4]Appendix III

I.3

HOUR OF DECISION[1]

The awaited British announcement regarding the Indian political impasse has been made Reactions to the statement[2] are not yet available but we shall not be surprised if our friends in the Congress are already at their favourite game of explosive words and frenzied gesticulation We do not feel inclined to indulge in either The statement, as the Quaid-i-Azam says, is of great importance and should be calmly and carefully deliberated upon There are four major points to consider The first point is that "His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948" This is the most definite enunciation made so far of the British policy on India Even so, it is not definite enough and phrases like "transference of power" and "responsible Indian hands" are open to varying interpretations It is not clear, for instance, whether this transference of power will involve the complete evacuation of the British Armed Forces from India, whether the new Indian Government will have to remain within the Commonwealth or be free to make new alliances, whether the transference of power will be conditioned by treaties favourable to British Home and Foreign interests or not so conditioned, whether the responsible character of "Indian hands' is to be determined by the Indians or by the British These and similar questions will have to await further elucidation It is definite, however, that the major switch-over in political responsibility will take place in India a little over a year from now and a considerable measure of political sovereignty will devolve on the Indian people It is

for us to determine how, and to whom. This brings us to the second major point in the British statement. The statement lays down that the British Government agreed to accept a constitution of the Indian Constituent Assembly's devising, only if this Assembly was fully representative. If this Assembly is not fully representative, as it no longer is, and if it is unable to work out an agreed constitution, as it has little chance of doing under the present conditions, the British Government will not accept its recommendations. This, as we anticipated, makes the Congress speech-merchants in the Constituent Assembly look rather silly. We have told them times without number that if they are really serious about freedom they should come to terms with us, the Muslims, instead of passing the hat round to the British. If they are willing to be reasonable, we can, even now, work out an agreed constitution or constitutions on the basis of Pakistan and Hindustan before the zero hour is on us. If they persist in their unreason the British Government "will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in India should be handed over on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to existing provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people." This is the third point, we have repeatedly declared, and do so again, that Muslims are not chattel owned by the British or any other body and no one has the right to sell, barter, or hand them over to any party against their will. They will be ruled by their own people in their own lands and by no one else. The British Government, therefore, might as well have been a little more explicit and declared that political sovereignty in Hindu areas will be handed over to the Hindus and in Muslim areas to the Muslims. These two sets of hands are the only "responsible hands" in India and no trick or jugglery can reduce them to one. This dual transfer is the only way "most reasonable" and "in the best interests of the Indian people." The last point in the statement refers to the Indian States. The British Government "do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under Paramountcy to any Government of British India." This is rather disturbing. It might easily mean that while the rest of India is governed by free and democratic Hindu and Muslim governments the people of the States will continue to groan under British-sponsored feudal shackles. It might also mean that the States will be converted into observation towers and strong-points to protect British strategic interests in India and South-East Asia. We shall, however, suspend judgement for the present. There is one point, not included in the statement, which would exercise all Indian minds, particularly Muslim minds. This concerns the future of the Indian Armed Forces, which, apart from the will of the people, provide the main sanction behind any

government established by law We hope our leaders will give this matter careful consideration There is no doubt that for both the Congress and the Muslim League, both for Hindus and Muslims, the present hour is the hour of the decision The Congress and the Muslims have to decide whether they want all people in the Indian sub-continent to live in peace and freedom by conceding the rightful Muslim demands or whether they want present strife and bitterness to continue The Muslims have to decide whether they want to live as free men in their free lands or whether they are prepared to be tricked into some new brand of slavery We are not yet aware of the Hindu decision The Muslim decision we already know[2]

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 22 February 1947
[2]No 1, Vol 1, Part I

I.4

NEHRU WELCOMES HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENT A WISE AND COURAGEOUS DECISION[1]

League's Co-operation Sought in Constitution-Making Hope of Peaceful Transition

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President of the Interim Government, in a statement, issued on Saturday night commends the British Government's White Paper on India as "a wise and courageous one" and says that the work of the Constituent Assembly must now be carried on with greater speed

Pandit Nehru adds "In this great work we invite afresh all those who have kept aloof and we ask all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking, casting aside fear and suspicion, which ill become a great people on the eve of freedom "

The following is the text of Pandit Nehru's statement

The statement made by Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee, in the House of Commons on February 20th, in regard to Indian policy has received and is receiving the earnest attention of all those who are vitally interested in bringing the present transitional period to a satisfactory conclusion

The statement is obscure in some places and requires careful consideration The outstanding feature of it, however, is the decision of the British Government to transfer power to Indian hands not later than June 1948 It has further been stated that preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance This is important, as only thus can be secured a rapid and effective transference of power within this period

My colleagues and I are giving the fullest thought to this statement, and early next month the Congress Working Committee will meet and give its considered views on the new situation that has arisen

CHALLENGE TO ALL

I should like to say, however, even at this stage that the decision of the British Government is a wise and courageous one The clear and definite declaration that the final transference of power will take place by a date not later than June 1948 not only removes all misconception and suspicion, but also brings reality and a certain dynamic quality to the present situation in India That decision will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences and puts a burden and responsibility on all concerned

It is a challenge to all of us and we shall try to meet it bravely in the spirit of that challenge I trust that we shall all endeavour to get out of the ruts and end the internal conflicts that have frustrated our efforts and delayed our advance and accept this burden and responsibility keeping only the independence and advancement of India in view

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY'S TASK

The work of the Constituent Assembly must now be carried on with greater speed so that the new and independent India may take shape and be clothed with a constitution worthy of her and bringing relief and opportunity to all her children In this great work we invite afresh all those who have kept aloof and we ask all to be partners in this joint and historic undertaking casting aside fear and suspicion, which ill become a great people on the eve of freedom

The Constituent Assembly, however constituted, can only proceed with its work on a voluntary basis There can be no compulsion, except the compulsion of events, which none can ignore The moment British rule goes, the responsibility for the governance of India must inevitably rest on her people and their representatives alone They will have to shoulder that responsibility Why then should we not accept this responsibility now and work together to find integrated solutions of our problems? No external authority is going to help or hinder us in future

The British Government on behalf of their people have expressed their goodwill and good wishes to the people of India We have had a long past of conflict and ill-will But we earnestly hope that this past is over We look forward to a peaceful and co-operative transition and to the establishment of close and friendly relations with the British people for the mutual advantage of both countries and for the advancement of the cause of peace and freedom all over the world

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement, which was issued in consultation with his Congress colleagues in the Cabinet, was received with keen

interest in Muslim League circles While the official League reply to it will be given by the League Working Committee when it meets, an unofficial League view available on Saturday night considered Pandit Nehru's appeal as helpful in spirit, but vague in content. The Muslim League, according to an exponent of this view point, has always been willing to come to a peaceful settlement on the basis of real independence to each of the two major nations

"Pandit Nehru's references to the present Constituent Assembly, however, must be regarded as inconsistent with his expressed desire for Muslim co-operation The new situation created by the Statement of February 20th calls for an altogether new approach and a method different to that represented by the present Constituent Assembly That new approach must be on the basis of two sovereign states coming together for all common purposes by voluntary agreement The moment Congress accepts this principle the entire situation will change and all bitterness will disappear", said a Muslim League spokesman —API

[1]*Hindustan Times*, 23 February 1947 Also see *TP*, IX, No 452, pp 790-792

I.5

Press Information Bureau, New Delhi to Information Department, India Office, London

Telegram, IOR L/I/1/767

NEW DELHI,

No B 172 *23 February 1947*

The following is a summary of opinion expressed hitherto

Mr Gandhi and Mr Jinnah have not yet commented on the statement Pandit Nehru has favourably reacted to it He is believed to carry with him the support of the Congress members of the Interim Government The League section of the Government is, however, silent

Both the Congress and League Presidents are expected to convene meetings of their respective Working Committees early in March in Delhi Almost simultaneously the States Negotiating Committee is scheduled to meet in Delhi with the Negotiating Committee of the Constituent Assembly, to consider the allocation of seats among the States, and the method of selection of States' representatives

The Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor, has emphasised that no time should now be lost in coming together and working out an acceptable solution, and that the policy of strict adherence to the

Cabinet Mission Plan, unanimously endorsed by the Princes, must now continue to be pursued steadfastly and tenaciously

Pending detailed study of the document, political leaders have been slow and cautious in offering their opinions

Pandit Nehru's statement[1] welcoming Mr Attlee's announcement as wise and courageous, and pleading for co-operation in the work of the Constituent Assembly, is expected to mould the opinion of several Congressmen

All sections of the press join in welcoming the announcement as bold, wise and statesmanlike, particularly because of the definite commitment of a date for the transference of power The *Statesman*, which first criticised the decision as a leap in the dark, has since Pandit Nehru's lead, commented that Mr Attlee and his colleagues have the gift of seeing through dense political mist, and penetrating through men's hearts which the practical minded often fail to discover, and hoped that Pandit Nehru's lead would arouse a response in other quarters

Pro-British opinion is reflected generally through the *Times of India*, which says that Mr Attlee's announcement must force on India's political parties stark realisation of the transcending need for agreement among the Indian parties

The *Civil & Military Gazette* remarks the time is all too short for formulation of the terms of settlement The nationalist Hindu press is generally critical both of the operative clauses relating to the transference of power, and the absence of any mention of the Interim Government It is remarked that Hindustan, Pakistan and Rajastan are all the possibilities rolled into one utterance By offering to negotiate with the provincial Governments, the British Government have encouraged separatist tendencies and fostered some form of Pakistan, even though of a truncated variety, as in effect Assam and Bengal may not be coerced to join the grouping

The *Hindu* (pro-Congress, Madras) leads with the remark that the latest announcement constitutes the complete torpedoing of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and pleads for transference of power to the Interim Government by treating it as a Succession [*sic*] Government

The *National Herald* (Lucknow), the *National Call* (Delhi), the *Hindustan Standard* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta) and the *Tribune* (Lahore) refer to the direct incitement contained in the statement to those who are hoping to frustrate by non-co-operation the efforts of the Constituent Assembly to evolve a Union Centre

The *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), convinced that the process of transfer can now begin in an atmosphere of goodwill and cordiality, pleads for mutual settlement between the League and Congress In a subsequent analysis of the implications of Mr Attlee's statement, the paper brings out the point

that with an agreed Constitution, the transfer of power by a due date becomes both easy and smooth

It points out *inter alia* that if the British Government is committed not to coerce a minority, it is equally committed not to permit a minority, to delay the advance of the majority Further, it is against forcing a Constitution on unwilling parts of the country At the same time, it cannot set aside a decision of the Constituent Assembly to the extent that it evolves a Constitution for those parts of which it is fully representative in the accepted democratic sense of the term

The Labour Government have attempted to reconcile these declarations, having regard to the fundamental fact of the transfer of power by a due date Thus, to the extent that agreement is reached on the form of a Central Government for British India, such authority would be recognised for the purpose of transfer

The paper therefore pleads for continued efforts to make the Constituent Assembly more representative, and for its decisions to be supreme The Interim Government will not merely carry on administration on a more representative basis, it will definitely be concerned with the gradual transfer of power in advance of the due date Thus, within the Interim Government in the absence of an agreed basis of co-operation, the principle of majority decisions would apply

The *Bombay Chronicle* (edited by nationalist Muslim, Brelvi) fears if there is no agreed settlement, the League would get Pakistan, independent of Hindustan The paper adds that Congress cannot with justification start a fresh struggle for freedom as suggested by the Socialists The Congress Socialist organ, *Janata* says the British have decided to have another year and four months to do their worst

The Muslim owned section of the press, led by *Dawn* (League organ, Delhi) are of the view that the British Government should have categorically stated that agreements for the transfer of power would be entered into with the League for Muslim majority areas, and with Congress for Hindu majority areas [2]

Secondly, this section of the press regards the work of the Constituent Assembly for evolving a United India scheme, as having come to an end

Thirdly, that the Congress demand for removal of the League ministers from the Interim Government has been rejected, and the British Government by announcing their intention of transferring power to the Provincial Governments in certain areas, have for the first time accepted the claim for Pakistan

[1] See No I 4
[2] See No I 2

I.6

George Abell to Ronald Harris

Telegram, IOR L/WS/1/1009[1]

CONFIDENTIAL/MOST IMMEDIATE
No 352-S

NEW DELHI,
25 February 1947

Harris[2] from Abell

Your telegram 2517 of 22nd February[3] Reactions to statement of policy Full press comment and other reactions have been sent you by telegram

2 A lead has been given by Nehru in describing the new policy as a wise and courageous one This summarises most of Nationalist Press comment The fixing of a date is welcomed, and is admitted to prove the sincerity of H M Government There has as yet been little examination of detail of plan of transfer A leading article in yesterday's *Hindustan Times* points out with regard to the States that although the paramountcy of Britain may lapse, the future Indian Union is bound to evolve its own paramountcy rights which are inherent in the geographical and economic relations of the States with the rest of India There has been comment on the vagueness of paragraph No 10 of the statement Congress comment generally stresses the hand over to a Central Government, and is beginning to claim further powers for Central Government in anticipation Statement is held by Congress press to strengthen position of Constituent Assembly Nehru's letter[4] telegraphed today shows that Congress will do their best to reach settlement with the League but will expect His Majesty's Government to agree to a new method of framing a Constitution if they fail

3 Gandhi has as yet made no comment

4 Jinnah has declared that "The Muslim League will not yield an inch in their demand for Pakistan" and is reported to have said privately that the Constituent Assembly was dead, and other Muslim leaders are insisting that the new approach must be on the basis of two sovereign States Some Muslim perturbation has been expressed that if the British align themselves openly with Congress till they withdraw, civil war will become a distinct possibility Muslim press comment generally stresses possibility of power being handed over to existing Provincial Governments The date is welcomed, though much more guardedly than in Congress comment

[Paras 5 to 8 omitted]

[1]Also see *TP*, IX, No 462, pp 812-814

[2]Ronald Montague Joseph Harris, Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India
[3]In this telegram Harris asked for an up-to-date appreciation of reactions to HMG's Statement in time for the Lords debate on 25 and 26 February See *TP*, IX, No 462, note 1, p 813
[4]Annex I

Annex 1 to No 1 6
Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell

R/3/1/120 ff 147-148[1]

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
24 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

You must have seen a statement[2] I have issued giving my reactions to Mr Attlee's statement in the House of Commons on February 20th Normally I would have waited till the meeting of the Congress Working Committee But I thought that a clear declaration at this stage was desirable and helpful

2 I have deliberately not referred in my statement to many matters which are by no means clear I wanted to emphasise the dominant feature of Mr Attlee's statement from which other consequences naturally flow These other matters will have to be considered so that there might be no misunderstanding in the future

3 In the course of our conversation on the 21st evening[3] you communicated to me a message on behalf of HMG [4] This referred to the joint letter[5] we had sent to you pointing out that the continuance of the Muslim League members in the Interim Government was incompatible with the British Cabinet's plan or with any effective functioning of the Government You stated that HMG had postponed a reply to it in view of the developments that had taken place, further that while the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee on January 6th[6] accepted the British Government's statement of December 6th, there were some points in it which seemed to take away somewhat from that full acceptance It was also pointed out that some rules made by the Constituent Assembly were also inconsistent with the provisions of the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and appeared to encroach on the powers of the Sections and Groups

4 I pointed out to you then that there was some misapprehension about this matter and in effect there was no such variance If you so wish it I can consider any particular points in detail though I hardly think that this is necessary in view of the statement made by Mr Attlee on 20th February I might, however, draw your attention to the fact that this criticism of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution and the rules

of the Constituent Assembly has come more than six weeks after they were passed It is easy to criticise a complicated set of rules or a long resolution But I am quite sure that the objections raised have no force whatever We had stated quite clearly in the resolution and subsequently that we had accepted the statement of December 6th It is easy enough to remove doubts if there is an intention to understand and to cooperate But it is not possible to do so if the intention is just to find fault and in no event to cooperate We have tried in the past to meet all legitimate objections and criticisms so as to gain the cooperation of all in the work of the Constituent Assembly We shall continue to do so because obviously it is desirable to have that cooperation

5 We sent to you our joint letter asking for the resignation of the Muslim League members in the Cabinet because it had become impossible in the interest of good government and progress to have a Central Government which was divided and in which one group functioned as an opposition both in governmental activities and in the country This was contrary to the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and it had a disruptive influence on the administration We have seen the extraordinary spectacle of members of the Central Government leading and encouraging "Direct Action" and disobedience of laws against the provincial government of the Punjab This is still continuing openly and something similar is now being attempted in the Frontier Province It is difficult for me to conceive of any Central Government whose members function in this way It is obvious that this matter requires urgent decision Mr Attlee's statement throws no light upon it

6 Nevertheless I told you in the course of our interview that I would not press for an immediate answer to our joint letter because we were anxious, in view of the new situation that had arisen, not to bar the door to joint and cooperative working Mr Attlee's statement in some ways over-rides the Cabinet Mission's plan As I understand it, it means this If the Muslim League comes into the Constituent Assembly, then the Scheme of May 16th will continue to apply If the League still refuses to come in, then other consequences follow

7 This will have to be cleared up in the near future to enable us to proceed rapidly with the work of constitution-making We shall try our utmost to gain the cooperation of the Muslim League on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's scheme of May 16th If, however, we fail, we shall have to proceed on the other lines indicated or flowing from Mr Attlee's statement Whether the Interim Government can remain as it is or has to change will also depend on the developments indicated

above. It is clear that the present position cannot be maintained[7]

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]TP, IX, No 456, pp 794-796
[2]No I 4 Also see TP, IX, No 452, pp 790-792
[3]See Annex II
[4]The letters "HMG" appear without full stops in TP, IX, No 456, pp 794-796
[5]See TP, IX, No 350, pp 622-623
[6]See Annex II, note 3
[7]Wavell sent Nehru's letter to HMG on 25 February See TP, IX, No 456, note 5, p 796

Annex II to No I 6
Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram, Wavell Papers Political Series, January-March 1947, pp 73-74[1]

IMMEDIATE/SECRET NEW DELHI,
22 February 1947, 5 pm
Received 22 February, 2 35 pm

No 332-S Following are accounts of my interviews with Nehru and Liaquat last night

NEHRU

1 I spoke to Nehru on the brief given in Secretary of State's telegram No 2143,[2] and emphasised the necessity of getting the Muslim League into the Constituent Assembly I mentioned the points in the A-I C C resolution of January 6th[3] which seemed to need some explanation if the Muslim League was to be persuaded to join the Constituent Assembly

2 We then had a discussion on the points in the A-I C C resolution and in the Rules of Procedure referred to in Secretary of State's telegram Nehru sought to justify them as not inconsistent with the Mission Plan, and professed the desire of himself and his colleagues to get the Muslim League into the Constituent Assembly He spoke of the possible partition of the Punjab and Bengal, if agreement was not reached I emphasised to him especially the necessity to maintain the integrity of the Indian Army, which might be affected if there was an open breach between the Congress and the League

3 He described the Statement of His Majesty's Government[4] as a courageous document, which would have far-reaching effects But he went to speak of its lack of definition on many points, in paragraphs 10, 11, and 12 I explained to him the reason why His Majesty's Government could not at present be more definite and what was in their minds

4 He then spoke of the Muslim League members remaining in the Central Government He said that it depended on (a) whether the Muslim League joined the Constituent Assembly, and (b) what the position of the Central Government would be during the interim period He presumed from paragraph 11 of His Majesty's Government's statement that there would be progressive development of the powers of the Central Government during the interim period He said that the Congress would not press for an immediate answer to the request about the Muslim League remaining in the Central Government, but that the issue would have to be faced in the near future

5 Nehru said that a meeting of the Congress Working Committee had been fixed for March 5th[5] before the issue of His Majesty's Government's Statement He thought that there was no necessity to advance the date and that the Statement could be considered by the Working Committee at that meeting

Nehru was obviously impressed by the Statement and conscious of the responsibility thrown on the Congress The interview lasted for an hour

LIAQUAT

1 Liaquat said that the Statement wanted very careful consideration and that he was not prepared to give the Muslim League reactions, at present Later on in the interview I suggested that I should ask Mr Jinnah to come to Delhi and he agreed that this would be the best thing to do

2 He asked several questions about the meaning of sentences in the Statement, particularly the last sentences in paragraph 11, and in paragraph 10

3 He then asked whether the Constituent Assembly was still going to function, and said that as Finance Member he would argue that since it was not a fully representative Assembly, as contemplated by the Mission's Statement, there was no justification for spending public money on it I said that that might possibly be legally arguable, but that from a practical point of view neither the Finance Member nor the Governor-General nor His Majesty's Government could really stop the Constituent Assembly from continuing to function

4 I then repeated the advice I have always given to the League that they should come into the Constituent Assembly and argue out their case there He replied that he did not see how the two parties could ever really agree I ended by telling him that the Statement of His Majesty's Government was a challenge to Indian statesmanship which they had to meet, Hindus and Muslims had to live together on some terms in India, they were now left to decide this for themselves without British support or interference, and that would show whether they were capable of self-

government or not He admitted this and said that we were right to make the challenge and that they would hope to accept it

5 Liaquat was very friendly throughout, but did not hold out much hope of the two communities ever agreeing

[1] *TP*, IX, No 448, pp 785-786

[2] In his telegram Pethick-Lawrence had advised Wavell to ask Nehru to wait until Congress and the AIML had studied HMG's forthcoming policy statement, before pressing the League to quit the Interim Government See *TP*, IX, No 350, pp 622-623 and No 397, pp 712-715

[3] The AICC, in its resolution of 6 January 1947, had declared that in framing the constitution for independent India there must not be any interference from outside nor "compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province", and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised See No XII 66

[4] No 1, Vol I, Part I

See Annex to No 124, ibid

I.7

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

L/PO/10/24[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE AND SECRET THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
26 February 1947

Thank you for your letter of the 13th February[2] Since I wrote last on the 19th,[3] His Majesty's Government's Statement has appeared and you have received information about the reactions here The first Press comments have been favourable The Congress welcome the fixing of a date and hope that the Statement means that if they do not get an agreement with the Muslim League, they can establish a strong unitary Government based not on the Cabinet Mission's Plan but on their own estimates of India's requirements This would presumably leave the Muslims only with a small Pakistan Muslim League comment has been restrained so far, and it will probably be some time before we know what attitude the League will adopt Such favourable League comment as there has been is however based on the assumption that if the League refuse to co-operate with the Congress, they will receive not the small Pakistan but the large Pakistan As you know, I think that the policy of fixing a date was inevitable and right, though I disagreed with the form and timing, but I am doubtful whether the Statement will work the miracle of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League Still it may turn out all right I am sure they do not want open conflict But the Congress think that the Muslims will be compelled by economic considerations to

come to heel sooner or later, while the Muslims feel that there is no generosity in the Hindus, and will not trust them

[1]TP, IX, No 469, p 819
[2]Ibid, No 388, pp 690-693
[3]Ibid, No 434, pp 767-770

I.8

ATTLEE SPOKE WITH TONGUE IN THE CHEEK[1]

LONDON, February 24 Severe criticism of the recent statement on India by the British Premier Mr Attlee and the allegation that the Muslim League "was forced into the theory of Pakistan because of mad men of the Congress" were made today by Mr A R Siddiqi, a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, addressing a meeting of the Muslim Students Federation here

He said, "Mr Attlee's statement contained a good deal of meaningless stuff I say this because the most important point that Britain is going to withdraw from India before June, 1948 is said with the tongue in the cheek for it only refers to British India "

"The British Government," he continued, "have made Indian Princes puppets of the King These Princes should be pensioned off and all their rights be given to the subjects

"Many will say that June 30, 1948 is the day of deliverance But I feel it is not going to be so because of the dangerous arrangement about the Princes "

Mr Siddiqi expressed satisfaction on the decision to recall Lord Wavell —Reuter

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947

I.9

Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell[1]

9 March 1947

During the last three days the Congress Working Committee has anxiously considered the situation in the country and more specially the announcement made by Mr Attlee on February 20th They have passed some resolutions and I am enclosing three of these for your information. I

hope you will be good enough to send them to His Majesty's Government

2 You will notice that the Working Committee have welcomed Mr Attlee's statement We have purposely not gone into any details because the major decisions mentioned in it govern the situation There are many matters which are not clear Presumably light will be thrown upon them later on For the present we did not think it necessary to draw special attention to any of these matters It is clear, however, that an early decision will be required in regard to our future work in the Interim Government

3 It is our intention, as you will observe from one of the resolutions sent, to approach the Muslim League for a joint meeting to consider the situation We want to do everything in our power to get the League representatives into the Constituent Assembly, so that all of us might function in terms of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16th, 1946

4 If unfortunately this is not possible, then we shall try to lay down a course of action which avoids friction and conflict It is with this object in view that we have sought a meeting with the League and have also suggested the division of the Punjab into two parts This principle would, of course, apply to Bengal also

5 This proposal that we are making is not pleasant for us to contemplate, but such a course is preferable to an attempt by either party to impose its will upon the other Recent events in the Punjab have demonstrated, if such demonstration was necessary, that it is not possible to coerce the non-Muslim minority in the Province, just as it is not possible or desirable to coerce the others We have suggested a way out which we consider fair to all parties

6 In this connection I should like to remove a misapprehension Sir Stafford Cripps, in his speech in the House of Commons, has said that "we could not accept the forcing of unwilling Provinces into a united Indian Government if they have not been represented in the making of the constitution To that principle which has the assent of the Congress, we understand, we adhere "[2] Reference has been made here to "Provinces" There appears to be some confusion about the use of the word "Province" in this connection The word used in the British Government's statement of December 6th, 1946, was "areas", and when Congress assent is referred to it can only have reference to areas Indeed Sir Stafford Cripps himself refers to areas also in the course of his speech.

7 This distinction is important as both in Bengal and Punjab there

are very large non-Muslim minorities In the event of Bengal or Punjab, as Provinces, deciding by a bare majority not to adhere to a Union, the question immediately arises about Western Bengal and Eastern Punjab which are predominantly non-Muslim areas and which have no intention whatever of separating themselves from the Indian Union

8 It is in order to get over all these difficulties that we have suggested a partition of the Punjab and the same principle applies to Bengal If the Muslim League accepts the British Cabinet's scheme of May 16th and co-operates in the Constituent Assembly, then this question does not arise in this form But even so it is worth considering whether Bengal and Punjab should not both be divided into smaller Provinces In the event of the Muslim League not accepting the Cabinet Delegation's scheme and not coming into the Constituent Assembly, the division of Bengal and Punjab becomes inevitable[3]

[JAWAHARLAL NEHRU]

[1]*TP*, IX, No 511, pp 897-901

[2]Refers to Parliamentary Debates, 5th series, House of Commons, vol 434, 5 March 1947, col 508

[3]The text of Nehru's letter was telegraphed by Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence on 10 March 1947

Enclosure to No I 9

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE ON 8 MARCH 1947 AT NEW DELHI[1]

I PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE'S DECLARATION OF FEBRUARY 20TH, 1947

1 The Working Committee welcome the declaration made on behalf of the British Government of their definite intention to transfer power finally by a date not later than June 1948 and to take steps to that end in advance

2 The transfer of power, in order to be smooth, should be preceded by the recognition in practice of the Interim Government as a Dominion Government with effective control over the services and administration, and the Viceroy and Governor-General functioning as the constitutional head of the Government The Central Government must necessarily function as a Cabinet with full authority and responsibility Any other arrangement is incompatible with good government and is peculiarly dangerous during a transitional period full of political and economic crises

3 The Congress has already expressed its acceptance of the British

Cabinet Mission's scheme of May 16th, 1946, and has further accepted the interpretations put upon it by the British Cabinet on December 6th, 1946 In accordance therewith, the Constituent Assembly has been functioning and has appointed various committees to carry on its work. It has become all the more essential now to expedite this work so that the constitution for an Indian Union and its constituent units should be finally prepared and given effect to well within the stated period to facilitate the final transfer of power

4 The Working Committee welcome the decision of a number of States to join the Constituent Assembly and trust that all the States and their peoples will be effectively represented in this task of making a constitution for an Indian Union The Committee invite afresh the representatives of the Muslim League, who have been elected to the Constituent Assembly, to join in this historic undertaking

5 The work of the Constituent Assembly is essentially voluntary The Working Committee have frequently stated that there can or should be no compulsion in the making of a constitution for India It is the fear of compulsion or coercion that has given rise to distrust and suspicion and conflict If this fear goes, as it must, it will be easy to determine India's future so as to safeguard the rights of all communities and give equal opportunities to all It has been made clear that the constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will apply only to those areas which accept it It must also be understood that any Province or part of a Province which accepts the constitution and desires to join the Union cannot be prevented from doing so Thus there must be no compulsion either way, and the people will themselves decide their future This peaceful and co-operative method is the only way to make democratic decisions with the maximum of consent

6 In this hour when final decisions have to be taken, and the future of India has to be shaped by Indian minds and hands, the Working Committee earnestly call upon all parties and groups, and all Indians generally, to discard violent and coercive methods, and co-operate peacefully and democratically in the making of a constitution The time for decision has come and no one can stop it or stand by and remain unaffected The end of an era is at hand and a new age will soon begin Let this dawn of the new age be ushered in bravely, leaving hates and discords in the dead past

2 INVITATION TO MUSLIM LEAGUE TO MEET REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS

In view of new developments which are leading to a swift transfer

of power in India, it has become incumbent on the people of India to prepare themselves jointly and co-operatively for this change so that this may be effected peacefully and to the advantage of all The Working Committee, therefore, invite the All-India Muslim League to nominate representatives to meet representatives of the Congress in order to devise means to meet it

The Working Committee will keep in close touch with the representatives of the Sikhs and other groups concerned, with a view to co-operating with them in the steps that may have to be taken and in safeguarding their interests

3 PUNJAB

During the past seven months India has witnessed many horrors and tragedies which have been enacted in the attempt to gain political ends by brutal violence, murder and coercion These attempts have failed, as all such attempts must fail, and have only led to greater violence and carnage

The Punjab, which had thus far escaped this contagion, became six weeks ago the scene of an agitation, supported by some people in high authority, to coerce and break a popular Ministry which could not be attacked by constitutional methods A measure of success attended this, and an attempt was made to form a Ministry dominated by the group that led the agitation This was bitterly resented and has resulted in increased and widespread violence There has been an orgy of murder and arson and Amritsar and Multan have been scenes of horror and devastation

These tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion, and that no arrangement based on coercion can last Therefore it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion This would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two Provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part

The Working Committee commend this resolution, which should work to the advantage of all the communities concerned, and lessen friction and fear and suspicion of each other The Committee earnestly appeal to the people of the Punjab to put an end to the killing and brutality that are going on and to face the tragic situation, determined to find a solution which does not involve compulsion of any major group and which will effectively remove the causes of friction

[1]TP, IX, Enclosure to No 511, pp 899-901

APPENDIX II

THE CRIPPS OFFER AND THE MUSLIM LEAGUE RESPONSE

II.1

DRAFT DECLARATION FOR DISCUSSION WITH INDIAN LEADERS (AS PUBLISHED)[1]

Cmd 6350

30 March 1942

The conclusions of the British War Cabinet as set out below are those which Sir Stafford Cripps has taken with him for discussion with the Indian Leaders and the question as to whether they will be implemented will depend upon the outcome of these discussions which are now taking place

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the constitution-making body

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to

(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides

With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down

(ii) the signing of a Treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body This Treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities, but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other Member States of the British Commonwealth

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its Treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation

(d) the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities

Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of the Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India

[1]*TP*, I, No 456, pp 565-566

II.2

BROADCAST BY SIR S CRIPPS[1]

MSS EUR F 125/141[2]

30 March 1942

I want tonight to give you a short explanation of the document[3] which was published in the Press this morning, and which gives the proposals of the British War Cabinet for the future of India, a document unanimously agreed upon by every member of that Cabinet

First of all you will want to know what object we had in view Well, we wanted to make it quite clear and beyond any possibility of doubt or question that the British Government and the British people desire the Indian peoples to have full self-government, with a constitution as free in every respect as our own in Great Britain or as of any of the great Dominion members of the British Commonwealth of Nations In the words of the draft Declaration, India would be, "associated with the United Kingdom and other dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs"

There is however an existing constitution which regulates the central and provincial Governments of India and everyone agrees that in these troublous times we cannot here and now set about forging a new Constitution It is far too important a matter for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way

The principle on which these proposals are based is that the new Constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves, so we propose that immediately hostilities are ended a Constitution-making body should be set up consisting of elected representatives from British India, and if the Indian States wish, as we hope they will, to become part of the new Indian Union, they too will be invited to send their representatives to this Constitution-making body, though, if they do, that will not, of itself, bind them to become members of the Union That is the broad outline of the future

Now what is to happen in the meantime?

The British people are determined to do their utmost for the defence of India and we are confident that in that great task the Indian peoples of all races and religions are eager to play their full part

Let me read to you what the statement says on this point—

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must

inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India" So ends the document

The Governor-General, whose task it is to form the Central Government of India, has done his utmost to assist me with my mission, and I am certain that the Indian leaders can rely upon him to find the best way in consultation with them for carrying out the general principle laid down in the Clause that I have just read to you

So much for the general framework of the proposals But, as we all know, the most vital and difficult question is that which concerns the interests of the various communities amongst the Indian peoples

I will not attempt to go into any of the historical origins of these difficulties, let us instead look at them as a present fact In the great sub-continent of India there is more than one people, there are many peoples and races as there are in the great sub-continent of Russia Our object is to give to the Indian peoples full self-government with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organise their own Constitution

There are those who claim that India should form a single united country, there are others who say it should be divided up into two, three or more separated countries There are those who claim that Provincial Autonomy should be very wide but few centrally controlled federal services, others stress the need for centralisation in view of the growing complexity of economic development

These and many other and various ideas are worthy to be explored and debated, but it is for the Indian peoples, and not for any outside authority, to decide under which of these forms India will in the future govern herself

If the Indian peoples ask our help it will of course be gladly given but it is for you, the Indian peoples, to discuss and decide upon your future Constitution We shall look on with deep interest and hope that your wisdom will guide you truly in this great adventure

We ask you therefore to come together—all religions and races—in a Constitution-making body as soon as hostilities are over to frame your own Constitution

We have specified the form which that body will take, unless, and this is an important point, the leaders of the principal sections of Indian opinion agree between themselves before the end of hostilities upon some other and better form

That Constitution-making body will have as its object the framing of a single Constitution for the whole of India—that is, of British-India together with such of the Indian States as may decide to join in

But we realise this very simple fact If you want to persuade a number of people who are inclined to be antagonistic to enter the same room, it is unwise to tell them that once they go in there is no way out—they are to be forever locked in together

It is much wiser to tell them they can go in and if they find they can't come to a common decision, then there is nothing to prevent those who wish, from leaving again by another door They are much more likely all to go in if they have knowledge that they can by their free will go out again if they cannot agree

Well, that is what we say to the Provinces of India Come together to frame a common Constitution—if you find after all your discussion and all the give and take of a Constitution-making assembly that you cannot overcome your differences and that some Provinces are still not satisfied with the Constitution, then such Provinces can go out and remain out if they wish and just the same degree of self-government and freedom will be available for them as for the Union itself, that is to say complete self-government

We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples; but it is not for us Britishers to dictate to you, the Indian peoples, you will work out and decide that problem for yourselves

So we provide the means and the road by which you can attain that form of the absolute and united self-government that you desire at the earliest possible moment In the past we have waited for the different Indian communities to come to a common decision as to how a new Constitution for a self-governing India should be framed and because there has been no agreement amongst the Indian leaders, the British government has been accused by some of using this fact to delay the granting of freedom to India We are now giving the lead that has been asked for and it is in the hands of Indians and Indians only whether they will accept that lead and so attain their own freedom If they fail to accept this opportunity the responsibility for that failure must rest with them

We ask you to accept this fulfilment of our pledges in the past and it is that request that I have put before your leaders in the document which you have now seen

As regards the position of minority communities within the new Indian Union, I am confident that the Constitution-making body will make just provision for their protection But in view of the undertakings given to these minorities by His Majesty's Government in the past we propose that in the Treaty which, under the draft Declaration, will be concluded between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body, the new Indian Union should undertake to protect the rights of these minorities If there should be any non-acceding Provinces a similar Treaty provision would be made in respect of minority communities within their borders

I have already indicated to you the position as to the immediate future

I know that His Excellency the Viceroy has the greatest hope that the acceptance in principle of this document by the leaders of Indian opinion will make it possible for him to start forthwith upon the consultations which will enable him to implement the principle laid down in the last paragraph of the document which I have already read over to you

It contains one essential reservation—that in respect of the responsibility for Defence This reservation does not mean that the Governor-General and his Executive Council will or indeed could be excluded from taking an effective share in the counsels for the defence of India In this wide-flung war, defence cannot be localised in a single country and its preparation must permeate the activities of every department of Government and must demand from every department the fullest co-operation If His Majesty's Government are to take full responsibility for the conduct of the naval, military and air defence of India, as it is their duty to do, then the defence of India must be dealt with by them as part of the world war effort in which they are now engaged, and the direction of that defence must rest in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief under the War Cabinet and their highest staff officers But, as I have already pointed out, the Government of India must also have an effective share in the Defence counsels and so we have decided that the Commander-in-Chief must retain his position as a Member of the Executive Council

In order, however, that India may have her full voice in this central control of strategy, defensive and offensive, not only in India itself but in all the interrelated theatres of war, we have invited the appointment of a representative Indian to the War Cabinet and to the Pacific Council of the United Nations—that is one of the ways in which India will have her full say in the counsels of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations as an equal partner And when it comes to the making of the peace, India will appoint her own representatives to the Peace Conference side by side with those of the other free Nations and so make her contribution to the building of a new world order

I am confident that nothing further or more complete could be done towards the immediate realisation of the just claims and demands of the Indian peoples Our proposals are definite and precise If they were to be rejected by the leaders of Indian opinion, there would be neither the time nor the opportunity to reconsider this matter till after the war and it would be a bitter blow to the friends of India all over the world

I consider it a high honour that it has fallen to my lot to be the messenger of the War Cabinet in a matter of such vital and far-reaching importance to the future world order I personally am convinced of the soundness and completeness of these proposals, and I have asked your leaders to give to them an ungrudging acceptance

There will still be difficulties perhaps—the result of the distrust which has grown up between us in past years, but I ask you to turn your back upon that past, to accept my hand, our hand of friendship and trust and to allow us to join with you for the time being in working to establish and complete your freedom and your self-government This as you may know has long been a cause dear to my heart and it is with the greatest hopes that I look to the events of the next few days which may if wisely handled seal for ever your freedom and our friendship

Your country today is in peril from a cruel aggressor, an aggressor whose hand has soaked in blood and suffering great areas of China with its friendly and democratic peoples, an aggressor allied to those nations who have deluged with tragedy the once peaceful plains of Russia Against those aggressors we and the Allied Nations will fight to victory

The outlook is overcast for the moment, but believe me I have no doubt as to the final result Russia, the United States, China and Great Britain have resources which the Axis and its allies can never defeat

We stand by our duty, growing out of our past historical associations, to give you every protection that we can, but with your willing help and co-operation [this?] can be made more effective and more powerful

Let us enter upon this primary task of the defence of India in the now sure knowledge that when we emerge from the fire and travail of war it will be to build a free India upon foundations wrought by the Indian peoples themselves, and to forge a long-lasting and free friendship between our two peoples. Regrets and recriminations as to the past can have no place beside the confident and sure hopes of the future, when a free India will take her rightful place as a co-worker with the other free nations in that world reconstruction which alone can make the toil and suffering of the war worth while Let the dead past bury its dead! and let us march together side by side through the

night of high endeavour and courage to the already waking dawn of a new world of liberty for all the peoples

[1]*TP*, I, No 457, pp 566-571
[2]Note 1 in the *TP* runs as follows "This text, although entitled 'Draft Broadcast' in MSS EUR F 125/141 corresponds to the text of the broadcast as it appeared in the Press on the following day The text available in the India Office Records (see e g L/I/1/751 ff 396-400) is no different in substance, but contains—presumably as a result of corruption in transmission—a number of minor errors "
[3]No II I

II.3

RESOLUTION OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE[1]

11 April 1942

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement[2] made by Mr Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons on the 11th of March 1942 and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government[3] regarding the future of India, and also the interim proposals, during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the Leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister, in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposals of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the declaration of the 8th of August 1940,[4] which had promised to the Musalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the constitution should be set up, nor the constitution itself should be enforced, without the approval and consent of Muslim India

The Committee, while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent Unions in India, regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reasons given below

(1) The Musalmans, after twenty-five years of genuine efforts for

the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims—which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one Union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory

(2) In the Draft Declaration, a constitution-making body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones, and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Musalmans to compel them to enter such a constitution-making body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union With conditions as they are, it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the constitution-making body, namely that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected Lower Houses of the eleven provinces upon the cessation of hostilities, as a single Electoral College by the system of proportional representation is a fundamental departure from the right of the Musalmans, hitherto enjoyed by them to elect, their representatives by means of separate electorates, which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Musalmans can be chosen

The constitution-making body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principles of justice and contrary to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions, and the Musalmans by agreeing to this will, instead of exercising their right and judgement as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the constitution-making body, in which they will be a minority of about 25 per cent

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union as contemplated in the Draft Declaration has been conceded presumably in response to the insistent demands by the Musalmans for the partition of India but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object, for in the Draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing provinces which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis

The Musalmans cannot be satisfied by such a Declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise

pronouncement on the subject Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issue is to court disaster

In the Draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union, but in the letter dated 2nd of April[5] from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All India Muslim League, it is stated that "a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population" In this connection it must be emphasised that in the provinces where the Musalmans are in a majority, as in the case of the major provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies, and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province the total number (namely 60 and 50 respectively) is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Musalmans of those provinces

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the provinces in which the Musalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Musalmans alone, which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or form a Union

(5) With regard to the Treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties, nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation

(6) With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the

counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole, and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the centre and discard the rest of the Draft Scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements

In conclusion the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated 23 March 1940, which is now the creed of the All India Muslim League, namely,

> "The establishment of completely Independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Musalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped together to constitute Independent States as Muslim Free National Homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign,
>
> "That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them,
>
> "That in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them "

is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Musalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future

[1] *Archives of Freedom Movement*, vol 137, pp 15-20

[2] Promising that "as soon as possible after the war India should attain Dominion status in full freedom and equality' with Britain and the other Dominions "under a constitution to be framed by Indians by agreement among themselves and acceptable to the main elements in Indian national life", Churchill announced the visit of Cripps to India to discuss No II I which the British Government believed represented "a just and final solution" of Indian constitutional problem See *TP*, I, Nos 308 and 309, pp 406-408

[3] No II 1

[4] See note 3 to No XII 54 Also see *TP*, I, Appendix I, pp 877-879

[5] See Annex to No XII 12 Also see *TP*, VI, Annexure I to No 37, p 90

APPENDIX III

THE CABINET MISSION PLAN

III.1

STATEMENT BY THE CABINET DELEGATION AND THE VICEROY[1]

F 13/76-81

NEW DELHI,
16 May 1946

1 On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words

> "My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide, but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision "
>
> "I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so "
>
> "But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion It is a free association of free peoples If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible "

2 Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla[2] There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately

proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom

3 We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people, and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field

4 It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission, but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India

5 This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests

6 We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas, one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan, the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged The argument for a separate

State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures[3] show

North-Western Area	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br[itish] Baluchistan	438,930	62,701
[Total]	22,653,294	13,840,231
	62 07%	37 93%
North-Eastern Area		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
[Total]	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51 69 %	48 31 %

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem, nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs

7 We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible

basis of compromise Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab, (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet, and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23 6% of the population We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem

8 Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India The case for a united defence is even stronger The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient

9 A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India

10 Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan

11 We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above

13 Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way

14 Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for

negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow

15 We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications, and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out

18 In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise, but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province Thus, Assam with a population of 10 million has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250 Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the Provincial population After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India General, Muslim, and Sikh, the "General" community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures,

we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities

19 (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

SECTION A

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Total*
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

SECTION B

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Sikh*	*Total*
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total	9	22	4	35

SECTION C

Province	*General*	*Muslim*	*Total*
Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
Total	34	36	70
Total for British India			292
Maximum for Indian States			93
Total			385

Note In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution

20 The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution

21 His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible

22 It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power

23 While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an Interim Government having the support of the major political parties It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered, there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future, and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible

24 To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be

possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust, will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen, but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people But these are matters for your own free choice Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past

[1]Copy also available in F 20/152-156, *QAP*
[2]Simla Conference was held from 5 to 12 May 1946
[3]The population figures in this statement are from the census taken in 1941

III. 2

STATEMENT BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

F 21/68-70

[LONDON,
6 December 1946]

The conversations held by His Majesty's Government with Pandit Nehru, Mr Jinnah, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and Sardar Baldev Singh came to an end this evening, as Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh are returning to India tomorrow morning

The object of the conversations has been to obtain the participation and co-operation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly It was not expected that any final settlement could be arrived at since the Indian representatives must consult their colleagues before any final decision is reached

The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of paragraph 19(v) and (viii) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16th[1] relating to the Meetings in Sections which run as follows

Paragraph 19(v) "These Sections shall proceed to settle provincial constitutions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal Provinces should have power to opt out of groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below"

Paragraph 19(viii) "As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed Such a decision shall be taken by the legislature of the Province after the first General Election under the new constitution"

The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the Sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement, read as a whole, is that the provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions

His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of May 16th means what the Cabinet Mission have

always stated was their intention This part of the Statement as so interpreted must therefore be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16th, for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly

It is however clear that other Questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16th may arise, and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such decision so that the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's Plan

On the matter immediately in dispute His Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that the way may be open for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude If, in spite of this re-affirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for the decision of the Federal Court, such reference should be made at a very early date It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the Sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known

There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly, except upon the basis of an agreed procedure Should a Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not of course contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country

[1]No III 1

[2]Sub-paras (v) and (viii) of paragraph 19, as reproduced here, carry quite a few variations of punctuations The word "new" before "legislature" in the second sentence of sub-para VIII stand omitted The version given in *TP*, IX, No 166, pp 295-296 suffers from the same errors

APPENDIX IV

REPORT ON BIHAR RIOTS[1]

(OCTOBER-NOVEMBER 1946)

BY

NARANJAN SINGH GILL

F 965/69-91

MAJITHA, DISTRICT AMRITSAR, PUNJAB,
20 February 1947

CONTENTS

(Appendix [*sic* for Appendices] mentioned are not attached as I had only one copy of each which I have given to Gandhijee Appendix [*sic* for Appendices] do not affect the case but they contain extra information and can easily be obtained from Patna, if required)

PART I

TOUR OUTLINE

Programme

Date

5 2 47 Arrived morning Patna, contacted Muslim League, talk[ed] with Syed Abdul Aziz, met Mr Jamil (incharge of tour)

6 2 47 Talk[ed with] Col Mahboob, I N A , talk[ed with] Red Shirt representatives; talk[ed with] Muslim League Leaders, [namely] Mr Jaffar Imam, MLA, President, Mr Badruddin, MLA, General Secretary, Mr Mazhar Imam, MLA, Joint Secretary, Mr Sultanudin, MLA, Prof Najmul Huda and Mr Usmani, met Chief Minister

7 2 47 Met Forward Block workers, met Khaksar, Red Shirt and local Nationalist Muslims, met Baba Gurdit Singh and Sikhs; met Secretary, Unity Board, met Mr A M Sahay, I.N A

[1]Copies given to Mahatma Gandhi, the Chief Minister of Bengal, and the Chief Minister of Bihar

8 2 47 Met Lady Imam, visited Relief Camps, met Badshah Khan Sahib

9 2 47 Visited affected villages of Patna District (Fatwah, Hilsa, Nagar Nausa, Tilhara), met Muslim students

10 2 47 Sent parties to Gaya-Chhapra for report, reached Monghyr, contacted Collector and Muslim League Headquarters

11 2 47 Visited affected villages of Monghyr District (Aahrah, Kharagpore, Tarapore, Lakhanpore, Bishanpore)

12 2 47 Met District Muslim League President, reached Patna

13 2 47 Met Dr Mahmud, met Mr Ansari (Muslim Minister) (Prof Bari out with [Congress] President Kripalani)

14 2 47 Met Mr Yunus, visited Muslim League Headquarters and Relief Camps, attended Assembly debate on riots, met Mr Murli Dhar, MLA (Editor, *Searchlight*), met two enlightened local Hindus

15 2 47 Met a Hindu official in charge of riot work, met Muslim League President and other leaders

16 2 47 Met Gen Shah Nawaz, Dr Mahmud and Badshah Khan Sahib

17 2 47 Met Chief Minister, left for Calcutta

[PART II (A)]

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE VIEWPOINT

Until a few years ago, the Bihar Muslims were more or less all Nationalists But as they turned towards the Muslim League ideals of self-determination and Pakistan, they became unpopular with the Hindu majority After the heavy Muslim League victory in the last elections, Hindus became hostile Even before the Direct Action Day in August [1946], many acts of aggression by Hindus had taken place, e g at Andhra in June when eight Muslims were killed for which no one has been punished Then before the Noakhali [riots] came the incident of Beniabad where a mob of 20,000 attacked and looted this village, killing about 14, amongst whom most were Congress Muslims including Hafiz Mohd Shafi The League leaders issued a statement on the 2nd October 1946, giving a warning to the Government of the serious disturbed feeling Mahatma Gandhi had asked Hindus not to celebrate *Dewali* for certain reasons, but unscrupulous [elements] spread the story that it was done as a mourning for Noakhali [2] This had a profound adverse effect The situation was being made worse by speeches, writings and lectures of certain Hindu leaders such as Mr Jagat Narain, MLA, and Mr Murli Dhar, Editor, *Searchlight* Mr J P Narain was adding fire by advocating violence to overthrow the British and their helpmates and then naming the Muslim League as the chief helpmate

[2]Riots in Noakhali broke out on 10 October 1946

Thus the [Bihar] Government must have been aware of the seriousness of the situation and should have taken adequate steps for the prevention of any large-scale riots. Instead, in spite of Section 144, the Government allowed the holding of Noakhali Day. For two days, 25th and 26th of October, [1946], large meetings and processions, headed by the Congress leaders, were held in Patna and slogans such as *Khun ka badla khun se lenge* (We will avenge blood with blood) were shouted, bringing the crowds to a frenzy point. This was the spark that set the fire.

The riots started on 25th October [1946], and they raged unceased till about the middle of November. Mass murders, loot, arson, rape, and abductions took place. Brutalities unknown in human history happened such as pressing the child out of a pregnant woman, cutting few months [old] babies in front of mothers, and making them drink the blood, all-out killing of women and children, large-scale murders in mosques, etc. The minimum [number of those] killed is 15,000 and cases of loot[ing] and murder are still taking place. Crops are being stolen. Relief has been totally inadequate. The Hindus are still very hostile. Thus, the Muslims have lost faith in the Government and the Hindus, and they have a hopeless feeling of insecurity. In these circumstances, to ask the Muslims to go back and live as of old is impossible. So the Muslims now want to live in strong armed pockets and if that is not acceptable, they will have no choice but to migrate.

Other points brought out by them were as follows: the Chief Minister is a good man but even he and other Ministers are unable to control some Hindu leaders and the masses in such a matter for fear of losing their votes and popularity. There are two parties amongst the Congress fighting for power, the Brahmins in the present Government and the Kayastha, the latter being out to bring the former into disgrace and thus this has brought [about] softness and hesitation in Government actions and so [it] failed to prevent riots in spite of the warning. The police either watched silently and in other cases actively encouraged the Hindus. Some extremes [*sic* for extremists] (fortunately neither the Muslim League President nor the majority) went on to say that the Hindus want to suppress once for all the Bihar Muslims who so far had been intellectually ahead of the Muslims [*sic* for Hindus]. One Professor even suggested that Hindus were out to systematically annihilate the Muslims out of the country as they did to the Buddhists and the Spaniards did to Moors.

In the official statement issued by the Bihar Muslim League,[3] they make three demands:

[3]Refers to *The Bihar State Killing, 1946* by Syed Badruddin Ahmad, General Secretary, Bihar Provincial ML, Patna. See *MFA/147*.

(a) Exchange of population, this they have now modified to formation of pockets
(b) Setting up of an impartial Commission, this has already been agreed to and
(c) Special tribunals to try cases

OTHER PRO-MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERS' VIEWS

Syed Abdul Aziz Hardly any difference from the official League view Thinks Hindus and Muslims two peoples Has published two pamphlets[4] He says Government could have controlled the riots within two or three days if

(i) it had meant business
(ii) it was not afraid of the voters and
(iii) there had been an impartial, fearless and efficient administration

He advocates big pockets and says "Do not Hindu and Muslim pockets exist even now in towns and cities?" He adds that Muslims would be prepared for material sacrifice to achieve [such pockets] even though they have lost enough

Lady Imam Deeply agitated over the brutalities Agrees with S A Aziz

Mr Yunus Political background is the cause, in particular "Separate Electorates" The British, having introduced these, are now laughing at all our actions including the recent riots, e g foreigners took immediate photos of brutalities and flashed them outside India (See *Illustrated News*, 7 December, 1946) There were British hands again as military aid was delayed He says that long ago he recommended to Gandhijee a scheme for joint electorates with weightage of votes Had it been considered, the present evils would not have happened The wound now appears to have gone too deep He thinks the main cause of the Muslim fear was the lack of a clear Government policy after the riots, the Muslim League propaganda was a secondary cause He also agrees [with the idea of] pockets and says that the other actions immediately needed are

(i) all culprits to be arrested
(ii) no bails for serious cases
(iii) self-defence cases to be acquitted
(iv) Gandhijee to come here to change Hindu mentality

Mr Sohail, President, Muslim League of Monghyr He says that a feeling of insecurity exists [among the Muslims] because some officials and local leaders present [*sic*], under whom the disturbances took place, quite a lot of them having [*sic* for have] been partially responsible for the riots

[4]One of the pamphlets is *Reflections of Bihar Tragedy* See MF-A/79

In many villages Muslims were forced to go (otherwise no rations) back into destroyed, roofless, materialless [sic] houses wherein are graves of all their families

This makes them wish to migrate Also, nothing is being done to obtain [sic] crops for the Muslims No Muslim can wander about in the affected areas without escort Thus, what can they go back for?

NATIONALIST MUSLIMS' POINT OF VIEW

1 The brutalities were extreme

2 The Government intentions were good but there was some hesitation in their actions during the riots, a determined lead such as that given by Pandit Nehru, would have prevented or at any rate saved huge casualties

3 The Government's policy and relief measures since the riots, are inadequate, maybe partly due to corrupt or inefficient administration

4 The Hindus, though now quietened down, are not repentant So, unless some immediate steps are taken to remedy the situation, it will result in great damage to the cause of the country and the Muslim League is out to exploit the situation fully

Dr Mahmud The brutalities, including rape, were extreme The Congress Nationalist Muslims and the Momins were all murdered just as Muslims, helping to prove the Two Nation Theory Among the causes were Hindu-Muslim feelings in the administration, exaggerated reports given about Noakhali even by the highest leaders, black marketeers, and the presence of many false [*sic*] workers in the Congress (e g where there was a good Congressman such as Pandit Grusthwari in Chhapra, all was controlled there quickly and well)

Relief is poor and slow [The victims of the] Beniabad incident of September [1946] were promised Rs 40,000, [but] still not given, cases of looting are still happening, feelings of insecurity are great, even educated Muslims wishing [*sic* for wish] to leave Only a few days ago, he received applications from 400 Muslims, some of whom he personally knows as good fellows, wishing to go to Sind

He feels that out of this evil tremendous good could have come out if we, especially the top Hindu leaders, had grasped the opportunity Pandit Nehru realized this and he started building a new India (by showing [that] Congress was above all parties and communities) but the attempt had no support In fact, the unwelcome [*sic*] given to Pandit Nehru by the Bihari Hindus made the Muslims more fearful that even one of the great Hindu heroes may not be able to protect them. No topmost Hindu leaders have toured the afflicted areas Even now, the wound can be patched up and the effort should be made by

the topmost leaders He thinks that Gandhijee's immediate visit to Bihar, even though for a few days, might again start the [movement] for a New India He thinks only Gandhijee can solve the Hindu-Muslim problem, which may become unsolvable [*sic*] after his death

He related the following three personal stories which show the depth of [his] emotions and speak for themselves

(i) An old woman in one of the villages clung to him and said *Ham ne ka kia hai, ham ko kae ko mare* (What have we done? Why do you kill us?)

(ii) A group of simple Muslims met him and said *Ham ko Pakistan men bhej do* (Send us to Pakistan)

(iii) A group of Muslim refugees protected and brought to the railway station by Hindus were getting into the train with their kits As the Hindu helpers were entering the railway compartment, a policeman stopped them and asked them why were they getting in, not being refugees The Hindus answered *Inke bux Patna kon utarega* (Who would unload their boxes at Patna?)

Maj Gen Shah Nawaz & Col Mahboob Ahmad of I N A [Indian National Army] The brutalities were extreme and Noakhali was nothing compared to Bihar No determined and co-ordinated action was being taken to cover up the wounds It has already greatly affected the Nationalist Muslims and, unless something was urgently done, the Congress may lose their sympathies Power politics was perhaps at the background Shah Nawaz says that a noticeable difference in the Hazara riots was [that there was] no raping or killing of women and children He also thinks Press is greatly misused Thinks that Gandhijee should visit Bihar Both have visions of a great, united and free India and this has come as a terrible shock and an obstacle in their way

Shah Nawaz is returning from Delhi to work in any capacity here, should Badshah Khan want him

Badshah Khan Sahib The British put obstacles in the way of effective dealing of the riots Whereas to suppress the 1942 riots they sent soldiers in batches of two and three all over the country, they refused to do so now The Prime Minister himself went to Ranchi to get military support but even then it was delayed The police joined in to create trouble to please the British officers since there is no mental change in them and they still regard British officers as masters The Governor went to Bombay to receive his wife when the riots were in full progress The brutalities were extreme There was perhaps some softness in the Government's dealing with the riots It was a mistake to hand over relief work to the Muslim League, who are using this to exploit the situation to their own end, spreading hatred and disunity

and creating every obstacle The relief is totally inadequate and not a single house has yet been rebuilt Corrupt and inefficient administration is making relief [work] worse

The Hindu mentality has not changed yet, this is dangerous Many revolutionaries working [*sic*] pamphlets advocating the killing of Muslims, and Hindu Mahasabha workers are working under Congress label An immediate action to remedy the situation is required The principle should be that the Government should do all the needful and the local leaders and citizens should stand on their own legs and carry out all the work It is a most difficult task with corrupt administration and corrupt character of the so-called Congressmen, but still the locals in each area must be made to realize their responsibility Outsiders can help the Government and local leaders by helping to give a determined push and bringing about a clear, impartial and rapid relief organization, based on a clear-cut plan and policy Urgency is obvious, and Badshah Khan is already working in [*sic*] this plan

HINDU POINT OF VIEW

The brutalities were extreme and the largeness of the riots unexpected, but the cause was strong provocation The Muslim League leaders had been threatening and constantly speaking of sword Our leaders were being frequently insulted Then came the "Direct Action Day" Calcutta Riots [took place] in which Biharis from most districts were affected and on the top of it all, Noakhali specially the treatment of women [*sic*] On the top of this Muslims showed arrogance and in many places in Bihar attacked first, then the masses went mad They want the Muslims to come back here and hope [that] no incidents to excite [*sic*] the people again will take place anywhere

Murli Babu, Editor, Searchlight He did write strong articles but it was to counteract the "theory of sword" constantly preached by the Muslim League He never expected such serious riots or barbarity Calcutta and Noakhali were the immediate main causes The Noakhali Day was only a condemnation day but slogans were shouted in spite of the efforts of the leaders to stop them Even before Nehrujee ordered shooting, the police had opened fire 49 times between the 25th of October and the 4th of November

In a meeting at the Commissioner's bungalow on the 31st, the Muslim League asked for British soldiers The Chief Minister was against the use of British soldiers on principle but he had asked (the Commissioner) for the military on the 27th but the British delayed that aid for three or four critical days He thinks Muslims attacked first in several places, e g Tarapore (Police Station), where Hindu girls were molested

He thinks if there were any incidents elsewhere, Hindus may retaliate. He does not see any objections to modified Muslim pockets if they so wish and said [that the] Chief Minister would also place no obstacle.

CHIEF MINISTER'S VIEWS

The main cause of the trouble is the political background and the Muslim League's attitude and actions The local Muslims also gave provocation and in a number of places were the first aggressors Nonetheless, suddenness and extent of the riots were totally unexpected The police force is inadequate to meet such extensive disturbances, and military aid was delayed, maybe deliberately The Commissioner of Patna asked for military aid on 27th October, [but] without effect On the 31st, in a conference at the Commissioner's House, the Chief Minister himself asked for military aid He wanted small sections of three or four soldiers each to spread over the countryside and control the riots, but although this method had been employed in 1942, the Commander would not agree to it now, saying it was not 1942 Even the Inspector-General of Police and the Chief Secretary (both Englishmen) placed obstacles in his way and considered [that] the situation was not really serious Then he himself went to see the Military Commander at Ranchi Hence the military aid was delayed for three or four valuable days In some cases the police did not behave properly and inquiries are being instituted against them, but in good many cases they acted promptly and well He agrees [that] the police and the administration generally are suffering from the foreign rule legacy He thinks where the Congress was strong such as in the Tirhut Division, everything was kept [under] control There is no truth in the Muslim League allegation that caste [*sic*] among the Hindus is making them play power politics and thus weakening the Ministry in maintaining law and order Nor does he agree that J P's [Jai Parkash Narain's] lectures and statements have contributed to the riots This he thinks is British propaganda through the Muslim League

It was a mistake handing over relief to the Muslim League, who have used it for their own purpose The control is being taken back now, other reason for effective relief not reaching the sufferers is poor administration Even the English officer appointed by the Central Government for rehabilitation is doing nothing The Chief Minister was surprised when I told him of the poor relief measures All the arrests have been more or less made [*sic*] The Nationalist Muslims have undoubtedly been seriously affected

When asked if co-ordination of relief between the two provinces would do any good, he said he had not considered it He agreed that the Hindus were not really repentant yet

His answer to the Muslim League demands was Inquiry Commission? Yes Special Tribunals? No Pockets? As a principle, no, also not practical, but any voluntary adjustments? Yes

PART II (B)

ASSEMBLY DEBATE

Muslim League no-confidence motion debate took three days I attended it one day (Regretfully, what is said in the beautiful Assembly room and [from] its chairs is necessarily [not] what one sees in the villages and among the folks affected)

PART III (A)

VISIT TO THE AFFECTED VILLAGES
PATNA DISTRICT

Nagar Nausa This village is 29 miles from Patna and is the home of Mr Noman, Member of the Central Legislative Assembly The battle, including use of guns, raged for three days until the majority of Muslims (over 1,000) were rescued by army firing, after Panditjee arrived

About 100 Muslims were killed Muslim houses were adjacent, well-built and prosperous Now [they are] entirely destroyed [It is] amazing how huge masonry has been blown up as if by dynamite No Muslim [lives] here except one living with the military He said his crops have been stolen only a week ago, so how can he live and what for We escorted two Muslims who found some of their jewellery hidden in the wall Frames [of houses and other] materials etc are being looted even now [There is] complete destruction (burning) of the Muslim houses Mosques also broken [*sic*]

3 days' fighting but no police arrived [Only] one army platoon is posted here

Local cause The Hindus say that the Muslims insisted on sacrificing cow in those strained days The Muslims say they were attacked after peace committees were formed

Tillara It is 45 miles from Patna and two miles from Ekanagar Police Station Complete Muslim part of the village was destroyed and population murdered Muslim part of the village here also one side [*sic*] The mosque broken [into] and many murdered inside Blood, hair, and bones inside the mosque Each house has a well, all of them were filled up, it is said, with bodies and debris In some skeletons [were] visible Heavy blood marks in all houses The butchery obviously horrible and evidence still there—three wooden planks top—bloodsmeared presumably persons were cut on these

One well, half a mile outside the village, [was] full of skeletons, some visible on top [*sic*] No Muslim living anywhere near[by]

MONGHYR DISTRICT

Aahrah Is 12 miles from Monghyr 148 deaths [took place], 56 Muslims escaped Saw wells full up [*sic*], some bones visible The Hindu and Muslim parts in the village separate, the latter completely destroyed No Muslims seen in the area The Muslims evacuated even [from the areas] where they were protected One Muslim, Habib Khan, killed 15 days ago

Murahi The mosque and the total [*sic* for whole] village burnt Nobody living 130 including 40 men killed Here, 200 men went to the police station and cowardly left [behind] their womenfolk who were never rescued but some escaped through crops [*sic*]

Lakhanpore. 600 Muslim houses complete burning and destruction of the houses, majority Muslims killed [*sic*] Blood marks, bones, hair visible in the houses One house smells of dead bodies, even now horrible sight, mosque also destroyed

Bishanpore Total village destroyed Heaviest [*sic*] murders because considered a Muslim stronghold Here, every house tells its tale of the dead Every house, including the mosque, has blood marks and bones and burning of dead bodies I walked around this village in the fields for half a mile and found the whole area full of skeletons and graves every few yards Too terrible for words Muslim school destroyed

Ghazipore In the Lakhanpore and Bishanpore villages, Muslims were sent back by order, otherwise no rations Theirs is a pitiable state, no roofs, no materials Each home graveyard with bones of their own kith and kin, and yet they have to live there Truly, villages of dead even those who are walking about [*sic*] They should never be there until the cleaning of the area, burial or disposal of the dead, rebuilding of the houses and some relief has taken place Nothing has been done yet This scene will remain a nightmare of my life

REPORT OF MY MEN

Chhapra Area Riots started 25th of October and controlled by 29th Before that no cases had occurred Police used *lathis* and also fired The chief cause of the riots was Noakhali The immediate excitement [*sic*] was a box containing knives being found [*sic*] at the Railway Station addressed to Muslim League members About 200 Muslims and 20 Hindus killed Relief is good Ration rice 6 *chhataks* with vegetable and *dal* The Muslims want pockets, probably due to League propaganda Muslims are living in the area but not in the affected villages. The Hindu Mahasabha wanted revenge for Noakhali and then finding of the knives caused further excitement [*sic*] (Note The

Chhapra area is well spoken of by all Both the officials and the local Congressmen acted well and promptly)

Gaya District The Beniabad incident in September, 1946, when 14 Muslims including 7 Congress[ite] Muslims were killed, had caused some excitement However, before Noakhali, things were peaceful Riots started 25th, controlled 7th November Murder, loot, arson took place including women and children [*sic*]. Police action was halting [*sic*] Eventually military brought control after Pandit Jawaharlal's visit About 1,500 casualties including women and children The Muslims feel insecure and strained feelings not ended yet Muslims wish to live separately Only a few Muslims living in the area Three villages visited, all destroyed.

One Hindu, Rambaran Singh, saved 74 Muslims He is now afraid of the Hindus and is living away from his village

A large number of women and children were killed Food 4 *chhataks* rice and 1 *chhatak chana* is not adequate, clothing not issued, living in old, torn garments The Muslim League camp equally bad

Muslims want to live together in some numbers with arms since they are afraid The guilty have not been punished and neither the Government nor the police have listened to complaints or given them relief, so how can they trust them?

PART III (B)

REFUGEE & RELIEF CAMPS

Patna

Digha Camp		1,740 refugees
	Food	Rice 6 *chhataks*, vegetable 3 *chhataks*, *dal* 3 *chhataks* Adequate but nothing special for children
	Clothing	1 blanket often to a whole family 1 blanket for 6 men
	Sanitation	Up to refugee standard
	Medicines	Poor
	Water	O K
	Accommodation	*pukka* building
City Camp		2,100 refugees
	Food	As for the Digha Camp above
	Clothing	1 blanket per person to some, none to others Some issued a *sari* or a shirt each, others none, even though [they are] there for 3 months

Medicines	Sufficient
Water	O K
Sanitation	O K
Accommodation	O K *pukka* building
City Anjuman-i-Islamia Camp	
Food	Ditto
Clothing	1 blanket per person but not to all, no issue of clothing
Monghyr District	
Kharagpur [Camp]	2,000 refugees One refugee recently taken for work and killed He was a tailor named Kalu Khan of Pajiti village but killed in the neighbouring village of Matmata
Rations	5 *chhataks* of rice, 3 *chhataks* of vegetable etc
Clothing	Poorly dressed, no special issues
Accommodation	Tents
Tarapur [Camp]	1,800 refugees Saw terrible wounds on women and children They said I was the first non-Muslim leader to visit them and now they badly needed sympathy
Rations	4 *chhataks* of rice, 2 *chhataks* of *dal*, 1 *chhatak* of vegetable (all inadequate)
Clothing	1½ yds per head
Blanket	1 per 4 persons
Water	Poor arrangements
Sanitation	Poor
Medicines	Insufficient
Lighting	Bad
Accommodation	Overcrowded tents

Note In none of the camps had any effort been made to cheer up the camp [inmates or] provide games for children or some education Generally the camps presented a dismal appearance

PART IV

DATA SOURCE SEMI-OFFICIAL

District	Date of start [of Riots]	Date by which [Riots] cont-rolled	Casualties		Remarks
Chhapra	25 Oct	31 Oct	Muslims killed Muslims wounded Hindus killed Hindus wounded	114 101 7 24	Police firing 11 times, due to a good Supdt of Police and good local Congressmen, few casualties and prompt control After riots, this area is better in relief and peace work
Monghyr	26 Oct	5 Nov	Muslims killed Muslims wounded Hindus killed Hindus wounded	926 430 11 39	Muslims first attacked Kali procession in Monghyr Town, but the situation was controlled, then adjacent [*sic*] incidents/riots in Bhagalpore started Police fired six times
Bhagalpore	26 Oct	6 Nov	Muslims killed Muslims wounded Hindus killed Hindus wounded	158 94 6 89	26 Muslims attacked Kali image at Akhonpore, a few miles from Bhagalpore, 28th trouble in town, 31st an unprovoked and planned attack on Hindus in which 10 guns, 100 rounds were used, killing 2 and injuring 60, then the trouble spread
Patna	27 Oct	7 Nov	Muslims killed Muslims wounded Hindus killed Hindus wounded	3201 407 130 172	25th Police firing 25 times, military 23 times 26th Noakhali Day, bad slogans 27th Patna attacked from outside but controlled, then riots spread in the district
Gaya	1 Nov	7 Nov	Muslims killed Muslims wounded Hindus killed Hindus wounded	547 130 19 7	Police fired 10 times, military fired 3 times This was the result of spreading of riots from the Patna District

SUMMARY

The riots started on 25 October and brought under control by 8 November

	Total Casualties	Press re[ports] of Assembly debates
Muslims killed	4,956	5,000
Muslims wounded	1,162	1,350
Hindus killed	337	200
Hindus wounded	331	312

(Hindus killed by firing 400, injured 312)[5]

Total houses searched	8,000
Total Hindus arrested	5,200
Total Muslims arrested	300
Under detention not bailed	2,500
Muslims' houses destroyed	4,268
Hindus' houses destroyed	424

(The P[rime] Minister thought that most of the culprits have been rounded up) Special police force of 2,000 is being enrolled and posted in temporary outposts for protection

PART V

CONCLUSION

Note The Muslims form 13% of the population and generally are in a prosperous condition I have tried to see the Muslim point of view who are the sufferers here and to ascertain facts, and I write with the sole object of how we can heal the wounds and do maximum good All my remarks should be read in that light, for the work in hand is of such a humane nature that it should transcend all party politics

CAUSES

Basic Causes

The basic cause is the political background and moves The British have cleverly succeeded in their policy of divide and rule, and loom large behind all the happenings While talking about democracy and progress, they have introduced the cursed system of "Separate Electorates" which is the very negation of democracy Thus, offering power based on separation and religion, they have created its logical sequence—disunity and hatred. The British administration in India, i e the British officers collectively and individually, have never ceased to play this game and, as will be seen later, this happened during the Bihar riots also

[5]This does not explain whether the Hindus killed and injured were in addition to those already listed

The Muslim League (justified or not, is out of the scope of this report) is unfortunately playing this game. While it is beginning to dawn on the mankind that the basic teachings of all the religions are brotherhood and equality of man irrespective of caste, creed, colour or belief, and while civilization is rightly progressing towards a world federation, here in India we have a retrograde cry of dividing up India, based on religion (but how can true religion teach that?), thus sowing seeds of endless enmity and hatred for posterity This attitude of the Muslim League, plus violent talk of its leaders advocating the cult of sword, has had its effects on the Hindu community and is the major cause of our troubles, and unfortunately it is tending to become worse So it follows that unless this cause is removed, other efforts to improve the situation can only be of a secondary nature.

That India is one whole is even proved by these riots, as cause [sic] in one part of the country had its effects in other [parts] To this extent, it can be said that it is outside the control of the Provincial Governments to check the causes and [their] effects It may also be said that this India needs a strong, united Centre, capable of healing wounds inflicted upon any part of it instead of the limbs of the same body non-co-operating and thus hurting themselves and the whole body

Immediate [*Causes*]

In Bihar the tension perhaps took a different turn since the elections in early 1946 The Muslim League won a heavy victory but they themselves admit that they used very insulting and provocating [*sic*] propaganda There may have been other minor incidents but there was nothing special to worry [about] Then came the "Direct Action Day" and the Calcutta Riots Calcutta has Biharis from every district, so the effects spread throughout Bihar In September, the Beniabad incident took place when a large Hindu mob attacked and looted this place, killing about 14, among whom most were Congress Muslims Then came Noakhali, about which perhaps exaggerated news was given by some leaders and the press It was not so much the killing as mass rape and conversion that hit the Hindu mind. There appears to have been some local provocation in some areas by the Muslims also who may have gloated over Noakhali I understand many officials had reported increasing tension during the last three months, but the I G of Police and the Chief Secretary (both Englishmen) had not taken any serious notice of these reports Under the circumstances, the observance of the Noakhali Day appears to have been a mistake as this set the fire It is admitted by all that such slogans as *Khun ka badla khun se lenge* (We will avenge blood with blood) were shouted by large crowds in Patna

GOVERNMENT APPRECIATION

I have no doubts about the good intentions of the Government After the Beniabad incident, the emergency scheme had been put into action Celebration of the 2nd of September had been banned in order not to antagonize the Muslims But the Government failed to appreciate the mass feelings and tension (in which misappreciation they were helped deliberately or otherwise by the I G [of Police] and Chief Secretary) and were caught unawares by the suddenness and largeness of the riots

RIOTS (25 OCTOBER–8 NOVEMBER)

In general, there is little doubt that the riots were spontaneous and the result of pent-up feelings, and that the Government and the leaders were caught unawares by the extensiveness of the disturbances *Goondas*, communalists, demobbed soldiers (after-effects of War) and similar people made full use of the opportunity and the crowds went mad Murders, looting and arson took place on a large scale Brutalities and destruction were extreme, such as perhaps had never happened in the Hindu history It was difficult for me to check up regarding rape and conversion in the short time available but *all* Muslims say that rapes [were committed] on a large scale and there are still many abductions Conversions, if any, have perhaps been on a minor scale [only] Even the official list of the 5,000 persons killed is bad and serious enough, but the casualties are probably somewhat more

All aspects of such disgraceful riots are bad enough, but call for special mention of regret viz (a) large-scale killings of women and children, (b) killings just of Muslims, no matter whether they were Congressites, Nationalists or Leaguers, thus helping to prove the Two Nation Theory

The comparative seriousness of riots in various areas was affected by the following considerations

(a) Where there was lack of communications, military or police aid was delayed
(b) The attitude and actions of local leaders and leading citizens
(c) The efficiency or otherwise of local officials
(d) Local relations between the two communities

GOVERNMENT ACTION

Since the Government was caught unawares, there was a natural hesitation in realising its seriousness and in dealing with it most effectively Other possible reasons for some softness in the Government action may be

(a) Hesitation to antagonise the Hindu masses
(b) Services are not free from communal feelings
(c) The administration is the legacy of the British, who have been

taught only to please their masters, rather than act impartially and effectively on their own initiative as should be the case in free countries

(d) The wrong appreciation and advice by important British officials, the I G [of Police] and the Chief Secretary, who, as late as the 31st [of October], argued with the Premier that the situation was not serious and so, together with the Military Commander, delayed military aid It is illuminating to know here that whereas in 1942 the military was spread all over the province in twos or threes, the Military Commander refused to adopt that method now though that was the very thing asked by the Chief Minister It is also surprising that the Governor should go to receive his wife in Bombay on the 31st when riots were mounting up

Nonetheless it would be correct to say that the Government acted with average efficiency and with the best of intentions When it is remembered that in 1942 all the might of the British army could not obtain control for a long time, then we could look at the Government actions, in the right perspective realising the suddenness and extensiveness of the riots, and their being brought under control within two weeks Firing by the police had taken place before Pandit Nehru's arrival But his visit accomplished the following two purposes

(a) It brought military into action

(b) It added determination to the Government actions

Both of them could and perhaps should have been accomplished by the Government themselves and this may have brought the riots under control much earlier

(Muslims in general are of the opinion that Pandit Nehru's arrival and action saved many thousands of Muslim lives and they are grateful to him)

POST-RIOT POSITION

(9 NOVEMBER–17 FEBRUARY)

Relief It is a sad fact that relief arrangements are poor Whatever may be the paper schemes or orders issued, the effect on the actual sufferers is totally inadequate The rations are adequate but not at all the places Children are given no special facilities Clothing is the worst point No rebuilding of the houses has started [yet] Camps show a dismal sight, no effort of recreation [*sic*] etc is visible Dr Mahmud told me that the Beniabad sufferers of September 1942, who had been promised Rs 40,000 [as] compensation, had still not received it This has a very

demoralising effect and helps the Muslim League object much more than their own propaganda

The loot of material (doors, frames, boxes, etc) and of crops is still going on Some Muslims individually have been found missing or hurt recently also

The Government in general allowed the Muslim League to run the relief [work] This was a mistake as (a) the Government must never shirk its rightful duty and (b) the League (primarily there from outside Bihar) has exploited the position for its ends, spreading disunity and hatred Their leaders come and make speeches, [indulge in] politics, [and arrange] relief Systematically they advocated migration which is most harmful to the Muslims themselves Finding it impractical, they (Bihar Muslim League) now advocate strong armed pockets and are carrying out all propaganda to this effect, with one-sided stories Other possible reasons for inefficient relief may be

(a) power politics (matching Bengal),
(b) corrupt administrative machinery, and
(c) poor Congress workers

But the fact is that it is the lack of good relief arrangements more than the League propaganda that is making the Muslims feel insecure, making them wish to form pockets or even leave the province

The Government's answer to the Muslim League demands has already been given, viz

(a) *Inquiry Commission* Yes (it has created good effect even in the Muslim quarters)
(b) *Pockets* No, except in special cases Regarding pockets, it is true that even now there are limited Hindu and Muslim areas in towns and villages But it must be realized that in Bihar most damage has been done where there were so-called pockets and Muslims have collected together An argument not easy to refute in favour of pockets is how can those who were dishonoured go back and live in houses which are cemeteries of their own kith and kin The pocket principle, however, is against the real interests of both Muslims and Hindus, but where the people concerned really voluntarily went to live together, let them do so The choice should be of the people, not of political parties
(c) *Special Tribunals* No The above is O K but the fact is to take relief, consolation, and friendship to the sufferers and none of the above do that

The problem is, therefore, *most urgent* and the effect of the policy

must reach the masses earliest possible The Muslim League is justified in claiming that relief has been inadequate

SOME IMPORTANT COMMENTS

The Congress or Nationalist Muslims have been deeply agitated and find themselves in a most difficult position I fear that unless the problem is courageously tackled from the highest to the lowest level, it may be driving them into the League's arms It is really said that Nationalist Muslims and Momins (Mr A Q Ansari, a Momin) were killed just like others simply because they were Muslims, even though they stood with the Congress

Hindus are quiet, but it cannot be said that they are repentant, and incidents elsewhere may still create effects here This is a *serious* aspect So, the Muslim feeling of insecurity has a good foundation

SUMMARY

The British game has been successful Indians stand ashamed before the eyes of the world and that too when the masses of India, be they Hindus or Muslims, in reality care not for Pakistan or Hindustan except superficially or artificially What they want is good clothing, simple decent living for them and their families This really can only be had if India arises [*sic* for rises] as one strong country for both its own and the world's benefit But at the moment both the British and the Muslim League perhaps are sitting back satisfied that their case of the Two Nation Theory is proved and Mr Nishtar is going about making violent speeches that a handful of Muslims will conquer and rule over crores of Hindus And I know the general feeling among the Hindus, and to some extent share them too, that brute like actions can only be met by force, that when animal nature in human beings predominates, they understand not the feelings of love but learn a quick lesson from punishment But young India must rise above this, look upward and ahead, fight these obstacles and even that without falling into the trap of violence and retaliation I can see no other way of accomplishing this except that the Hindus (perhaps right[ly] too being majority) once more will have to bear the brunt of hard work and sacrifice for the sake of India, for the sake of both Hindus and Muslims alike and itself be, all the purer and better after the ordeal I feel also that this great [tragedy] will bring forward [*sic*] the best or the reality of Islam, thus paving the way for both to live as brothers and equals, each developing [to its] best and helping mankind and civilization in its onward march

There are some silver linings too Many Muslims were saved by Hindus just as a number of Hindus were saved by their Muslim

friends in Noakhali The Muslim League leaders and the simple Muslim refugees met me very pleasantly Quite a number of them (in spite of the propaganda to the contrary) after a few minutes' talk were willing to go back if only decent arrangements could be made I found Mr Jaffar Imam, President of the Muslim League, as a very reasonable and rationally [*sic* for rational] man and so were a number of others, of the Muslim League view, such as Mr S A Aziz Then Bihar has excellent Muslims such as Dr Mahmud, Prof Bari, and Col Mahboob (I N A) So why should the problem not be solved?

APPENDIX V

REPORT ON BOMBAY RIOTS 1946-1947
BY
HAJI HASANALLY P EBRAHIM

F 117/1-49

CONFIDENTIAL *27 February 1947*

It is a most mortifying reflection and saddest thought that Bombay, where both Hindus and Muslims had endeavoured to maintain and promote communal harmony and goodwill for years past, not without success to some extent, should have become now a wretched Province full of perils for Muslims In villages and towns, the Muslims have been victims of unspeakable outrages and atrocious acts of cruelty and barbarity which would stagger even the worst and violent savages, who might consider themselves civilized compared with the Hindus of this Province Several factors have prompted them to be the most aggressive, namely the contempt of law and order which had been manifest in the past years, the belief of the Hindu masses belonging to the Congress that they are the makers and unmakers of the Government and can easily silence and overawe the Government and fill them with fear and confusion, and, last but not least, the strong hope on the part of the Hindus that no Hindu offender will be arrested or prosecuted, much less convicted, and if anyone is convicted or sentenced to death, transportation or imprisonment, he will be released subsequently by the order of the Government Some of them may be held to be heroes and garlanded either during their trial or after their conviction or condonement [*sic*] of guilt Their belief and hope are based on many things and confirmed by the release of the persons convicted over the happenings of August 1942 It is, of course, wrong to blame all Hindus There may be some gentle and sympathetic [souls] among them but they do not count and can make no difference to the terrible situation that exists It appears that the Government have two-fold grounds for leaving the Muslims in a perpetual state of suffering and fear First, because the Muslims are opposed to the political creed and activities of the Congress and criticise them and, secondly, no action likely to annoy their voters and supporters could be taken if it would endanger the position of the Ministers In these circumstances, the Muslim minority, with its political and religious ideology, can have neither independence nor safety of life and property The censorship of the press and Section 144, prohibiting public meetings, provocative utterances, etc , exist only for the Muslim press and the Muslim community while organizations

and leaders of the Congress have been and are being allowed to do and say what they like publicly and with impunity I shall refrain from describing in detail the terrible happenings in Bombay but will state briefly, in public interest, how the Hindus committed widely, in broad daylight, acts of pillage, plunder, acts of sacrilegiousness [*sic* for sacrilege] and murder unchecked

2 The Hindu-Muslim riots started in Bombay on 1 September 1946 when some Muslims at Null Bazar were hoisting black flags for the following day as per instructions from the Honorary General Secretary of the All India Muslim League to register silent contempt of the Muslims against the installation in power at the Centre of the Caste Hindu Congress[1] and its satellites In order to ascertain who took the initiative in starting the riots, it would be interesting to note that, prior to this date, Hindus had committed provocative acts in five incidents, within the knowledge of the Bombay City Police, and also, *prima facie*, within the knowledge of the Congress Government and, even after this provocation, Muslims had shown commendable patience by refusing to be provoked First, on 16th August 1946, a Hindu boy was flying a kite to the tail of which was tied a Congress flag and a placard bearing the words "Pakistan *Murdabad*" at the very time when Musalmans were holding a mammoth peaceful meeting at Mastan Talao, where the Direct Action Resolution was being explained to the audience The flying of this kite was meant to and in actual practice did excite the feelings of the Musalmans but the timely intervention of Mr Abubaker Kasam Patel, an enthusiastic Muslim League worker, averted an imminent danger which might have taken the shape of retaliation on the part of Muslims The tension created by this act brought even the Commissioner of Police to the scene It is however sad to note that he took no action in the matter No attempt was made to round up the culprit and no arrest was made The Muslims showed exemplary patience and [it] was due to their magnanimity that the situation did not go out of control Secondly and thirdly, on the 17 August 1946, two Muslims, Fakhruddin and his nephew, were stabbed by Hindus at Bhuleshwar, an exclusive Hindu locality, at a cloth shop belonging to a Hindu They were taken to Maharbovri Police Station and from there sent to the G T Hospital, but no action was taken in the matter and no arrests were made either of the persons at the shop or of the persons in the area Fourthly, one Mohiuddin Kutty was stabbed at Chinch Bunder Road by Hindus on the night prior to *Ramazan Eid* day [*'Id al-Fitr*] while another Muslim who was asleep at Ghropedev Road was stabbed

[1]This refers to the formation of the Interim Government wholly manned by the INC and its allies

He was taken to Kalachowkie Police Station and then taken to the K E M Hospital but no action was taken by the police and nobody was rounded up Fifthly, one Pathan was murdered within the jurisdiction of Bhoiwada Police Station before the 1st September 1946 No action was taken in that behalf Thus it will be seen that Hindus were bent upon starting the riots right from the 16 August 1946, probably with a view to impressing upon the Muslims that the Congress Government was in power and they could break the law with impunity and create terror among the Muslims On the other hand, the Muslims refused to be drawn into any breach of peace and tranquillity and wanted to remain peaceful to carry on their peaceful struggle when the Muslim League ultimately decided to launch Direct Action Police, however, manifested complete absence of any sense of responsibility and encouraged the Hindus by not taking any preventive steps

3 Authentic and verified facts secured from most reliable sources show that the riots broke out in the following manner

Muslims were putting up black flags at about 10 p m on the 1st September 1946 near Round Temple at Null Bazar Although there were no instructions from the Congress to the Hindus to hoist Congress flags, some Hindus on seeing black flags hoisted by Muslims, started hoisting Congress flags as a counterblast Muslims were quiet and peaceful and busy in hoisting their flags While the Hindus were tying the Congress flag by a string across the street at Round Temple, the string gave way and the flag fell down on the ground Some Muslim boys, who witnessed it, laughed Their laughter irritated the Hindus who started stoning the Muslims and throwing soda water bottles at them The presence of soda water bottles clearly suggests that the Hindus were fully prepared to attack and were only waiting for an excuse to start the disturbance Not content with the attack by stones and soda water bottles, the Hindus stabbed two occupants (Muslims) of a victoria coming from the Golpitha to Round Temple The attack by stones and soda water bottles followed by a stabbing incident and the sight of blood-stained clothes of two Muslims, naturally created tension among the Muslims But it is absolutely clear that the Hindus deliberately started the disturbances and continuously provoked the Muslims into them

4 Immediately after the trouble started at Golpitha, reports were received of stabbings at Kamatipura and other localities The Commissioner of Police promulgated the *curfew order*[2] from 7 p m that evening to 6 30 a m The curfew was rigorously imposed and several arrests were effected for the breach of the curfew order in the Muslim localities, although the order came as a surprise to several Muslims But the imposition of curfew was effective in bringing down the number of casualties during the

period The casualties of 51 dead and 179 injured on the first day would have increased in serious proportion but for the curfew order It is however surprising to note that although 9 casualties had been admitted on the first day at the K E M Hospital, no curfew was promulgated in the north of Bombay On 2nd September, the Commissioner of Police issued another curfew order for 48 hours from 5 p m on 2nd to 5 p m on 4th September, an order which in fact operated as an order of simple imprisonment for all the inhabitants of that locality, which is predominantly Muslim It is significant to note that on 2nd September, 10 casualties were admitted at the K E M Hospital, 9 of whom were Muslims, yet no curfew was imposed in the north of Bombay The figures of casualties at the K E M Hospital do not include the deaths because the dead bodies were sent to the morgue direct It was only on the 3rd September when the casualties for the day mounted to 93 injured, of whom overwhelming majority was of Muslims, 12 of whom were dead, that the Commissioner of Police issued a curfew order which was restricted to the north of Bombay up to the junction of the Parel Road only A careful examination of the lethargic manner in which the Commissioner handled the situation clearly indicates that he showed gross indifference to the protection of Muslims who are in a very small minority in the north of Bombay and whose lives and property were in imminent danger from mischievous Hindu elements of the north of Bombay He could easily have prevented much loss of life and property by taking immediate preventive action in the north of Bombay It was only on the 4th September that the Commissioner of Police issued a curfew order bringing the whole of the danger area of the north of Bombay within the curfew order There is no justification for delay of 3 days within which the Hindus took a toll of hundreds of Muslims, particularly Pathans, who were easily trapped by an organised group of Hindu *goondas* attacking unwary Pathan pedestrians The police under any civilized Government is expected to grant protection to the people irrespective of their caste and creed and, secondly, to prevent attacks, organised or otherwise, on peaceful and innocent people In both of these fundamental duties the Bombay City Police miserably and lamentably failed as far as the Muslims were concerned

5 The Home Minister did not care to issue instructions to guard places like *masajid* and *durgahs* although I personally pointed out to him when he went round with the Pathan delegations

He had not cared to visit the burnt, damaged and looted *masjid* behind the Mohamedi Market and the *durgah* at Lal Bagh although, according to the press reports, he had previously visited the affected areas several times

[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

I pointed out to him in my letter of the 1st October 1946, that although *masajid* and *durgahs* were burnt, looted and damaged, they had not lost their sanctity A [copy of the] Holy *Qur'an* was also burnt with the *masjid* An armed guard with an officer was posted opposite the Maruti Temple at Sewri and another armed guard with an officer near railway crossing which was within the sight of Maruti Temple, whereas no guard was posted at the *masjid* near the Mohamedi Market, Lal Bagh and Lal Shah *durgahs*, Chandshah *durgah*, *durgah* near Swan Mill and *durgah* on Sewri Road, with the result that the *masjid* behind the Mohamedi Market was again burnt and looted on 28th October 1946 In the September-October 1945 riots, a *masjid* near Mangal Wadi (Girgao) had caught fire on a Thursday night and Mr H E Butler, the then Commissioner of Police, was very much perturbed and sent for Mr I I Chundrigar and myself and requested us to visit the *masjid* in company of his deputy and see for ourselves that the fire was caused by electric short circuit and had nothing to do with the riot and requested us to announce this to Muslims, which we did and thus the trouble was avoided

6 Lal Shah *durgah* near old Government House, Lal Bagh, was attacked by a crowd of 300 persons on 4 9 1946 from 10 a m to 2 p m and 7 men, women and a child of one-and-a-half years were murdered in cold blood It is reported that a police picket near the *durgah* was removed a little before the incident Only 25 arrests were made in the first instance and 25 more were arrested afterwards, whereas, for any single incident, a large number of Muslims are arrested The object of rounding up 20 or 50 persons for one stabbing case where one assailant is concerned is to pick up the real assailant out of the lot The object was not fulfilled in this case as the number of culprits in this case was at least 300 The *durgah* was lying unguarded, although the Home Minister was requested by my letter of 1 10 1946 to issue instructions to guard these places He had also not seen the *durgah* until we pointed to him when he went round with the Pathan delegations Only *lathi* constables were posted on 30 10 1946

7 Another *durgah* nearby, named Chandshah *durgah*, was burnt and looted, which was also lying unprotected in spite of pointing out to him until 30 10 1946 when only 2 *lathi* constables were posted In the mean time the *durgah* was again set on fire and looted

8 Still another *durgah* in the compound of Swan Mill was burnt, looted and damaged. Police were warned by me but they did not post any guard They only asked the Muslims staying there to vacate, and left the *durgah* to the mercy of Hindus, with the above result No arrests were made The act of burning, looting and damaging the *durgah* must have taken hours, still the officer-in-charge of the Swan Mill who could not be

unaware of the happenings did not phone the police and no action was taken against him although I suggested this to the police authorities

9 A *durgah* at Sewri Road was also stoned and it was pointed out to the Home Minister that it was unguarded and he was requested to arrange for guard but no guard was posted there until 30 10 46 when only 2 *lathi* constables were posted

10 On 30 10 1946, in company of the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa, I saw the Hon'ble Mr Kher who was in conference with other Ministers I complained to the Hon'ble Mr Morarji Desai about placing of 2 constables with *lathis* at our religious places He said he would increase the number from 2 to 5 near Mohamedi Market but did not agree to post armed constables

11 We pointed out to the Home Minister, when we went round with the Pathan delegations, that Hindu families and shopkeepers were staying at Mahim *durgah* and doing their business protected by Muslims We wanted to take him to the B I T Blocks at J J Hospital where many Hindus were staying in *chawls* surrounded by Muslims but were absolutely unmolested Our workers have it in writing from them to this effect The Home Minister did not pay visit to this place We wanted to be taken to any Hindu locality where Muslims may be protected by Hindus as they were done by Muslims at Mahim and at many other places but the Home Minister could not show us a single place of the type We also wanted to see whether any place of Hindu worship was burnt, looted and damaged We were taken to Jain Wadi, Kalachowkie, and were shown broken glass panes and were told that 5 Hindus were killed by Muslims This could not be believed as Muslims were in very small number there and the antecedents of the Hindus killed would also prove that the 5 Hindus were killed in domestic quarrel which they usually have between *akhadawallas* Hindus who were killed were not Jains and [those] other than Jains had no legitimate business to be there

12 The attention of the Home Minister was drawn to a cartoon published in the *Pravasi* (*Janma Bhoomie*) of 22 9 1946 which showed a *masjid at the feet of Gandhi* and with photos of Hindu gods and Parsi and Christian prophets with most objectionable writings from the religious point of view This fact was brought to the notice of the Chief Presidency Magistrate by my letter of 27 9 1946 and a copy of this letter was sent to the Secretary, Press Advisory Committee, and also to the Home Department The Home Minister took the matter very lightly and said he would tell the editor not to publish such things in future He was told that this would not satisfy the Muslims and that he should take strict action. Nothing was done Numerous unauthorised handbills were issued by the Hindus, containing inflammatory matter, and although the attention of

the Commissioner of Police as well as of the Home Department was drawn in writing several times, no action was taken by the police, and it is surprising that the famous and efficient Bombay City Police was not able to rope in even a single culprit out of so many. This as well as several other objectionable matters from the Hindu press were also brought to the notice of the Secretary, Home Department, and a copy [*sic*] to the notice of the Secretary, Press Advisory Committee, on 23rd and 24th October 1946 The objectionable matters are given as Appendix A [in the enclosure] to this report To these letters the Secretary, Home Department, replied by his letter No 0/3262-Poll dated 12 11 1946 that "none of the reports relating to riots appearing in certain local newspapers mentioned by you are objectionable under the Indian Press (Emergency) Act, 1931 "

13 It is reported that on 4 9 1946, the Home Minister went round the affected areas and while he was hearing the complaints of Muslims at Kalachowkie, a Muslim was stabbed nearby and the Muslims pointed out to him that a Muslim was stabbed near the police picket and the police did not arrest the assailant He replied, *"Did I kill him?"* While he was still there, stones were thrown at the Muslims which were pointed out to him, to which he replied, *"Stones do not kill men "*

14 It is reported that one Dawood Kachra sent a petition to the Home Minister against Mr Jooma Ladha, who is a proprietor of two hotels, on account of enmity The Home Minister, without inquiring into the antecedents of the petitioner, personally ordered the Police Inspector for his arrest under the new police powers 27(2) C Deputations of respectable Muslims waited on the Commissioner of Police and the Home Minister at Poona The man was not released for a long time till 4 11 1946 Mr Jooma Ladha has letters of thanks from Hindus whom he had saved during the previous riots and he was seeing that no mischief was done in his *mohalla* but it is alleged that, due to personal enmity, the petition was made

[Para 15 has been crossed out in the original]

16 The Prime Minister issued a statement, which appeared in the *Times of India* of 8 10 1946, sympathising with the murder of two Hindu members of the Peace Committee, giving their names and saying that *mere words of sympathy were not enough* This incident happened after a crowd of Hindus attacked four Pathan *chowkidar*s of the Bombay Municipality, who were kept there as watchmen to guard a water pipeline The Hindu crowds burnt their huts and, had not one of the Pathans fled and brought police help, they would all have been murdered in cold blood The *Prime Minister had not a single word of sympathy for the Pathan*s or of rebuke for the Hindus He had also no word of sympathy for a young innocent Muslim boy who was murdered by a Hindu funeral crowd who

was returning after the cremation of bodies of two Hindus He had also no word of sympathy for the murder of two Muslim members of the mixed Hindu-Muslim Peace Committee, who were taken by other Hindu members in a lane to have *pan* in celebration of the formation of the Peace Committee This was reported in the *Times of India* of 21 9 1946. Similarly, he had no word of sympathy for one *Kasam Kala* who was president of the Ghanchi *Jama'at* and who was murdered by Hindus at Parel while he was going to his house nearby after presiding at a mixed Hindu-Muslim Peace Committee meeting For the Prime Minister's sympathetic statement mentioning the names of Messrs *Patenkar* and *Bhide*, a complaint was filed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate against the Prime Minister and the editor of the *Times of India* and it is surprising that the Magistrate did not issue notice against the Prime Minister, but for the publication of the statement of the Prime Minister, notice was issued against the editor and the publisher of the *Times of India*, but ultimately they were not charged

17 Refuting the allegations of Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister issued a statement which appeared in the *Times of India* of 13 9 1946, and in which he stated, "With regard to the suggestions that oppressive measures have been taken against the Muslims, Government are satisfied that arrests were made entirely with due regard to the needs of preserving the peace and protecting the public In actual fact, the number of Hindus arrested exceeds *the number of Muslims [arrested], although the former community has suffered no less severely during the disturbances than the latter*"

18 The Home Minister instructed police officers to get Muslim workers from different Muslim Relief Committees to attend a meeting at the Bombay Secretariat on 6 10 1946 *to form a Hindu-Muslim Mixed Peace Committee* Most of the workers told the police officers to get in touch with me About 10 Muslims attended whereas about 200 Hindus attended Muslims enquired of the Home Minister as to why the League leaders were not invited whereupon he told them that Mr Chundrigar, although he was persuaded several times, did not agree to issue joint appeal with Congress He was asked why Mr Chundrigar did not agree He said he did not know The Muslims informed him that Mr Chundrigar could not agree to issue joint appeal when

(i) Muslims and their holy places were not given protection,
(ii) police (Hindu police especially) were not doing justice to Muslims and they were partial and in favour of Hindus,
(iii) the Bombay Congress Government were not agreeing to appoint an impartial commission just as was done by the Bengal Muslim League Ministry, and
(iv) the Prime Minister had accused the League that it was carrying

on riots for its political ends, in his statement which appeared in the *Times of India*

19 On 9 11 1946, the Hon'ble Mr B G Kher had invited *all Muslim MLAs* to work for peace and if we agreed he would call a joint meeting of Hindu and Muslim MLAs and devise ways and means to restore peace in the city To a question from me as to what would happen to the Central Peace Committee, Mr Kher replied that that Committee would continue to work and was not to be disturbed and, if necessary, he would call that Committee also as well as the Municipal Corporators [*sic*] who are also representatives of the people After some discussion it was decided to meet on the next day

20 On 10 11 1946, *Joint Hindu-Muslim MLAs'* meeting was called by the Hon'ble Mr Kher He explained the object of the meeting and asked for co-operation from all parties in bringing about peace in the city I assured him of co-operation from our side I further said that although we had our grievances, we were prepared in the interest of peace to wait until peace was restored and then we would demand an independent and impartial inquiry from the Government to give us justice

21 On 14 11 1946, a *joint meeting of MLAs and Municipal Corporators* [*sic*] called by the Hon'ble Mr Kher was held for devising means for restoring peace Mr Kher explained at length the object of the meeting and the following resolution was passed unanimously

> "This joint meeting of all the elected Members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Bombay Legislative Council, representing the people of the city of Bombay, and of the Members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, earnestly appeals to all the citizens of Bombay to restore peace and normal conditions of life in the city without further loss of time It is our firm conviction that the political objections [*sic* for objectives] of any party cannot be achieved by riots, communal strife and retaliation but, on the contrary, definitely receive a complete set-back "

While supporting the above resolution, I assured [them of] our full co-operation for bringing about peace and declared that we were of the firm opinion that no political achievement could be made by communal riots and it should not be understood that the riots were the result of "Direct Action", announced by the Muslim League I also pointed out that although we had our grievances, yet we had not made it a condition that inquiry should be promised to us before we agreed to co-operate for peace efforts because we wanted that peace should be established first and then we would demand from the Government [an] inquiry and justice to us

22 Two pilgrims were arrested on the morning of 19 9 1946 with

knives while entering the docks to put their luggage on board the pilgrim ship They were placed [*sic* for produced] before the Magistrate who sentenced them to one month's R I On coming to know of this, the Home Minister was approached He refused to remit the sentence although both the Commissioner of Police and the Chief Presidency Magistrate had no objection The Government of India had allowed the pilgrims to carry knives with them on pilgrimage and the two pilgrims were not aware of the ban here owing to riots The pilgrims were to sail the next day and the Muslim public were very much annoyed The pilgrims residing in the Carnac Road *musafirkhana* held a meeting in the *musafirkhana masjid* and decided not to sail till the two pilgrims had been released When the Home Minister knew of this, he offered to release the *hajis* [*sic* for pilgrims]

23 Although [*sic*] I wrote to the Commissioner of Police, by my letter of 17 10 1946, *to show to His Excellency the Viceroy*, the *masjid* behind the Mohamedi Market, Lal Shah and Chandshah *durgahs*, which have been burnt, looted and damaged, and the locality around Mahim *durgah* which is predominantly Muslim, where Hindu shopkeepers and families were safely doing their business and were staying there protected by Muslims throughout the riots, and to show similar places in Hindu localities, if any It is regretted that H E the Viceroy was not taken round these places as was evident from the press reports The H E was taken to the J J. Hospital where he must have seen more injured Hindus according to locality but the H E would have seen another picture had he been taken to the K.E M Hospital and other hospitals in the city

24 On 10 9 1946, I went to Poona and the next day I gave *Adjournment Motion* to the Hon'ble Mr Speaker in connection with the incidents where police protection was not given The Adjournment Motion reads as under

> "I beg to move an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the failure of the authorities to give protection to Muslims during the present riots in Bombay, resulting in huge and unnecessary loss of life and property "

The above Adjournment Motion was disallowed by the Speaker

25 On 12 9 1946, I, in company of Mr A A Khan (Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly), *interviewed His Excellency the Governor* from 11 a m to 12 30 p m at Government House, Ganeshkhind, Poona, in which I gave him several instances of partiality by police and inaction and injustices on the part of the Congress Government, which he noted down for inquiry

26 On 30 11 1946, I went with a deputation consisting of Messrs

A K Shaikh, H A Shaikh, A G Kazi and M M Bhaiji *to wait on His Excellency the Governor* After the deputation had finished with the Kolaba District matters, I took permission of H E. and informed him that it should not be understood that since we were sitting in the Peace Committee with Congress and Hindus and making joint efforts for peace, we had waived our demand for an impartial and independent inquiry into the Bombay riots, and that on three occasions, namely at the time when we first met with Congress representatives in presence of Prime Minister, secondly, when the Prime Minister called a joint meeting of Hindu and Muslim MLAs and MLCs, and thirdly again when the Prime Minister called a joint meeting of Hindu and Muslim MLAs and MLCs and Members of Corporation, I had clearly declared that we had not waived our right to demand an independent and impartial inquiry

27 On 3 1 1947, I received a phone message from the Assistant Secretary to H E the Governor of Bombay saying that *H E wished to see me* on Monday, the 6th January, 1947 As per invitation, I interviewed H E at Government House, Bombay, at 9 30 a m , on 6 1 1947 The H E said that he was a constitutional Governor but he would like to meet the leaders and know conditions of Bombay and he was advised by the Hon'ble Mr Chundrigar to contact me and the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa We discussed riot situation for 50 minutes

28 On 25th October 1946, Mr A A Jasdanwalla, the then Sheriff of Bombay, approached me to make a *joint peace effort with Congress* in view of Quaid-i-Azam's statement[3] which appeared that day in papers Several important Leaguers discussed the question with him and finally decided to agree to make joint peace efforts with the Congress provided the Congress agreed to the following points Ultimately, it was suggested by Mr Jasdanwalla that conditions put forward by us should be put forward by him as his suggestion, which was agreed to by us

a *Just treatment by police* To achieve this, one representative from [sic] each of Muslims and Hindus should go every morning to each police station to whom the police should show what action they took in each case, i e number of persons arrested, released, prosecuted, convicted or acquitted, posting of police, etc

b *Just treatment by Hindu Magistrates* One representative [each] of Muslims and Hindus should go through the judgments unofficially and see that no partiality was done

c *Stoppage of news and statements likely to excite* To achieve this, it would be necessary to impose pre-censorship or they may suppress [such news] in any other way

[3]Annex

d. *Boycott of Muslim mill workers and businessmen should be stopped* To achieve this, the Congress must condemn this and arrange for escort of Muslim mill workers
e. *Jail excesses should be stopped and innocent persons should be released* To achieve this, two persons from each community should visit jails and enquire
f *Protection of religious places* Police and military pickets must be posted at all religious places of both the communities
g *Action against press* Action must be taken against the offending press for publishing inflammatory writings and cartoons, and deposits should be refunded to Muslim press
h Reservation of right *to demand an impartial and independent inquiry like [sic] Bengal* but not a condition to joint peace efforts

At the first meeting of the Peace Committee convened by Mr A. A Jasdanwalla, the then Sheriff of Bombay, at the Brabourne Stadium (C.C.I.) on 27 10 1946 the Hon'ble Mr Kher, the Premier, was present by special invitation Mr Kher personally assured us at the said meeting that he and his Government would give their fullest co-operation in our efforts to restore peace in the city and remove the grievances of all concerned In view of this assurance, coming as it did from the Hon'ble Premier of the Province, we sat at the joint meetings of the Peace Committee with the sole object of getting the peace of the city restored and the grievances of the Muslims restored [*sic* for redressed] The Hon'ble Mr Kher even assured [us] that when the Congress and the League representatives suggested anything, *it would be done as if it was a law* At every meeting of the Central Peace Committee whenever our unanimous suggestion was turned down by Government, I used to bring out this assurance of the Premier, which had lost its magic influence by the constant refusal at every turn or request

Brief comments about the grievances enumerated above are as follows

a *Just treatment by police* has not been done and the police partiality has not ended Only representatives of Congress and Muslim League have been appointed for each police station to recommend release of innocent persons These representations [*sic*] have not been successful inasmuch as the recommendations of our Supervisors, Messrs Zahid Shaukatali and Osman Merchant, are also not given due weight
b As regards *just treatment by the Hindu Magistrate*, it was confidentially assured that the Magistrate, Mr Barot, would be advised not to be unjust, but this was not done for a long time and the Muslim public was very much agitated and wanted to make public demonstrations by calling *hartal* and by legally proceeding against him.

But in order to keep our promise of doing sincere joint peace efforts I persuaded [sic for dissuaded] Muslims several times from doing anything of the sort I even went to the length of stopping the Muslim students' deputation from waiting on the Chief Presidency Magistrate on 12 11 1946 and in the meanwhile kept reminding the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr S K Patil to arrange to put right Magistrate Mr Barot On 20 11 1946, Mr Jasdanwalla came to the Relief Office and Mr Abdul Gani Chhappra again asked for permission to proceed to get Mr Barot transferred I asked Mr Chhappra to speak to Mr Jasdanwalla who heard him and allowed him to proceed Mr Chhappra arranged to get a petition to the Home Minister signed by Muslim associations, Chambers and merchants, and a deputation led by Mr Habib I Rahimtoola waited on the Home Minister, without satisfactory result The High Court, while reviewing transfer applications of Muslims, ordered the Chief Presidency Magistrate to submit a scheme for trial of riot cases by different magistrates and to lay down principles which could be followed by all the magistrates, as the varying sentences passed by Mr Barot and the haste with which he had disposed of cases without hearing defence evidence were subject to severe strictures by the High Court It may be noted here that on 2 9 1946, I drew the attention of the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the Commissioner of Police that a Hindu magistrate should not be appointed to try riot cases and non-Hindu and non-Muslim magistrates should be appointed as in the past The Chief Presidency Magistrate said that a senior magistrate at Mazagaon was always appointed to try riot cases and it always happened in the past that senior magistrate at Mazagaon used to be a non-Hindu and non-Muslim, and therefore he could not agree to our demand, whereupon I protested On making further enquiries it was learnt that when Mr G R Khairaj was the Senior Magistrate at Mazagaon, Mr Brown himself was specially brought to try riot cases This fact was brought to the notice of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr Brown, who said that it was for the Government to make special appointment as they did at that time One more Hindu magistrate was appointed to try riot cases at Bandra in the face of our opposition and protests In this connection, an editorial from the *Times of India* dated 1 2 1947 is reproduced [below].

MAGISTRATE AND POLICE

"Communal stabbings have not died out in Bombay On the contrary they occasionally flare up, as they did recently, into riots In these unhappy circumstances it is the duty of the authorities—as it must be the duty of every peaceful citizen—to assist the police in every way to deal effectively with a deplorable situation Much comment has therefore been caused by some remarks made by a City Magistrate in the course of his judgment in a riot case last week Two persons were charged with assaulting a police officer with soda water bottles and the police officer, according to the prosecution, had to resort to firing in self-defence The case had several ugly features A man was stabbed, feelings were running high, and a large collection of aerated water bottles and gunny bags filled with stones was found on the roof of a building in the disturbed locality Apparently the police had trouble enough, in all conscience, over the situation The magistrate acquitted the accused and made severe strictures on the conduct of the policeman concerned We have no quarrel with his findings, which may be justified by the evidence in the court But the magistrate's remark that the non-production by the police officer of the bottle aimed at him or broken pieces of it 'took the wind out of his sails', strikes one as singularly inept and open to serious objections

"The demand for production of the weapon of offence in normal cases of assault is not unusual But to expect a policeman in the midst of a riotous mob to collect and preserve the pieces of bottle thrown at him, appears to us to be absurd In these circumstances there can be no warrant for constituting the mischievous missile as the *corpus delicti*, the absence of which takes the wind out of the prosecution's sails From the opposite standpoint, if the production of the bottle is to be the crux of the matter, nothing could be easier for the prosecution than to produce an aerated water bottle broken or intact What evidentiary value can it have? Magisterial zeal in rigorously scrutinizing the conduct of the police, particularly when firing is resorted to, is to be commended But the police are entitled, as we have said, to public support and sympathy in the extremely difficult and dangerous duties which they have to perform and nothing should be said, at least judicially, which is calculated to [*sic*] their burdens"

c In connection with the *stoppage of news and statements*, the so-called "Popular" Government has effectively put a gag on Muslim newspapers and propaganda, yet Mr Gandhi's propaganda which is being carried out by means of prayer meetings is broadcast all over

India and abroad Events have shown that the entire Press here is controlled by the Congress Mr Gandhi has taken full advantage of this to broadcast his views and criticisms on communal questions The activities of the Congress Socialist leader, Mr Jai Prakash Narain, are given full run through the Press and he is allowed with impunity to vomit the communal poison to his heart's content He has chalked out a programme for the general revolution in India, which was reported in the *Indian Nation* of Patna, dated 19 12 1946, and which is reproduced hereunder

"The Governors and those officials who would stand in the way of the revolution should be arrested and jailed

"All Government institutions such as law courts, police stations, treasuries should be occupied and people's *raj* established

"Simultaneously there would be recruitment to a new army and police force to prevent re-occupation of the captured territory

"There would at the same time [be a] general strike in the country to paralyse all communications and factories

"Small independent units of administration thus formed would link up into an independent Indian Government "

Mr Jai Prakash Narain further stated that "the above programme did not violate the Congress ideal of *Ahimsa*, which during the war had agreed to killing Germans and Japanese in return for a mere National Government in Delhi under a British Viceroy" Such irresponsible and full of [*sic*] inciting utterances did not come under the censorship of the Press and the Hindu Press gave full publicity to the words without any action being taken against them, and yet a Muslim newspaper of Bombay, *Iqbal*, was made to pay deposit for having merely published O P 's [Orient Press] report of the number of Muslims killed in Bihar happenings, although through mistake a reduced number of casualties was printed, i e 3,000 casualties were printed instead of 30,000, as against this, worst reports of Noakhali were published by Hindu Press, which were proved false, but against whom no action was taken Not only this, but many telegraph[ic] messages about the disturbances in Bombay sent by Mr Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, and others to Quaid-i-Azam and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan were withheld by the Bombay Government under Rule 15 of the Indian Telegraph Rules, as the information sought to be conveyed was considered *false*

d As regards *boycott of Muslim mill workers*, Hindu workers of the textile mills refused to work unless Muslim workers who were working in mills in very small numbers were dismissed Mill authorities gave them leave for a month or two to some and

discharged others and thus pacified Hindus When written to, the Mill Owners Association replied by their letter of 11 10 1946 denying this I again pointed out by my letter of 17 10 1946 that these were the recorded facts at several police stations It is a pretty long time that Muslim mill workers have been rendered unemployed by the refusal of Hindu mill hands to work if Muslims were allowed to work, and Hindu workers assault Muslim workers when the latter go to mills What has Government done for these innocent, helpless men who are starving on account of the obstinacy of the Hindu workers? No amount of persuasion would be effective but if Government were to take active interest in the matter and declare that the workers who were unable to go to their mills for these reasons would be paid their wages by Government This would have the desired effect since Hindu workers would be jealous of Muslim workers getting the wages without work In my interview with the Hon'ble Mr Kher, which was arranged by the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa, I pointed out to him that Muslims who were not allowed to work in mills by Hindu workers and also could not go to other work, were starving and were consequently getting desperate I also drew his attention to the most unreasonable attitude of the Manager and the Managing Agents who had ultimately supported the Manager of the Hindustan Mills in not opening the gate on the Ripon Road so that Muslim mill workers could pass in and out of the mill without any danger as Muslims were being stabbed when going in and coming out of the mill from its gate on the Agripadda Road, and to stop these stabbings, the Inspector of Police had made this suggestion to the Manager of the mill It is understood that the argument was that the Hindu mill workers would object to this privilege being given to the Muslim mill workers Thus it could be presumed that the riot was not kept going by *goondas* alone but by people in such high places as the Manager and the Managing Agents of the mill I also drew Mr Kher's attention to this and the Gold Mohor Mills incident of 6th December 1946 On that day, 8 Muslims went to work in the Gold Mohor Mills, Main Road, Dadar, and when the mill was closed at midnight, the Muslim workers, as usual, wanted to pass the rest of the night in the mill compound but the Manager forcibly and cruelly ordered them to go to their rooms When they went out, they were attacked by a crowd of Hindus with the result that two Muslims were fatally stabbed and the rest again ran to the mill but the Manager, who himself saw the two Muslims being stabbed to

death, drove them out of the mıll and also dıd not allow them to use the phone to get polıce help The polıce have not taken any actıon ın thıs serıous matter although a complaınt was sent to the Superıntendent of Polıce and the Commıssıoner of Polıce on 10 12 1946 and I myself requested Deputy Commıssıoner of Polıce, Mr Kamte, on 30 12 1946 to enquıre I agaın went to the Bhoıwada Polıce Statıon on 6 1 1947 and enquıred of the Inspector who saıd that he had not receıved the complaınt and therefore arranged [sıc for asked us] to arrange to send hım a copy the next day, whıch was done But stıll no result ıs known ın spıte of offıcıally remındıng the Deputy Commıssıoner of Polıce, Mr Kamte, on 23 1 1947 At my request, Mr Mohammad Umer Rajab, MLA, had compıled a lıst of Muslım mıll workers who were unable to go to theır mılls Copıes of thıs lıst were sent by me to the Hon'ble Mr Kher, the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr Jasdanwalla I had also a talk on thıs subject wıth the present Sherıff of Bombay, Mrs Mıthıan Lam, on 16 1 1947 and she kındly promısed to do her best ın the matter and wrote to me on 27 1 1947 that the report about the Hındustan Mılls was correct and that she was movıng ın the matter She phoned to me on 4 2 1947 and ınformed me that the Managıng Agent, Mr Krıshnaraj Thakersı, was not agreeable to open the gate as he was afraıd the Hındu mıll workers would go on strıke

e Nothıng effectıve was done about *jaıl excesses* but some releases were effected of both Hındus and Muslıms

f In spıte of my poıntıng out strongly that mosques and *durgahs* ın the north of Bombay were entırely at the mercy of Hındus, no mılıtary or armed guards were posted but at some places only *lathı* polıce have been posted on 30 10 1946

g As poınted out ın para c above, no actıon has yet been taken for publıshıng ınflammatory wrıtıngs and cartoons As late as 18 1 1947, the *Natıonal Standard* of that date publıshed a pıctorıal story entıtled "Story of a conversıon" ın whıch was depıcted a fıght wıth knıfe between a Hındu and a Muslım and besıde thıs ıt [*sıc*] was mentıoned "forcıble conversıon" ın the Bengal rıots Thıs was brought to the notıce of the Home Department by my letter of 20th January 1947 The Secretary to the Home Department ın reply to my letter ınformed me that the *attentıon* of the edıtor of the *Natıonal Standard* had been drawn to that cartoon

29 It was reported to me on 29 9 1946 that one Mr Awaste, a reporter of the *Bombay Chronıcle*, was ıncıtıng the *bhayyas* of the mılk stables to desert ın order *to ruın the mılk ındustry* ın the hands of Muslıms, although the stables were ın Hındu localıtıes In spıte of the

reports made to the Commissioner of Police, Home Minister, Civil Supply Minister, Milk Commissioner and the Central Peace Committee, no action was taken although milk and milch cattle were being wasted at the time when India was passing through famine Had it not been for the fact that the Government in power is of Congress, the mischief makers would have been immediately locked up behind bars

30 By a pre-arranged plan, the Hindu merchants began the *systematic boycott of Muslim merchants* and milk industry in the hands of Muslims was ruined Many unauthorised hand bills were distributed in which various trades of Muslims were mentioned and Hindus were invited to take them in their hands thereby ruining the few trades which were lying with the Muslims Hindus were also threatened with their lives not to deal with Muslim merchants These facts were brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Police but the most "efficient and famous" Bombay C I D did not bring a single culprit to book and if enquiries were made, it would reveal that the C I D did not make substantial efforts to trace any culprit Thus here, as usual, the so-called "popular Government" failed to take any step in this direction

30A It was noticed that Muslims were very much inconvenienced during the riots to draw their rations of *food-grains* Most of the ration cards of the Muslims were registered with the *bania* food-grain merchants who were located in the Muslim areas and who naturally closed their shops at the outbreak of riots Mr Osman Haroon was put in charge of this work and he successfully persuaded the Rationing Authorities to permit such ration card holders to change their shops from the *bania* merchants to the Government Grain Shops in their respective localities Similarly, some Muslims had registered their ration cards at Government Grain Shops which were located in Hindu localities and these Muslims were finding great difficulty in respect of ration food On their representation, Mr Osman Haroon approached the rationing authorities and persuaded them to open new Government Grain Shops to enable these Muslims who had registered at Government shops in Hindu localities to re-register their cards at the newly-opened Government Grain Shops in Muslim localities It is noteworthy that Khan Bahadur Dalal, the Controller of Government Grain Shops, co-operated with us in these trying times

31 As it was feared, and also expressed by many, that Muslims would not get proper medical treatment, and in view of the fact that most of the hospitals in Bombay are in charge of Hindus where Muslims rarely get the kind of treatment they should get, and also when it was seen that Muslim patients were being discharged from hospitals prematurely, the Jam'iyyat al-Ulama-i-Islam started a *temporary hospital* for Muslims at

Omer Hall, under qualified doctors In the beginning, it was run by donations collected by the Jam'iyyat but since [*sic* for now] it is financed by the Relief Committee The Hospital has done and is doing very laudable and useful work It can be very easily appreciated how a man would feel when he was to be treated at a time when his life was in danger by a person belonging to the same community a member of which had stabbed him and when feelings were running high amongst the communities A movement is on foot [*sic* for afoot] to establish a permanent hospital in a Muslim locality and negotiations are going on for a plot at Mohamedali Road, which Government refused to give as they intend to build police quarters there.

32 On 6 11 1946, at the Central Peace Committee meeting, I told them that it would be of no use as well as impossible to sit on the Peace Committee whilst injustices by the police and magistrates were continuing and the Press was letting loose all sorts of inflammatory writings and the promised military was absent on *'Id* Day (5 11 1946) I described very graphically and tragically several instances and said that unless these things were put right immediately, we would reluctantly have to withdraw from the Central Peace Committee My heart was very heavy on account of determined attacks by the Hindus on peaceful Muslims going home from *'Id* prayers and the utter failure of Police to protect them inasmuch as the promised military at dangerous places was not there and as such the Muslims were let down very miserably Mr S K Patil and others sympathised with us and it was decided that Mr Jasdanwalla should take appointment with the Hon'ble Mr Kher and we should put all our grievances before him and it was assured that they would be removed immediately The next day, instead of seeing Mr Kher, I was taken to the Hon'ble Mr Morarji Desai whom Mr Hasan A Shaikh was also waiting to see in connection with the Kolaba disturbances Since the Kolaba District disturbances were most urgent, the matter was taken up and it took too much time Mr Desai wanted me to write to him about the release of 48 Muslims of the Mogul Building I told him that in riots such things were not done by writing but by personal contact, setting aside red-tapism, but he still insisted on my writing to him and wasting time and detaining the Muslims in custody without having any pity on the ladies and children who were alone On top of this, it grieved me very much when he said that he was of the opinion that although Muslims in the north were in a minority and in precarious condition surrounded by Hindus, still they started the trouble The next day, 8 11 1946, the matter was reported to the Peace Committee and, as we had no chance of satisfaction from the Hon'ble Mr Desai, it was decided that Mr Jasdanwalla should take up the matter with the Commissioner of

Police After a few days, 45 out of 48 Muslims were released and later on the remaining 3 were also released It must be noted here that the innocent Muslims could have been released immediately and their *'Id* would not have been spoilt and their ladies and children would not have remained unattended and in worries without their menfolk, had the Home Minister acted promptly Here it must also be noted that the Prime Minister, Mr Kher, had given the assurance to the Peace Committee at its first meeting, which was attended by him, namely that "when Congress and League representatives suggested anything, it would be done as if it was a law" In this case, not only the Congress and League representatives had agreed but the whole Central Peace Committee had agreed, yet the desired action was not taken Mr Desai was informed about the insult of ladies after the arrest of all their menfolk and that the matter was not taken in the manner in which it should have been taken, i e in such cases at least the officers against whom a serious complaint was made ought to have been suspended but no action was taken and only formal enquiries were made How could such disregard of insult to ladies be tolerated? It is a matter of regret that, in spite of all these, no enquiry whatsoever was made for the most unjust and unchivalrous action of the Hindu police officers in arresting all the 48 male members from the Mogul Building, which was surrounded by thousands of Hindus who often used to attack them, and leaving the children and ladies alone at their tender mercy at night As regards complaint of ladies against Hindu police officers, it is understood that necessary action of holding an identification parade was not taken and the officers against whom the complaint was made were not suspended Inquiries into the antecedents of the lady who had complained were only made as to whether she was married, although it was proved by independent evidence of a Christian lady residing in the building, who deposed that the police officers visited the building at night after the arrests and touched her and enquired whether she was married Several times the matter was brought to the notice of the Central Peace Committee and Mr Jasdanwalla was requested to see the Commissioner of Police so that thorough and early enquiry be made, and, as advised by Mr Jasdanwalla, a letter was addressed by me on 14 11 1946 to the Commissioner of Police and marked "For special attention of Mr Wilson", but nothing was done There is much excitement amongst Muslims on these accounts but we are pacifying them It cannot be said how long we can be successful in controlling the excited Muslims

33 In order to avoid trouble on account of *cow sacrifice,* we arranged with great difficulty and persuasion and were very much successful in reducing the number of cows to be sacrificed in the north of Bombay Last year 372 cows were sacrificed whereas this year only 11 cows were

sacrificed in the north of Bombay In spite of this, the Hindus were most unreasonable and they were objecting to the cows being sacrificed at the places where they used to be sacrificed for a number of years in the past At Mahim, Mr Bhaiji, Inspector of Police, visited the place where the cow was to be sacrificed and gave favourable opinion Muslim public were of opinion that if they were to give way in their just claim of sacrifice of cow there where it used to be sacrificed for years past, the next thing would be that the Hindus would take objection to their crying of [sic] *azan* and to their offering of prayers even in their own homes Mr S K Patil and others Congress leaders who were taken to the spot stated that the objection of Hindus was baseless and the spot was best out of all the spots in Bombay However it was decided ultimately that the cow should be brought in a closed wagon at night during curfew hours, the place should be screened off, and the cow should be sacrificed there and the corpse removed to *durgah* in a closed wagon where it should be cleaned and cut, which would take longer time The sacrifice ceremony would take only a few minutes

At Kamatipura, a cow used to be sacrificed before the *masjid* but this year the Hindus objected in spite of the Muslims agreeing to screen off the place specially that year Discussion about this was going on in the Central Peace Committee when a phone message was received urgently on account of a dispute over sacrificing of a cow at Kamatipura I agreed to persuade Muslims according to suggestions of Mr Silam to sacrifice the cow in the compound of the building opposite the *masjid* and to screen off the place We all went to Kamatipura and were luckily able to persuade the Muslims to agree to the suggestion of Mr Silam but, in spite of this, the Hindus were not satisfied and were insisting that the cow should be sacrificed in the *chowk* of a house at some distance from the *masjid* However, after much persuasion, the cow was sacrificed before the *masjid* and the Hindus abused Messrs Jasdanwalla, Patil, Silam and others The attitude of Hindus both at Mahim and at Kamatipura was most unreasonable and the Muslims were afraid that if they gave up their right to sacrifice the cow at the particular places, the Hindus might object in future to cow sacrifice altogether However, we pacified the Muslims on this head Nothing untoward occurred at Mahim as was threatened, but at Kamatipura the Hindus harassed Muslims for some days by stone, bottle, and acid throwing and stabbings

34 In view of the prevailing disturbances in Bombay, especially in the north of Bombay, Muslims were in a fix about holding the annual *Majalis* in *Moharram* They were also afraid that if they were to forgo their right of holding these *Majalis* at the usual places this year, they may be disallowed in future also To safeguard the just claims of

Muslims in this behalf, it was arranged with the Commissioner of Police to clarify the position By his letter dated 21 11 1946, he replied to my letter of 20 11 1946 that "applicants who have voluntarily waived their claims on this occasion will not be penalised in the future" On the strength of this surety from the Commissioner of Police we persuaded the Muslims not to hold *Majalis* in open places in the north of the city where Hindus predominate, during *Moharram* in these abnormal times, and I here record my appreciation of the conduct of our Muslim brothers who readily agreed to our advice In many instances during the riots Muslims have proved by their actions their respect for discipline and solidarity

35 The Provincial Rationing Authority, all of a sudden, stopped issuing *petrol coupons* on 8 10 1946 and asked our representative to get a certificate from the Commissioner of Police, without realising how we would run our transport which was our lifeline in these disturbed times We managed to get a certificate from the Commissioner of Police by 11 10 1946, but again the coupons were not issued on 12 10 1946 (Saturday), and inquiries were instituted as to why we wanted so much petrol The day being Saturday, the office was closed before I could contact it as I had been to the north of Bombay with Mr Zahidali Shaukatali So we had to go without petrol coupons for Saturday and Sunday I saw Mr Rebello, as Mr Witfield was out of Bombay, and protested to him for not asking us to produce next time [*sic*] the certificate of the Commissioner of Police On the last occasion when we were given coupons [belatedly] which would have given us sufficient time to obtain certificate and would not have put ourselves to trouble and would not have endangered the lives of Muslims who were [living] in small pockets in the north of Bombay near *durgahs* and *masjids* and other places surrounded by thousands of Hindus, whose lifeline was motor transport I also pointed out that if they wanted to make enquiries, they should have, at least, if not earlier, started the same simultaneously when they asked for the certificate from the Commissioner of Police so that further precious time would not have been lost I also explained that there was no comparison of requirements of petrol by Muslims and Hindus as Hindus had many free accesses and the only transport they needed was from Mandvi to Javeri Bazar to cross the Mohamedali Road whereas, as already explained, Muslims required transport between north and south for going to K E M Hospital and from one place to another in the north and also to go to their work to Mills etc Mr Rebello asked me to write this When I insisted that I should have some coupons, he gave me coupons for 200 gallons Accordingly I wrote the letter on 14 10 1946 and particularly pointed out that in future if they wanted to make any enquiries or any changes, they should let us know in good time Further coupons for 200 gallons were given on 19 10 1946 on

my pressing Mr Witfield for it, who said that he was referring the matter to the Home Minister on 22 10 1946 I arranged with difficulty with Mr Witfield to get coupons at the rate of 75 gallons per day against our requirements of 95 gallons per day We had a lot of trouble to meet the requirements of our several Relief Organisations spread out in the whole of Bombay On 21 11 1946 all of a sudden our petrol coupons quota was reduced from 75 gallons to 20 gallons a day without having any regard to what I had written to inform us in good time so that Muslims in the north may not be put into dangerous position I brought this matter to the notice of the Central Peace Committee and asked them whether they considered it advisable to let the Muslims in the north go on foot to their work in mills etc , but the whole Committee was unanimously of the opinion that it was not advisable and it would again make the riot position worse as stabbing of Muslims in the north would have repercussions in the south, and it was decided that Mr Jasdanwalla should see the Home Minister I enquired of Mr Jasdanwalla the next morning (Saturday) when he informed me that the Home Minister had asked him to see him at 3 p m that day, which meant we could not get petrol coupons on Saturday, and Sunday was closed entirely The Home Minister had no anxiety about the loss of lives of the Muslims I therefore phoned Mr Drew, Secretary, Home Department, and explained to him the situation when he agreed that the cut was drastic and said that I should send somebody to Mr Witfield after an hour or so I phoned Mr Witfield after one and a half hours when he informed me that our quota was increased to 30 gallons I told him that it was absolutely insufficient and, that day being Saturday, it would be impossible to see Mr Drew and get his instructions for higher quota and therefore suggested that he should give me 10 gallons extra for 10 days so that I could carry on with difficulty till Monday when I could go further in the matter He agreed but when I sent my representative, coupons for 70 gallons were given, which put us to trouble again I again enquired of the Central Peace Committee on Monday (25 11 1946) whether I should allow the Muslims in various dangerous pockets in the north to go on foot to the mills and to their other vocations They were all of the firm opinion that it should not be done as it would be unsafe and Muslims would be stabbed and that would set back peaceful atmosphere that was being created I strongly protested against the action of the Home Minister in not deciding the matter immediately and for not realising the seriousness of the matter and heartlessly telling Mr Pakvasa and Mr Jasdanwalla to see him that day (Saturday) at 3 p m It was decided that I should see the Hon'ble Mr Kher who was due shortly I saw Mr Kher on 27 11 1946 and he agreed to look into the matter and do the needful I told him that quotas of Congress and Hindu Mahasabha may also be restored

After three days our quota was increased to 50 gallons but was not restored to 75 gallons as was unanimously recommended by the Central Peace Committee Here it will not be out of place to state that on the very first day when we met to make joint peace efforts with Congress, the Prime Minister, the Hon'ble Mr Kher who was present at the meeting, had said that anything suggested by the Congress and Muslim League representatives would be done as if it was law I brought this matter to the notice of the Hon'ble Mr Kher on 8 1.1947 when I saw him and he promised to do the needful in the matter This meagre quantum of 50 gallons was again drastically cut short, without any previous intimation or warning, to 20 gallons on 29 1 1947 I protested again at this inhuman behaviour of the office of the Provincial Rationing Authority in not informing us of this cut well in advance I pointed out these facts to the Provincial Rationing Authority through my letter dated 31 1 1947 and sent copies of this letter to Messrs Kher, Pakvasa, and Jasdanwalla, and to the Commissioner of Police

36 *VIGILANCE SCHEME* (Volunteers with *lathis*) was initiated at the instance of the Prime Minister at a meeting of the Congress Members of the Legislature held on 14 11 1946 without consulting or informing Muslim League Organisation The Labour Minister and Dr Gilder were entrusted with the direction of the scheme, who held meeting of the Congress members and allocated responsibilities for different wards to all Congressmen and went on with the scheme, and when volunteers were posted with *lathis* at Parel on 22 11 1946, the information reached us that the Muslims who were in minority and in a precarious condition in the north felt grieved and argued that the minority needed protection and their volunteers should have been given the advantage of having *lathis* for protection This matter was brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Police on 25 11 1946, who enlightened me that there were two parties amongst Hindu gymnasiums and Hindu *Mavalis* [*sic*] were stabbing Hindus and therefore an exception was made for that locality only and *lathis* were given to the Hindu volunteers When I demanded that our Muslim National Guards should also be allowed to carry *lathis*, he told me to write to him when he would forward the letter above [*sic*] I had brought this matter in the Central Peace Committee on 25 11 1946 when Mr Thakur told me that our volunteers could also have *lathis* I wrote to the Commissioner of Police on 27 11 1946 confirming what had transpired in my interview with him and requested him to allow the Muslim National Guards also to carry *lathis* in the north of Bombay and places like Islampura, Kamatipura, Bhandari Street near Round Temple, etc, where Muslims were surrounded by Hindus, but no permission was granted In my interview with the Prime Minister on 27 11 1946 I pointed out to him

about giving *lathis* to Hindu volunteers in the north of Bombay whereas Muslims were neither consulted nor *lathis* were given to the Muslim National Guards which [*sic*] they were more entitled to have them on account of their being in minority and in precarious condition there He called Mr Nanda, Labour Minister, to explain to me the matter Mr Nanda told me that our volunteers could also have *lathis* if we were prepared to take responsibility for any stabbing of Hindus in Muslim locality as the Hindu volunteers had taken responsibility I asked for a copy of the scheme so that I may study the same with our *Salar-i-Suba* of the Muslim National Guards and discuss the matter with him He promised to give me a copy of the scheme within a couple of days as he was giving final touches to it with his colleagues I also pointed out to him that in spite of the Hindu volunteers being posted with *lathis*, there were stabbing cases happening He said he would enquire into the matter I phoned Mr Nanda for the scheme on 28 11 1946 when he told me that he would give it to me the next day I asked him whether he had enquired about the stabbing cases in the presence of Hindu volunteers with *lathis*, he told me that there was one case on the very first day when the volunteers had not settled down and therefore no responsibility could be attached to them Thereafter, telephonic enquiries were made for the scheme and when I was laid up with my leg trouble from the evening of 30 11 1946 (Saturday), I entrusted the matter to Mr Killedar (Vice-Chairman) and Mr Hashemali Inamdar, the *Salar-i-Suba* They also reminded Mr Nanda several times and ultimately the scheme was submitted to the Central Peace Committee on 10 12 1946 The scheme was fully considered by us and was found most objectionable, especially the preamble in which it was stated that "the persistent complaint that the police force was not adequate and its conduct left much to be desired and the growing feeling amongst the people that Government was somehow not able to cope with the situation set us all thinking" and further on it mentioned that "political and communal parties had a stake in keeping this mass hatred alive They supported and sustained it when it expressed itself in criminal activity There was a campaign in progress on both sides to feed the spirit of retaliation and to provoke acts of aggression" It should be noted that our party had no stake in keeping the mass hatred alive as we, being in the minority and under *Congress Raj*, were the most sufferers and as such Muslims could not be one of the parties and therefore the parties mentioned should be admittedly Congress and presumably Hindu Mahasabha Moreover it was considered to be most unfair to have initiated the scheme on 14 11 1946 with the Congress members without our knowledge, and also the appointments of ward members (all Congressmen) were made on that

day and the scheme was actually put in force and the Hindu volunteers were posted on 22 11 1946 with *lathis* and, in spite of our asking for the scheme so that we could also take advantage of the same The scheme was given to us only on 10 12 1946, i e nearly after a month when the scheme was proving a failure as cases of stabbing were happening in the presence of Hindu volunteers with *lathis* and nothing was known as to what action was taken against them for the responsibility undertaken by them, although reports were received that these volunteers abetted the stabbings It was therefore decided to reject the scheme and lodge our protest for the unfair and unjust treatment to the minority which ought to be given preference in protection by a just Government Our members in the Central Peace Committee rejected the scheme, with protests, on 10 12 1946 and they were supported by Congress and Mahasabha members who also said that the scheme had failed It can easily be realised that such treatment by Government put us in a very awkward position with Muslim masses who were very much agitated over this unfair and unjust treatment

37 *Sikhs* are allowed to carry *kirpans* throughout India as they carry them according to the dictates of their religion, provided they do not misuse the privilege There are further conditions also attached to this privilege, viz that the *kirpans* should not be longer than 9 inches and should be carried covered and under clothes These conditions are not fulfilled and the Sikhs are carrying large *swords* unsheathed and they fully demonstrate them in public places They are making a business of it as they are employed by Hindus on account of their swords It was also reported that unscrupulous Sikh leaders sold swords to Sikhs at black market prices Instances are also not wanting where Sikhs have used their *kirpans* and swords and taken part in riots Muslims have made several representations to the Home Minister and the Commissioner of Police giving several instances and arguing that just as the Muslims are not able to answer the call of *namaz* during curfew hours, the Sikhs also should not be allowed to carry the *kirpans* or they may [be] allowed to carry a miniature of *kirpan* to fulfil the letter of the law of their religion, and if they insist that the spirit of law is to carry it for self-defence, they should be told that those persons who are licensed to carry arms for protection and self-defence are not allowed to do so during these abnormal times Bombay Government has allowed Sikhs to carry *kirpans* provided they behave well as a community The *kirpan* is now becoming longer and it could not be imagined where it would stop The representations of Muslims have

not received any satisfactory response from the Government and the Muslim public are much agitated and excited over this question

38 It was decided in the Central Peace Committee that there should be extra precautions taken on *'Id* Day, i e 5 11 1946, and the Commissioner of Police sent Inspector Bhaiji with whom Mr Issabhoy Chhapra went and pointed out several *masajid in the north of Bombay where military pickets were necessary* Military pickets were promised by the Commissioner of Police and we assured Muslims of the same but, to our great surprise, we found that *the promised military pickets were not there* and our position became very awkward in the eyes of poor Muslims who were let down by our assurances Only a few military lorries were patrolling Muslims according to our advice behaved most peacefully but the Hindus threw acid and stones and stabbed peaceful Muslims returning from *masajid* after prayers It was admitted by the Central Peace Committee that the behaviour of Muslims was most satisfactory whereas Hindus did not behave well and put their leaders to shame No explanation of the failure to fulfil the promise of military pickets has still come forward in spite of reminding them about the same

39 At the meeting of the Central Peace Committee held on 20 1 1947, the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa suggested that the Committee should go *and visit various Peace Committees* I said that it would be better first to redress some grievances of both Hindus and Muslims, otherwise we would be confronted with rebuffs for doing nothing However, it was decided to visit only B and C Wards Mixed Main Peace Committees on 22 1 1947 at 6 p m At 6 20 p m on 22 1 1947 the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa, Mr R B Bole and myself went first to the junctions of Zakeria Masjid and Mandvi and were welcomed by both Hindus and Muslims and were given tea and garlanded Mr Osman Merchant, one of our supervisors and representatives at Police Station, and President of B Ward Mixed Peace Committee, made a speech explaining the efforts of the Committee, and putting forward the difficulties and thanking the Members of the Central Peace Committee for co-operating with them by their visit Mr Jasdanwalla joined us from here and we went to Round Temple and then met members of the C Ward Mixed Peace Committee Mr Kokil, the President of C Ward Mixed Main Peace Committee, was out of Bombay and therefore Mr Mansingh Gora Gandhi, the Vice-President, received us Here also we were entertained and garlanded but the attendance of Hindus was poor and we were told that they were busy erecting gates for "Bose Day" At both the places I was desired by the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa to assure them of full co-operation of the Central Peace Committee, which I did in a short speech

40 On 23.1.1947 the Congress *celebrated Subhas Bose Day* Hindus stoned Muslims, looted and set on fire shops belonging to Muslims in Hindu localities, abused the Muslim League, its leaders and Pakistan In Koliwada, Mandvi, Hindus hanged an effigy made of gunny bags, at which Muslims were much excited and a police officer asked Hindus to remove it and it was removed Lorries and cars were being driven very fast by Hindus, from Mandvi to Javeri Bazar, unchecked by police, in spite of their attention being drawn by me after an accident in which a car BMX 8355 had knocked down a Muslim

41 Although, owing to disturbances in Bombay, meetings were banned by the order of the Commissioner of Police, yet there was an "impressive flag salutation ceremony in the morning on the Gowalia Tank Maidan in which 200 I N A men and several uniformed students participated," as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 29 1 1947, while there was another flag salutation ceremony in the Congress House compound under the auspices of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee Mr Ratilal Gandhi, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, spoke on this occasion Not only this, [but] in the evening there was a "mammoth meeting" at Chowpatty Stands which was addressed by the nephew of Subhas Bose, Mr Arbind Bose It is interesting to note that several instances were the features of this auspicious day which have been "deplored" by the *Times of India* in its editorial dated 25 1 1947 which is reproduced hereunder

DEPLORABLE

"The deplorable disturbances which marked the celebration of "Subhas Bose Day" in various parts of India deserve the earnest consideration of Indian public as a whole, and of those responsible for the trouble in particular In every province a popularly elected ministry is now in charge of the duties of government These ministries are trying to perform one of their cardinal tasks—the maintenance of law and order—in circumstances of extreme difficulty Owing to internal political differences the ministries have been compelled to impose restrictions of various kinds, such as the curfew and bans on processions, in order to prevent communal warfare One would expect all patriotic Indians to regard it as their duty to help these Indian ministries to cope with a situation which is a menace to every citizen and to the country as a whole Yet what do we find? Members of certain political bodies in some of India's largest cities organise demonstrations and processions in defiance of police regulations, with the result that we have the same dismal tale of shootings and

lathi charges as that which prevailed under what the demonstrators used to describe as an alien Government Those who promoted Thursday's demonstrations presumably intended them to be peaceful and orderly, but the net result was that hooligans obstructed traffic, insulted inoffensive pedestrians, pulled people out of motor cars and finally stoned the police who intervened to protect the public If the leaders of the bodies concerned cannot control their followers, they have no democratic right to organise demonstrations which lead to assaults and bloodshed

"Where is the sense in all this? Not only do these disorders harass the public and besmirch India's name abroad, but they definitely tend to promote communal ill-feeling Students, particularly, have a responsibility to observe in a matter of this kind [*sic*] It is truly sad that what students start the *goondas* finish, in other words, the thoughtless acts of a few young men, who should be more concerned with their own education than with politics, lead directly to disturbances by hooligans which every patriotic Indian must deplore We do not say that under a democratic Government political bodies should not be allowed to hold demonstrations if they so desire, but everything depends on the circumstances, and there are times like the present when common sense should tell the organisers that the exercise of their rights is harmful to the State If a Government elected by the people is convinced that a certain type of demonstration at a time of political tension is likely to lead to rioting and bloodshed, then it has every right to exercise its authority, and the duty of every patriotic citizen is to support the Government in its task "

The birthday of the *Netaji* was also celebrated by burning foreign hats and ties and one correspondent has published his letter dated 24 1 1947, under the signature of "PED", which appeared in the *Times of India* of 29 1 1947 as under

HAT BURNING

To the Editor, the *Times of India*

"Sir,

The birthday of the late Subhas Bose was celebrated in Bombay, by burning foreign hats and ties and by forcing passengers to alight from vehicles

"That raises a question does the burning of a tie or a hat (a periodical malady like measles, small pox, etc) help us reach the goal of *Swaraj* sooner?

"Hat-burning does not bring about anything except heart-burning to the man who has lost his hat! He will get another but he will not get any enthusiasm stirred in his breast for nationalism and Congress

"If the wearing of a hat or a tie is anti-national and pro-British, why wasn't there some bold one present among the Indian audience which greeted Pandit Nehru at the airport in England recently, to snatch away and burn the tie and felt hat he himself wore?

PED"

42 It is also worthy of mention that the President of the Congress Mr S K Patil's car was stopped and he was asked by the mob to alight from his car and call out *Jai Hind* Hindu *goondas* demanded from Hindus money and even waylaid women demanding their ornaments As against this, the Muslims observed most peacefully the day, 25 1 1947, allotted for observance of *hartal on account of the arrests of Punjab Muslim League leaders, and declaring of Muslim National Guards on 24 1 1947 in the Punjab* [*sic*] No untoward incident marred this peaceful observance probably due to the fact that the Hindus thought that since Muslims were on *hartal* and if they (Hindus) were to commit any mischief they would get a good reply from the Muslims

43 *Independence day*, 26 1 1947 Trouble was started by Hindus in 13 and 14 Kamatipura Lanes from the night of 25 1 1947, when a few Muslim residents of the localities were attacked by a large number of Hindus Hindus looted a soda-water cart and attacked Muslims with bottles, [indulging in] stone throwing, abuses, playing of bands, gramophone records and loud speakers to the accompaniment of dancing by drunkard [*sic* for drunken] Hindus, which continued the whole day Bombs were also thrown by Hindus at several places

44 In every previous riot, we were given *protection to rescue* trapped Muslims from the areas in the predominantly Hindu localities This facility and assistance of the police was responsible in saving several lives But on this occasion the Commissioner of Police refused point-blank to give us any escort It may be noted that the [strength of] police force at the present time in Bombay is the highest as the police employed for the docks and on other security duties during the War period was now available for usual police duties Even so, the Commissioner of Police took a stubborn and obstructionist attitude and refused to grant any escort to the Muslims He, afterwards, on 4 9 1946, in the presence of H E the Governor, agreed to grant escort during the curfew hours which naturally meant that the people who were in imminent danger of being attacked had to wait for a good many hours before they or perhaps their corpses could be removed with belated police aid This inhuman

and irresponsible attitude of the Commissioner of Police left the Muslims helpless and several Muslims in the north had to be victims of Hindu *goondas* as they could not be rescued in time On 4 9 1946, in the presence of H E the Governor and the Home Minister, when Mr I I Chundrigar and myself were invited for interview by H E, the Commissioner of Police refused to give police escort for rescue work whereas on that very day press correspondents were given police escort for touring affected areas for getting news When this point was communicated to the Commissioner of Police by me by letter dated 5 9 1946, he replied that the escort was provided to enable the press correspondents to see for themselves the situation in the city This shows that the lives of Muslims were considered less valuable than news

45 There have been many reported instances where *police*, instead of helping and assisting the Muslims trapped in various pockets and surrounded by hordes of Hindus, have actually connived at the acts of Hindu *goondas* and how [*sic*] helped the culprits to escape As against this, if a Muslim police officer discharges his duties effectively and courageously by dispersing mobs, recovering looted properties and making some arrests, he is dubbed a terror by his wrathful superior officer, reminding the Muslim officer that the National Government was in power and suggesting indirectly at the same time that the miscreants should be approached only with folded hands and their offences should be connived at The reason for their action is obvious It is asked that [whether the] Government had clearly indicated their policy that no force should be used against a show or actual [use of] force by a mob, or that [whether] the officials understand this to be the policy, reframed at tremendous cost of innocent Muslims, from resisting [*sic*] to firing, which was the only means of protecting them Above all, the police officers appeared to be terribly afraid of Congressmen who haunt the police stations and officers day and night because of the power and influence they possess This state of affairs is obvious from the fact that the authority of Government is derived from the people, in other words Hindus They are the masters, and the servants whether they be Government officials or police, dare not obstruct the masters, who may have decided upon a certain course of action and desired to annihilate the Muslims Under this state of affairs *the Muslims certainly cannot depend for their safety on the police force* We have had the bitterest experience If today the police are, with a few exceptions, demoralised, weak and ineffective, who knows they will [*sic*] be indifferent in future? And if today police have failed to use force in time against aggression and have not enforced law for fear of the Congress Government, it is a moot question whether they will act differently in future

46 On 2 9 1946, *Dewji Jamal musafirkhana*, which has a *masjid* and an *imambara*, was attacked by a Hindu mob Police were summoned for help but in vain. When repeated requests for police help failed to secure the police assistance, I, on receipt of the news of this plight, went to the Dongri Police Station and persuaded the police to grant some assistance My request to station a police guard near the *musafirkhana* was turned down The result was that it was immediately attacked as soon as the police turned their back On several occasions attempts to set fire to it were also made

47 The *Kaiser Bagh* (a religious place) was also attacked the same day by a mob of Hindus Gurkhas and Sikhs from the Shukti Building side attacked with soda-water bottles, stones, sticks and knives The police were requested to carry out the search of the building and to post a guard but those appeals were ignored

48 On 17 9 1946, Messrs Zaveri Bros of Crawford Market were provided with police protection in the shape of one officer, 4 constables and 8 armed guards to remove their valuable articles from the shop Similar protection was given to this firm eight days previously also The members of the Market Area Muslim Relief Committee took 3 to 5 photos of this incident The Congress paper, *Bombay Samachar*, however, reported that police protection was readily provided for rescue work, yet no protection was given to those Muslims who were trapped in a predominantly Hindu locality in the north of Bombay

49 It is reported that in the immediate vicinity of Bhoiwada Police Station, *nine Pathans were killed on 3 9 1946* The Bhoiwada Police Station granted no protection, no arrests were made and no action was taken

50 At Kalachowkie an armed police guard was stationed near the mosque The Gurkha military was stationed at a short distance away from the police force at the police *chowkie* near Bawla Orphanage There was one fire section under an officer, yet in effect no protection was granted to *Muslims who were passing in cars or were being rescued in lorries*, and were stoned very heavily because both the Gurkha military as well as the Hindu police did not care to grant any protection to Muslims nor took any action against the aggressive Hindus

51 At Lal Bagh near Bharatmata Cinema, a military guard was posted while on the other side of the road there was a police guard Yet it is sad to note that the *two restaurants owned by Muslims were attacked, broken into, burnt and looted*, although the police and the military pickets were stationed at a distance of hardly 25 feet opposite the restaurant

52 At Lal Bagh a fire section had been stationed under an officer, yet a restaurant belonging to a Muslim, which was situated within 10 feet of

this police guard, was broken into, looted and burnt That *restaurant is now run by Hindus and is flying a Congress flag*

53 At Bangalipura, three fire sections had been kept near Koliwada, yet two fires were started by Hindus in the same building and the police granted no protection to the Muslims

54 In front of the *Taqi Mosque, Parel*, there was a police picket, yet the mosque was stoned from Krishna Nagar Building almost every night and the police did nothing in spite of numerous appeals made to them for help

55 Reports were received that *Hasanabad* (a religious place of H H The Aga Khan) was in danger of being attacked The information was immediately conveyed to the police and they were asked to post a guard [Had the] police [been] alive to their sense of duty, they would have immediately taken steps to prevent attacks on religious places But the police ignored this as in all [other] appeals The result was that *Hasanabad* was repeatedly attacked and the police arrived on the scene only once and had to open fire

56 The Muslims of *Khairuddin Masjid* at Kalachowkie sent a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police on 18 9 1946 that the *Gurkha military* and police were giving free licence to Hindus to butcher Muslims No action was taken by the police in this respect

57 A written complaint was sent to the Commissioner of Police on 18 9 1946 by Mian Gulshah of Dadar against the *Gurkha military*, which is reproduced below

> "I am a driver of the lorry of Syed Mir Badshah The number of the lorry is BMT 9470 On the 4th September 1946, at about 6 p m , I was driving the said lorry back from the Byculla Bridge towards Govindji Kini Road, Dadar, where I reside with my master I was accompanied by Syed Mir Badshah, the owner of the lorry, and one Feroz Khan, driver from Poona, both of whom were sitting by my side on the front seat The cleaner of the lorry, Abdul Mannan, was standing in the body of the car When we approached Lal Bagh Junction at the new Cement-Tram Stand, a party of armed Gurkha soldiers, under the direction of a line of Congress volunteers in *khadi* dress with red crosses on their arms and flags in their hands, beckoned to me to halt I had to obey the order, and stopped the lorry We were then directed by the Congress volunteers and Gurkha soldiers to proceed slowly along the Parel Road As soon as we started, the Congress volunteers signalled with their flags, to the occupants of the buildings on either side of the road to hurl stones at us At their regular storm of heavy stones burst on our heads and the lorry,

causing us severe injuries all over the body and seriously damaging the car *Some Sikhs armed with* kirpans, *and Hindus with sticks, tried to stop us* Not only this, they placed at short distances handcarts across the road to obstruct our passage As our lives were at stake and in imminent danger of certain death if we even slightly faltered I skilfully and successfully negotiated two such handcarts and, while negotiating the third cart, one front tyre burst near the Bharat Mata Cinema junction Even then I drove on and tried to overcome a fourth huge handcart opposite the Cement Chawls of the India United Mills (Sopari Bagh Mills), here the other tyre burst The lorry slipped and dashed against a tram line thus stopping our further progress Our hearts sank seeing a ferocious mob of Hindus converging on us Instinctively we all jumped out of the lorry and ran to save our lives, but our companion, Syed Mir Badshah, somewhat lagged behind He was set upon by the mob and stabbed and knocked down As luck would have it, a European police officer in a police lorry arrived there just then, and fired at the Hindu mob which melted away He then picked up Syed Mir Badshah, lying bleeding on the road, and also picked up and took all of us to the hospital where Syed Mir Badshah was detained We were taken to the Bhoiwada Police Station, where we learnt that our lorry was completely burnt down by the mob The value of the car was Rs 9,000 (Rupees nine thousand only)

"We regret to note that the Gurkha soldiers, instead of protecting us and taking any action against the mob of Sikhs and Hindus armed with *kirpans* and sticks, were conniving with the Congress volunteers to throw us at the mercy of the Hindu mob, under their very noses A few police constables were watching the fun of Muslims about to be butchered It appeared as if a free licence had been given to the Hindu mob to kill the Muslims, by the Gurkhas and the police stations there If it were not for the timely arrival of a European Police Inspector, we would not have survived to tell the above sorry tale"

58 On 7 9 1946 residents of Parel Mansion, King Edward Road, and Patel Terrace, corner of Jerbaiwadia Road, Parel, sent a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police to the effect that at 8 15 a m on 2 9.1946, *a few Pathans* were returning in a peaceful manner from the burial ground when a soda-water bottle was hurled at them by one Mayker, who resides on the 3rd floor of Patel Mansion The complaint also gives several names of Hindu *goondas* and

one Sikh As the Muslim residents of the above two buildings were in danger of their lives, they vacated their rooms leaving behind their valuable property, furniture, crockery, etc

59 On 10 9 1946, Mr Saifuddin Kasam Rajguri, B A (Hons), of Mahomedi Manzil, 2nd floor, 1st Pirkhan Street, Bombay, complained to the effect that on 7 9 1946 *Sub-Inspector Kamath*, attached to the Nagpada Police Station, came to his floor and began to *beat him* for no reason at all When the complainant protested, the Sub-Inspector shouted at him, abusing, "Go away, you bastard" His uncle, Mr M R Shah, and another relative went to Nagpada Police Station and informed the Inspector-in-charge about the incident But since the curfew hour was near and the police were busy, they returned home to go to the police station next morning Next morning the complainant, in the company of his father and relatives, went to Nagpada Police Station and handed over a written complaint to the Inspector-in-charge But since he was busy with some other urgent matters, he kept the complaint on the table In the mean time, the Sub-Inspector, against whom the complaint was made, came in and read the complaint Just then the complainant's relative, Mr S K Fakir Ahmed said, "This is the gentleman" Sub-Inspector Kamath caught hold of Mr Fakir Ahmed and giving him a blow said, "You are abusing", and further said that he was under arrest for disorderly behaviour at the Police Station Subsequently he was released on bail and the complaint was not recorded but the Deputy Inspector took the complaint and told Mr Saifuddin, the complainant, that he would enquire into the matter and asked them to go

60 On 25 9 1946, the Muslim inhabitants of Kaiser Bagh, Naigaum, and Kassam Mitha Building, Vincent Road, Dadar, made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police that *Hindus were throwing stones* on their buildings daily and when complaints were made to the police, they arrested about 20 Muslims from Khatri Kelaiwalla Building and all the tenants of Room No 10 of Mundia Building, Govindji Kini Road, including children The complainant gave several names of Hindu *goondas* who were causing mischief The complainant also mentioned that the police arrested one Muslim, Mahomed Nazir, a supervisor in Government Ordnance Depot, who was a Communist some 12 years back He had refused that he had committed any offence till then, yet the police did not arrest any of the Hindu *goondas* whose names the complainants had given in their application They also complained about the behaviour of Superintendent of Police of Bhoiwada Police Station, Mr Vanjara, Inspector of Police, Mr Desai,

Deputy Inspector, Mr Sarang, and Sub-Inspector Mr Pande, and all police constables who, being Hindus, had started a Hindu *raj* and were harassing the Muslims of that locality

61 On 3 9.1946, the Hindu residents of B I T Chawl Nos 8, 9, 10, 12 and 14, situated at Bellasis Road (off Foras Road), made an attack on a few Muslim residents of Chawl No 13 with sticks, bars, knives, etc The Muslims raised a hue and cry and when the police arrived they, instead of arresting the Hindus, belaboured the Muslims only Police Constable Nos 2799 D and 4667 D also assaulted the Muslims, and the Muslim *muezzin* (who calls for prayers) was also beaten by the Police who were prejudiced against the Muslims

62 On 25 9 1946, one Lal Khan Pathan, a rent-collecting contractor, Tulsi Pipe Road, Dadar, informed that, due to heavy stone-throwing by Hindus, Muslim residents of that locality left their rooms, whose locks were broken open by the Hindus and contents looted

63 One Wahidali, a building contractor, complained to the Commissioner of Police on 27 1 1947 that, due to communal riots, 42 Muslim residents of Building Nos 133 and 137, Bhawani Shanker Road, Dadar, left their houses after locking their rooms On 20 1 1947, he came to know that locks of their rooms were broken by the Hindus whose names the complainant mentioned in the complaint Articles were removed and the room was let to other Hindus after taking *pugrees* The complainant approached the police station at Bhawani Shanker Road but he was informed that he should rush to the court for summons case He requested the Commissioner of Police on 29 1 1947 to let him know the result of the inquiry but so far no reply has been vouchsafed to him

64 I received an anonymous letter in Gujerati, dated 6 1 1947, in which it was stated that stabbing of Muslims on 5 1 1947 on Vincent Road between Hind Mata and Chitra Cinemas was manipulated by the owner of "Jai Hind Cycle Shop", who keeps a gang of hooligans on the upper storey of his shop I forwarded this anonymous letter to the Commissoner of Police on 27 1 1947 for taking necessary action So far I have not received any communication from the Commissioner of Police on the subject

65 On 5 9 1946, the Secretary of the Parel Relief Committee informed the Commissioner of Police in writing that since 4 9 1946 Muslims of Parel had been entirely cut off from the rest of Bombay since the police appeared to have abdicated their powers to Hindu and Sikh hooligans who controlled the road from Byculla to Tilak Bridge The complainant mentioned an instance that on 4 9 1946, Muslim League volunteers, who had come in a lorry to rescue Muslims in north of Bombay, were so seriously

injured by stone-throwing of Sikh and Hindu hooligans that they could not return without police aid, which was refused Similarly, several Muslims in motor cars who ventured in the round [sic] were attacked by stones thrown from buildings on the opposite side of the road They sustained injuries on their heads and their cars were damaged A few police constables, who were stationed near Bharat Mata Cinema and Lal Bagh junction, did not render any assistance but merely looked on The police even refused to take down their complaints and no arrest was effected The Muslims felt that the Hindu police had given a licence to Sikhs to carry arms to murder Muslims The police, the complainant stated, seemed to be vigilant about innocent, victimised Pathans, a large number of whom have been butchered before their very eyes Yet their (Pathans') houses were searched and they were forcibly removed from their houses The complaints of Muslims were treated with contempt by the Bhoiwada Police Station and the police refused to give their help to rescue Muslim families

66 On 29 9 1946, at the interview with the Commissioner of Police, I objected to *the posting of Sikh and Gurkha military* who, instead of helping the Muslims in the north where they were in minority, were in fact helping the Hindus against the Muslims The Commissioner of Police told me to speak to the Brigadier Just as we were leaving the office of the Commissioner of Police, the Brigadier came, to whom I said that I wanted to speak to him and together we went again to the Commissioner of Police I informed the Brigadier of our sentiments regarding *Gurkha and Sikh regiments* and informed him that Sikh military was harassing Muslims at Sewri He wanted proof I told him that a complaint was made by Muslims at Sewri in my presence to Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr Wilkins, alleging that the Sikh military used to get drunk and go to the *chawls* inhabited by Muslims, and were harassing them and were threatening them to shoot them After much argument I told the Brigadier and the Commissioner of Police that I was afraid if things were allowed to continue, the Muslims might come in clash with Sikh and Gurkha military and then they should not blame the Muslim leaders

67 One *Bohra boy*, aged 15, was stabbed at Dawa Bazaar near Juma Masjid on 3 9 1946, and the Muslims were very much excited In the mean time stone-throwing was done from the building next to Mangaldas Market by Hindus in Pinjari Gali on Muslims To the surprise of Muslims the police opened fire on Muslims only I protested to the Deputy Commissioners of Police, Messrs Dyer and Harris

68 *Hindus were rarely searched* although Muslims were searched even in cars

69 In the north of Bombay where Muslims are surrounded by thousands of Hindus and are in a precarious condition [*sic*] When they are stoned, *Hindu officers arrest the Muslims only* and find in many places no suspicious Hindus to arrest The tenants of Kaiser Bagh at Naigaum made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police on 25 9 1946 that though Hindus were daily stoning the Muslims and butchering them, the police was using its power to arrest Muslims and to give them threats and not to the Hindus, as if the law, rules and regulations were only meant for the punishment of Muslims and not the Hindus Similarly, the tenants of the Mogul Building in Dadar also made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police on 29 9 1946 to the effect that the tenants of Mucadam Building indulged in stone-throwing and the police with whom complaints were lodged, instead of searching and arresting the *goondas* of the Mucadam Building, searched the Muslim tenants of the Mogul Building and threatened them It will be seen that in buildings like Mogul, Rehmat and Kassam Mitha, in the north of Bombay, where a small number of Muslims reside surrounded by thousands of Hindus, no Hindus were arrested On the contrary, Muslims were arrested when stoned and Muslims were accused of starting mischief by Hindu Police Officers in the north, whereas, for a similar instance in the south of Bombay, a large number of Muslims were arrested In one instance *125 Muslims were arrested*

70 Although *Hindus [throw] stones from their buildings* and it is pointed to the police, who even see the stone-throwing themselves, yet they (police) hesitate to search the Hindus' buildings

71 Hindus in the north of Bombay harass Muslims by [throwing] stones, bottles, acid, and by stabbing If arrests of Hindus were made by the police at the rate done [in the case] of Muslims in the south of Bombay, then *Hindus would have been arrested many times* more the number of their arrests

72 Two cases of stabbing of Muslims near Takia Masjid in the north of Bombay (Parel) took place at one spot on 4 10 1946 and in one case the assailant ran into Krishna Nagar Building and threw stones at Police Constable No 4300 who was chasing him Still the *Gurkha watchmen* of the building were not arrested although they helped the assailant to escape When I protested the arrests were ordered

73 Stabbing of Muslims used to take place near the Shirin Talkies in the presence of military and seven Muslim volunteers were arrested because they had *red bands* on their arms Putting of red bands is no offence and still, in spite of repeated requests to police, they did not release the Muslim volunteers

74 It is not known whether it was coincidence or deliberate planning that *hardly any European or Muslim police officer was at Bhonwada Police Station* and the Hindu officers did much *zulm* and injustice to Muslims and [showed] partiality to the Hindus Hindu police officers and Congress workers think that their *raj* was there, and the morale of European officers is also much affected owing to the fate of ex-Commissioner of Police, Bombay, Mr H E Butler, and lately that of Mr J C Wilson, who retired prematurely on 1 2 1947

75 Riots started from 1 9 1946 but the police began rounding up *bad characters* on police registers from 15 10 1946 It may well be asked as to why they were not rounded up in the beginning I wrote to the Commissioner of Police on 15 10 1946 to this effect without getting any reply It is understood that the police has not rounded up the real *goondas* and they have shown partiality in favour of Hindus inasmuch as Hindus of bad and doubtful character, including such Hindus who had previous convictions and were deported from Bombay, were not only not arrested but were made *Honorary Presidency Magistrates*

76 While *Ganpatis* were taken in lorries, *Sikhs* accompanied these with *unsheathed swords* and both Hindus and Sikhs were abusing the Muslim League, its leaders and "Pakistan", and though the Commissioner of Police was informed by me in writing on 10 10 1946, no action was taken

77 *Gora Gandhi's son* was arrested by the police and, in protest thereof [*sic*], Hindus closed their shops and bazaars The police had, therefore, to release him The Hindus took him in procession on 14 10 1946 through localities near Golpitha The processionists numbering thousands of Hindus went on abusing the Muslim League, its leaders and Pakistan, and the police took no action for the abuses and for the breach of Section 144 This was brought to the notice of the Commissioner of Police by me through my letter of 15 10 1946, without any result

78 Four Pathans were stabbed near *Sonapur*, who had gone to buy their rations They had asked for police protection which was not given Three of them died and very few arrests were made *A statement from police, showing for each stabbing or assault case what number of arrests were made and how many were bailed out by the police or by the magistrate and how many were actually tried and punishments awarded, if not acquired [sic for acquitted],would reveal the real state of affairs*

79 *A stabbing case occurred at Koliwada* and there was a commotion A merchant was loading his goods in a motor lorry at the time but on account of the disturbance the driver drove away the lorry and the merchant locked his godown and began running as his godown was in a Hindu locality He was arrested by a Hindu Sub-Inspector, Mr Swarp

The merchant was pleading before the officer to let him go He also said that in a hurry he had locked two of his assistants in the godown and he was afraid that Hindus might set fire to his godown and his two assistants might be burnt alive and he should at least be allowed to set them free The officer would not listen to him and also to me as I happened to be there The officer said that he had received a complaint from Hindus that the merchant was a mischief-maker, and that he was sending him to the police station for enquiries He was told to get the complainants also since, without them, how were the enquiries to be made? He replied that he could get the complainants any time as he knew them Fortunately for the merchant a police patrol lorry in charge of an Anglo-Indian officer, Mr Daniel, arrived and the officer took the merchant in his lorry, verified that the merchant's case was bona fide, and on opening the door of the godown found his two assistants locked in He rescued them and released the merchant, much to the disappointment of the Hindu Sub-Inspector This matter was reported to the Commissioner of Police through my letter of 6 9 1946, without any result

80 *Pork was thrown on masajid at Islampura, Bhandari Street near Round Temple and Kamatipura 4th Lane on* Bakr 'Id *day,* i e 5 11 1946 No arrests were made and no action was taken by the police although a couple of days back, on 3 11 1946, for the first time during the riot, a Hindu was stabbed in the next lane of Islampura, which is surrounded by Hindu localities The police on suspicion rounded up about 20 Muslims in the presence of Mr Zahidali and myself from Islampura, by cordoning off the entire *mohalla* and searching each and every room of all buildings inhabited by Muslims When I protested in the Central Peace Committee against this inaction of police in respect of this serious act of polluting *masajid* with pork, I was told that the Commissioner of Police was making serious enquiries and therefore he did not make a general round-up Although the argument was not at all convincing, we waited to see the result So far no progress seems to have been made and no arrests were made The Muslims are very much excited on account of this sort of coldly treating this matter of religious importance With the greatest difficulty and with the help of the appeal of Quaid-i-Azam in which he had advised Muslims not to retaliate, we could control the religious wrath and excitement of the Muslims in this instance as well as that of callous indifference of Home Minister in connection with the burning, looting and damaging of a *masjid* near Mahomedi Market and several *durgahs* referred to elsewhere, otherwise the position would have been very serious It is a matter of surprise that the Hindu Congress Government does not realise the gravity of religious upheaval, from whatever community it

may be, it is sure to rout the Government out Examples are not wanting to prove this statement and I purposely abstain for [sic] quoting them here in the interest of public peace

81 On the night of 3 1 1947 (Sunday), there was stone-throwing on *Mogul Building* (Wadi Mansion) near Hind Mata Cinema, Dadar The Muslims retaliated with bricks which they had got after breaking their *mori* walls The police arrested all male Muslims, numbering 48, from that building, leaving alone at night ladies and children in precarious and dangerous conditions surrounded by thousands of Hindus, and when the ladies pleaded with the Hindu police officers that they were taking away their menfolk leaving them alone, they, the Hindu police officers, said not to mind that and asked the ladies to prepare beds and they would be coming later to sleep with them The Hindu police officers also misbehaved with some ladies by touching them and making indecent offers It was proved by independent evidence of a Christian lady residing in the building, who deposed that the officers visited the building at night after arrests and touched her and enquired whether she was married On a previous occasion, on 28 9 1946, the Mogul, Rehmat and Kassam Mitha Buildings were stoned and no arrests were made of Hindus, on the contrary five Muslims were arrested When this was reported, Mr Zahidali and myself went to the buildings and made enquiries and went to the Bhoiwada Police Station, and when I made enquiries of the Deputy Inspector of Police, he informed me that the officer who went to round up could not find any suspicious Hindus from the buildings [or] around the buildings which were stoned but saw Muslims stoning from the terrace of Rehmat Building and arrested five Muslims Since then, and before, these buildings have been frequently stoned without any action being taken by the police Such unjust actions on the part of Hindu police officers compelled Muslims to retaliate Next morning, we were informed of this horrible action by the police of arresting all male Muslims, leaving ladies and children at the mercy of hostile Hindus who were stoning them frequently and insulting ladies Some ladies and children came to the Relief Committee Office and on seeing their plight the Muslims in the south got excited, but we pacified them by taking the ladies and children back to the north We went to the Bhoiwada Police Station and saw the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr Kamte, the Superintendent, and the Police Inspector, and strongly protested against the action of the police officer in arresting all the male members and leaving the ladies and children alone at the mercy of hostile Hindus and, on top of that, ladies were insulted, as stated above We argued that by retaliation the Muslims exercised their private right of self-defence against repeated attacks by large numbers of Hindus and inaction of the police Mr Kamte said that

the arrested Muslims were sent to court and they would be released on bail and the police officers had instructions not to object But in spite of police having no objection and they were not charged with any serious offence, the magistrate, Mr Barot, remanded them without any consideration to the next day, being *'Id*, and for a number of days the ladies and children had to remain at places of their relatives and acquaintances

82 Several matters were reported to us in which complaints of *stabbings in presence of police* were made, who generally turned their faces and allowed the assailants to escape A few of them are given below

On 7 12 1946, one Dilawar Husain made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police that on 15 [*sic*] 12 1946 he was stabbed by a Hindu *goonda* (whom the complainant could recognise by face) at his shop situated on the ground floor, Umbergam Building, corner of Jehangir Meherwanji Street, Parel When the assailant stabbed him from the back, the complainant caught hold of him The assailant wanted to stab him again but he caught hold of his hand which held the knife and cried for police for five minutes This fight continued for about five minutes by which time the assailant was joined by four or five other *goonda*s who told the assailant to leave the complainant as he was already stabbed thoroughly Unfortunately for the victim, neither any police constable nor police officer came to his help and the assailant ran away to the opposite buildings (Patel or Laxmi Building) and as usual no search for the assailant or round-up from the buildings was made by the police If such an incident would have occurred in the south, Muslims would have been arrested in large numbers

83 On 28 1 1947, at about 5 45 a m , one Abdulla, Master of Podar Mills, with five other Muslim workers, was returning home after the night shift when he was attacked by the *goondas* He was killed, three others were injured and two escaped In front of Sir Shapoorjee Broacha Mills there is Mogul Building which is occupied by police officers Four constables Nos 7945, 6299, 4641 and 1301 were on duty there P C No 7945 just overlooked the dead body of Abdulla Master and went ahead, when Deputy Inspector Karkhanis who had come down from Mogul Building by then, went to the dead body and called P C No 7945, but he did not hear it D I Karkhanis called loudly, whereupon P C No 7945 turned back and saw the Deputy Inspector standing beside the dead body P C No 7945 was asked by the Deputy Inspector if he had phoned to the police station about the murder He said he did not Meanwhile Sub-Inspectors Patil and Vaidya had come there, Deputy Inspector Karkhanis asked them what they wanted to say S I Vaidya said, "You ask me, but I am helpless I know all the *goondas* here, but Deputy Inspector Shevade says to me that I am a Hindu and so I must not arrest the Hindus, and if I

do so he will get me transferred from here" Only after being ordered to do so by the Deputy Inspector, P C No 7945 phoned twice to the Police Station, but no one received the call at the station The Deputy Inspector then sent P C 6299 to the Police Station He waited for about an hour, still no one came there from the Police Station The Deputy Inspector himself then went to the Police Station and found P C 6299 standing there There was no light in the Police Station The Deputy Inspector went into the Police Station, called for P C 88, but he was fast asleep Deputy Inspector Karkhanis made him get up, and asked why he did not receive the phone call P C 88 replied, "I do not know anything, ask the duty officer" D I Karkhanis then turned to the duty officer, S I Patankar, who too was fast asleep Mr Karkhanis tried to wake him up saying that a stabbing incident had occurred S I Patankar got annoyed and said, "Why are you troubling me, let me sleep" D I Karkhanis told him, "I am your superior officer, and you are replying to me in this manner" S I Patankar replied that the Deputy Inspector was free to do as he liked Thereafter the Deputy Inspector had to make a diary entry of all this affair

P C s 4641 and 1301 were grossly negligent in their duties They absented themselves from the place where they were posted and thus facilitated the work of the *goondas* As regards P C 4641, it may be recalled that on 26th November 1946, he was on duty at the spot where Ghulam Nabi Master and his son were killed in Sun Mills Lane He was aware of the plan and as arranged previously he went away from his post and Ghulam Nabi and his son were killed In the same manner on the 28th January 1947 this very constable was on duty near Shapoorji Broacha Mills He has abetted the hooligans in killing the Muslims by wilfully absenting himself at the very moment of the incident narrated above It is due to the wilful default of this constable that so many persons were stabbed on two occasions, once in Sun Mills Lane and next near Shapoorji Broacha Mills From these incidents we have reason to suspect that this constable is also an accomplice and also that D I Shevade has a hand in these incidents In this connection we have to point out that the persons who were working as substitutes for Ghulam Nabi Master and Abdulla Master in their respective Mills, who had hired the bullies to kill them as they resented their coming back to work, have not been arrested or questioned Even after so many killing incidents *goondas* were free to do as they liked instead of being rounded up and externed

84 On the 26th January 1947, *stones were continuously thrown at Bawla Masjid* in the very presence of Police officers but not a single round was fired Notwithstanding Section 144, meetings were [held] without any restriction, the leaders of the Muslim League were abused and obscene songs sung When the Muslims pointed out that stones were being thrown

at the mosque and their leaders were [being] abused, D I Shevade shouted, "Keep quiet", and thrust the Muslims in the mosque and warned that if they came out they would be fired at From 9 p m to 3 a m stones were thrown but nothing was done to stop it

To all intents and purposes it is Mr Shevade and not the Inspector who is in charge of the Police Station The Superintendent and the Inspector are under his hand [*sic* for thumb] On 26th January 1947, the officer in charge of the Fire Squad at Bawla Masjid repeatedly asked for permission to start firing to stop the stone-throwing, but he was not allowed to do so by the superior officers on the advice of Deputy Inspector Shevade

85 Out of the 32 B D D Chawls at Delisle Road only *one Chawl No 7* is occupied by the Muslims On the 26th January the Hindus from Chawl Nos 9, 10, 11, and 13 collected together at about 10 30 p m, the signal "one, two, three" was given and they began throwing stones at Chawl No 7 The occupants of this *chawl* were all asleep at that time, but when the stones came, there was a huge cry at the unexpected attack and people began running upstairs and downstairs There was no policeman to stop the stone-throwing The police came on the scene after full ten minutes, notwithstanding [*sic*] that the Chawl No 7 is hardly 100 yards away from the police station The policemen came and, instead of dispersing the Hindus outside, went straight into Chawl No 7 and began beating the residents They easily overlooked the Hindu mob outside the *chawl* and arrested four Pathans, three of whom were sleeping in their room, and while arresting the fourth Pathan, S I Patankar and the other constables beat him, and S I Patankar gave a kick to the Pathan's wife who tried to rescue her husband

86 A Muslim was stabbed at the Fitwala Chawls After that some constables used to escort the Muslims whenever they brought rations from the shop which is in a very dangerous sector One day some Muslims approached P C 14 and requested him to accompany them, the constable vilely abused them because they were Muslims and refused to accompany them, whereupon those Muslims went to the Police Station to complain of the matter, but there they were asked to go to Pakistan Those persons waited for about two hours but no one paid any heed to them They got tired and wanted to return when they were asked what the matter was They complained against the misbehaviour of P C 14, but this constable was not even warned

87 As the police is grossly indifferent in protecting the lives and property of the citizens, the *goondas* have become too bold On 31st January 1947, within a distance of twenty-five yards from the police station, *a Pathan was stabbed and the assailant escaped*

88 Besides, on 2nd February 1947 a respectable *old milk merchant,*

Haji Ismail, was stabbed in his stable itself while he was making payments to his servants, and here too the assailant escaped

89 In the vicinity of Prakash Cinema, from the same place for the last one month or more stones are regularly thrown daily at the relief lorry but nothing has been done so far to stop that On 2nd February even acid was thrown from the same place The worst infested post by the hooligans is from Curry Road to Chinchpookli Bridge, but even after so many months of bloodshed the *goondas* are free to do as they like, and notwithstanding repeated requests they are not dealt with as yet

90 *On 23 10 1946, a Hindu was stabbed* near the J J Hospital, Out-Patient Department, where there was a police post nearby and the Havildar and the Constable, both Muslims, took no action in the matter and the Inspector of Dongri Police Station, Mr Hale, informed me that he was recommending to his superior officer to *suspend the Muslim Havildar and Constable* and to institute inquiries into their alleged conduct I complimented him for his just action and wrote to the Commissioner of Police about the same through my letter dated 23 10 1946

91 *A Muslim Constable, No 7193 E,* had arrested on 7 10 1946 one Vamanker Rao as there were some 30 cases of stabbing at Bhoiwada Road near Shete Market The culprit was released on bail in spite of there being serious allegations against him The Superintendent of Police, Mr Vanjara, a Hindu, *suspended the Muslim Constable*

92 On 16 9 1946, the Muslims of Jehangir Meherji Building, Parel, made a written complaint to the Commissioner of Police that the *goondas* of the locality were using filthy language for Muslims and they were *demanding from the owner of firewood depot Rs 10 per day* for drinking liquor, otherwise they would burn his depot No action was taken in this matter

93 *To crown* all these, it is an open secret that the Home Minister recently ordered several *transfers of police officers* resulting in there being not a single Muslim police officer in charge of police stations of riot area It is also rumoured that European officers including the Commissioner of Police would be shifted to some corner and all Hindu officers would be brought Here it may also be pointed out that when requested that Deputy Commandant of Home Guards should be a Muslim of the rank of Deputy Commissioner of Police, it was said there was no Muslim Deputy Commissioner of Police in Bombay but when pointed out that there were Muslims in the districts, it was said that they did not like to bring people from the districts, although several Hindu Deputy Commissioners of Police have been brought to Bombay from districts Besides this, there is very little [*sic*] police posted in the north of Bombay whereas nearly 75%

of police are posted in Muslim localities in the south for the protection of Hindus. Even in Hindu localities like Kalbadevi, Girgaum, in the south very little [*sic*] police is there with the result that shops of Muslims are looted.

OFFICERS IN POLICE FORCE
(17.2.1947)

	Muslims	Hindus	Europeans	Parsis	Christians	Jews
C.Ps.		-	1	-	-	-
D.C.Ps.		7	3	-	-	-
Superintendents	-	5	17		-	-
Inspectors	7	28	24	2	-	1
Dy. Inspectors	3	27	25	6	4	-
Sub-Inspectors	44	197	68	33	28	5
Total	54	264	138	41	32	6=535

94. Government of Bombay issued a notification which appeared in the *Times of India* of 7 January 1947 by which the members of the community which inflicts the damages or indulges in loot or arson should pay *fine* for the damage done to [*sic* for by] the members of their community and *vice versa*. The order was to come into force from 1 July 1946 and *the term "Hindu" includes the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes*. I raised the point of this notification in my interview with the Prime Minister on 8.1.1947 regarding the payment of compensation to one community by another and including Scheduled Castes and Sikhs with Hindus and pointed out that besides the objection to the principle it was very unfair to the Muslims where it was an established fact that there was not only fight between Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus but between Hindus and Hindus which amounted to that Muslims had to pay for loss incurred on account of fight by two different parties wherein they had no hand. Besides fights, there are reports that *shops belonging to Hindus in Hindu localities are looted by Hindus*. Again, in my interview with the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa on 15.1.1947, I pointed out to him the injustice done to Muslims by the above notification. To enable me to judge the nature of imposition of these fines, I wrote to the Commissioner of Police on 30.1.1947 to let me know the basis on which these collective fines were levied and whether the imposition would take effect from back date. In reply the Commissioner of Police informed me that the collective fines were levied at so much per head or on rental value or on any other basis according to seriousness of the incident and that it was not proposed to levy fines in old cases although the notification was to come into force from 1st July 1946. From the following instances it will be clear that more and heavier fines have been levied on buildings inhabited by Muslims whereas Hindus have been let

off with smaller fines, and in very rare cases have the Hindus been fined on a heavier scale like Muslims It is surprising to note that in the north of Bombay, where Muslims are distinctly in a minority surrounded by thousands of Hindus and where none could imagine that the former would take any initiative against the latter, yet in this pocket of microscopic minority, the police have found Muslims on whom they can levy their heaviest fines For instance, there [sic for these] *fines were for the first time imposed on 29 1 1947 Rs 10,000 on the tenants of three Aga Khan Buildings in Hasanabad, Rs 5,000 on tenants of Masjid Road Building, Goorupdev, Rs 800 on tenants of B D D Chawl Nos 17 and 18 in Naigaum, who are Scheduled Castes, Rs 220* on Caste Hindu tenants of Tata Settlement Chawl Nos 12 and 18, Tank Road, Parel Many more instances of unjust imposition of fines could be cited In Kurla for a stabbing case of a Muslim near Hindu locality, fines on the inhabitants residing away from the accident [*sic*] have been informed [*sic* for imposed]

From the notification as well as the reply by the Commissioner of Police and the way in which fines are imposed it is not clear on what basis and justification the fines are imposed The notification is imperfect and wrong in principle and its execution is also likewise, and as such the notification should be withdrawn

95 On 3 2 1947, the residents of Rehmat Building, Dadar, protested in writing to the Commissioner of Police against the imposition of punitive fines of Rs 870 on Rehmat and Alipura Buildings at Dadar In this connection it may be pointed out that Rehmat Building is in a predominantly Hindu locality and hence it is next to impossible for Muslims of the said building to have taken any initiative of an aggressive type The complaint which the residents of the Rehmat Building had sent to the Commissioner of Police was not only signed by the Muslims but by the Christian and Parsee residents of the building also

96 Again on 8 1 1947 *I saw the Hon'ble Mr Kher* as arranged by Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa at his bungalow, where Mr Jasdanwalla and Mr S K Patil were present After general discussion, I explained our various *pending matters* and gave him a copy of notes of some of the grievances and said that unless satisfactory solutions of those matters were done [*sic*], our Muslims would no longer remain in control as [*sic*] their right grievances of injustice and partiality against both Government and its police Mr Kher promised to look into the matter but his attitude did not give much hope of getting satisfaction from him I also raised the point of their notification regarding payment of *compensation* to one community by another and including Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Hindus which in the present circumstances was very unfair to the Muslims since it was an established fact that there was not only fight between

Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus but between Hindus and Hindus which amounted to [*sic*] that Muslims had to pay for loss incurred on account of fight by two different parties wherein they had no hand

97 To facilitate speedy disposal of cases arising out of the disturbed conditions prevailing in certain parts of Bombay Province, the Governor of Bombay issued on 5 1 1947 an *Ordinance* providing for the enhancement of penalties for attempted murder and stabbing when disturbed conditions prevail By this Ordinance, an attempt to murder was punishable with death in lieu of any punishment provided under the Indian Penal Code, and voluntarily causing hurt by stabbing was also punishable with death or transportation for life The Ordinance provides for a summary procedure and thereby deprives the citizens of valuable rights including that of trial by jury

98 From our experience and the behaviour of Hindu police officers in arresting innocent Muslims and in allowing most Hindu culprits to escape, the Muslim public is apprehensive that the Muslims of Bombay will be wrongly accused and Hindus will be let off by Hindu members of the police force

In spite of bringing our several grievances to the notice of the Members of the Central Peace Committee, the Hon'ble Mr Morarji Desai and the Hon'ble Mr Kher, no efforts were made by the Government to redress them Consequently I had no other alternative but to bring these matters and discuss them on the floor of the Assembly which was to meet on 10 2 1947 But before that, I wrote the following letter to the Hon'ble Mr Kher, dated 8 2 1947, and sent copies to Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr Jasdanwalla

> "It pains me to inform you that [despite my] working on the Central Peace Committee for such a long time and many times approaching you for redressing grievances of Muslims, these grievances remain unredressed and your latest promises on the 8th January 1947 when I interviewed you have not been fulfilled so far
>
> "Thereafter, the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa assured me that he would get an appointment from you for me to meet you on the 2nd instant but regret to say that that appointment, for reasons unknown to me, has not been so far fixed Apart from this, you will agree with me that these complaints were repeatedly brought forward before the Central Peace Committee meetings and all the members including the Hon'ble Mr Pakvasa and Mr S K Patil will vouchsafe that these complaints were serious and required the immediate attention of the Government
>
> "In view of the above, I am sure you will agree with me that the patience of the Muslims has reached a point where they would be

justified in demanding from me as to what explanations I have received from yourself and your Government as to the long delays in making official enquiries into these complaints and satisfying the bona fide cry of the Muslim citizens of Bombay

"Looking at these facts and the tension still prevalent, you will agree with me that if you were in my place, you would have had no other recourse but would get these matters cleared on the floor of the House in the shape of an adjournment motion which I have tabled so as to clear up suspense and doubt for the information of the Muslim public who are chiefly hurt in the matter"

99 Accordingly the following adjournment motions were tabled at the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Party on 9th and 10th February 1947

I ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS BY HAJI HASANALLY P EBRAHIM

(i) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the Assembly for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the serious communal disturbances on 23rd, 24th and 26th January 1947 in Golpitha, Round Temple and Kamatipura areas, and the situation arising out of the failure of the Government to protect the life and property of citizens"

(ii) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely failure of the Government to give protection to Muslim mill workers in going to their mills to earn their livelihood and for Government's inaction against the Hindustan Mill workers who unreasonably and arbitrarily refuse to allow the Muslim mill workers to work in the mills to earn their livelihood in spite of representations made to Government on 31 1 1947"

(iii) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the acquiescence of the Cabinet in allowing the Governor of the Province to curtail the rights and privileges of the House by the promulgation, on the eve of the session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, of the Criminal Law (Bombay Amendment) Ordinance 1947 which provides for a summary procedure and thereby deprives the citizens of valuable rights including that of trial by jury, and their failure to protect them"

(iv) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the non-redressal of the complaint of misbehaviour of the Hindu police officers in

insulting Muslim ladies of Mogul Building, near Hind Mata Cinema, Dadar, Bombay, when all male members of the same building were unreasonably arrested and the continuous inaction on the part of police in allowing the inhabitants of the adjoining buildings to indulge in stone-throwing on the Mogul and other buildings in which Muslims reside in the north of Bombay "

(v) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the unjust and drastic action taken by the Provincial Rationing Authority in cutting down the petrol quota, from 50 gallons to 20 gallons on 29 1 1947, allotted to the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Relief Committee for Greater Bombay and thus rendering it practically impossible to give relief to the Musalmans living in predominantly Hindu localities, especially in the north of Bombay, thereby endangering their lives "

(vi) "I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely unjust imposition during the last 12 days of punitive fines on defenceless and oppressed Muslims and generally imposing light fines on Hindus who have been aggressive in their actions during the riots "

II ADJOURNMENT MOTION BY MR M M A BHAIJI

"I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the misuse of powers under Section 46-B of the District Police Act by the Government in Kolaba District as is evidenced by the order of detention, by the District Magistrate, Kolaba, of Mr Ali Khan Bubere for possession of arms on 6th November 1946 although the question of such possession is *sub judice* in a court of law "

III ADJOURNMENT MOTION BY MR J H SHAMSUDDIN

"I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the Government's utter and miserable failure to maintain law and order in some parts of the districts of Kolaba, Ratnagiri, Thana, Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, Nasik, Panchmahals, and for five months in the city of Bombay "

IV ADJOURNMENT MOTION BY MR A R KURWARI

"I beg leave of the Assembly to move an adjournment of the

business of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the failure of the Government to protect the lives of Muslim pilgrims to Haji Malang Fair in Thana District on 5 2 1947 by not taking action against persons whose anti-social activities were known to the authorities and which resulted in injuries to some Muslims and exposed the lives of other pilgrims to danger "

Unfortunately, for reasons best known to the "Popular" Congress Government, the above Adjournment Motions were disallowed by the Hon'ble Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly

100 All the facts mentioned above do not inspire any confidence in the police or Hindu Congress Government and, therefore, if things are allowed to continue like this, there is bound to be more trouble as it is impossible to pacify Muslims indefinitely It is therefore suggested that Government should take immediate action to remedy the grievances of Muslims who are in a minority in this province and as such deserve protection It is understood that Hindus have also complained against police and therefore it will be in the fitness of things and helpful to inspire confidence in the Congress Government if they agree to set up at once *an impartial and independent inquiry commission* just as it was done immediately by the Bengal Government and now agreed to by the Bihar Government In the meantime orders should be issued at once that 2 Hindus and 2 Muslims from the Central Peace Committee be authorised to review daily the actions taken by police for incidents of the day before

101 As a good-will gesture, it will be fair if Government were to establish *refugee camps for riot-affected Hindus and Muslims* and give financial help to those Muslim mill hands who are unable to go to mills owing to unreasonable attitude of Hindu mill workers Exchange of *chawls* which are either partly occupied by Hindus and Muslims or are in localities of the opposite parties just as at Worli and Delisle Road These things should be done in addition to remedying the grievances stated above

HAJI HASANALLY P EBRAHIM
M L A, J P, H P M
Chairman,
Bombay Provincial Muslim League Relief Committee
for Greater Bombay

Enclosure to Appendix V

COPY OF LETTER DATED 23 OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

(Copy forwarded to the Secretary, Press Advisory Committee, Bombay)

At the outset I wish to make it explicitly clear that in bringing the following facts to your knowledge once again, I am actuated by motives which should be obvious to you and, therefore, I hope and trust you will enquire into these facts in the interest of peace and tranquillity of the city

It is indeed astonishing, more or less unexpected, that the authorities of the Police and the Home Department who would show such callous indifference and criminal negligence to such glaring instigations appearing daily in English and vernacular papers and which have definitely not only hampered the genuine and sincere efforts of those who have been preaching peace and order but have added to the injury and allowed matters to go from bad to worse

No thinking person, above all those in authority who claim a sense of responsibility, justice and fair play, can sit silent and ignore to take steps against actual culprits who are equally [*sic* for guilty] of instigating a crime

One is equally horrified and disgusted to find out that this deliberate indifference is partial inasmuch as strong steps have been taken to curb the liberty of the Muslim press which indulged in bringing out the faults of the Ministry and quoting instances which in the name of good government any impartial judge would appreciate

In order, however, to state my case in point I quote below a few of the many extracts from press reports in my possession to refresh your memory and for ready reference for such action as one is expected to take

(1) The *Times of India*, dated 17 9 1946, under the caption "Unholy Alliance"

Masulipatam, September 16th The Communist Party's recent instructions that Communists should join in the absence [*sic* for observance] of "Direct Action Day" of August 16 last as instructed by Mr Jinnah constitute a "grand alliance, and unholy at that, between the League and Communist Party", said Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya addressing a mass meeting here He added, "This cannot be tolerated, especially the outbreaks of violence by the party, which are actually endemic all over the country Therefore, every home must become a castle, every citizen a soldier, and every minor and major must learn the use of the *lathi* so that they may defend themselves against attack

(2) The *Bombay Samachar* dated 7 9 1946, Editorial

[Gujerati text not printed]

The whole editorial is full of malice, mischief and entirely directed against one community

(3) The *Bombay Samachar,* dated 18 9 1946

[Gujerati text not printed]

This news is from Ahmedabad which is most misleading, incorrect and deliberately instigating

(4) The *Bombay Samachar,* dated 16 9 1946

[Gujerati text not printed]

This news is also from Ahmedabad and published in bold type with a view to attracting the attention of the people of Bombay

(5) The *Janam Bhoomi,* dated 11 9 1946

[Gujerati text not printed]

(6) The *Janam Bhoomi,* dated 11 9 1946

[Gujerati text not printed]

Some of the lorry numbers given here have been doing the Muslim League relief work which fact is known to the police, and yet from [*sic*] the letter allowed to be published shows the obvious motive

(7) In quoting this paragraph, I cannot help remembering Shakespeare "Caesar's wife was above reproach" Reference the *Times of India* dated 13 9 1946 under [the caption] "Mr Liaquat Ali's charges denied official Bombay Statement"

"The attention of the Government of Bombay has been drawn to a statement to the press issued by Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, making serious allegations of partiality against Government in the Bombay disturbances", says the Director of Information, Bombay

"Government have made careful inquiries into the allegations of partiality which have been made by some representatives of the Muslim community They have interviewed persons bringing complaints, both Muslims and others, and interrogated the officers concerned, have examined reports and statistical material relating to the various cases of assault and disturbance and the action taken by the police, including figures of arrests and of casualties, and have considered all material supplied to them, and they are satisfied that there is no substance in the allegations of partiality or in suggestions that the police have failed to afford protection to all parties to the extent of their ability The police have been working on lines determined as a result of their long experience in the past and on a system which was laid down before the present Government took office

"Enormous demands have been made on the police for protection from members of both the communities In only a small proportion of cases do the police find on investigation that there is a real need for protection But unfortunately owing to the large number of calls made upon the police there is often some delay [which] has led to complaints of partiality from members of both communities If only persons really in need of police protection applied for it, assistance could be rendered far more promptly

MORE HINDUS ARRESTED

"With regard to suggestions that oppressive measures have been taken against Muslims, Government are satisfied that arrests are made entirely with due regard to the needs of preserving the peace and protecting the public In actual fact, *the number of Hindus arrested exceeds the number of Muslims [arrested], although the former community has suffered no less severely during the disturbances than the latter* It is regretted that the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League should have made an incorrect statement like this

"Government desire to assure the public of their firm intention to protect all peace-seeking citizens, to whatever community they belong, and to ensure that in maintaining the peace no partiality is shown to any section of the public

"Government will always be prepared to inquire into individual complaints by members of any community with regard to action taken in the riots *But Government have come to the general conclusion that the police and military have dealt with the riots in an impartial manner and deserve great gratitude from the citizens of Bombay for the strenuous work of protecting them from anti-social elements, which they have been doing for the last ten days and still continue to do*

"Government would act for the whole-hearted co-operation of all sections of the public and acknowledge gratefully the assistance which has been given in public spirit by all communities "

(8) The *Matru Bhoomi*, dated 8 9 1946, under the caption, "Letter written by Mr M B Baukli, 220 Kika Street", quotes

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

(9) The *Times of India*, dated 14 9 1946, [under the caption] *False news by Leaguers Telegrams withheld under rules*[writes]

"Some of the telegraph messages about the disturbances in Bombay sent by Mr I I Chundrigar, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, and other Leaguers to some newspapers

were withheld by the Bombay Government, it is now known, under Rule 15 of the Indian Telegraph Rules as the information sought to be conveyed by them was considered *false*

"Mr I I Chundrigar has issued a press statement complaining that certain telegrams sent by himself and other Muslims to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and others at Delhi were withheld by the Bombay Government under Rule 15 of the Indian Telegraph Rules Messages which *are plainly objectionable and of an alarming character are to be withheld*, says the Director of Information, Bombay Government Objectionable messages are defined in Rule 248 of the Indian Telegraph Manual as those which contain false information of an important nature or information *likely to produce disturbances or create unfounded public alarm, or embarrass the action of officers of Government in disturbances*

"Six texts of telegrams were withheld by the officers of the Government in the course of their duties In most of these cases, the message was to be sent to several persons including officials and newspapers or press But generally in these cases the messages which were addressed to officials were allowed to pass

"The texts were withheld because *they gave a false and entirely misleading account of the riot situation, which would definitely lead to inflamed communal feelings and create public alarm* Government consider that in the circumstances the action taken was in accordance with the established law and perfectly justifiable

"Apart from the general resentment of the Muslims who were shocked to read of the bold step taken by the Government, any freedom-loving person would object not only to the audacity of withholding messages but they enquire of the Government *of any previous instance when the rule was brought into action* or any precedent created in the matter It is not only a matter of shame and regret that the Government should have recourse to withholding messages of leaders of Musalmans in Bombay, but a black spot against the very freedom of their people and right to voice their opinion It is an example which can be stated without fear in terms of 'Guilty conscience pricks the mind' "

(10) The *Janam Bhoomi*, dated 8 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

(11) The *Janam Bhoomi*, dated 7 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

(12) The *Bombay Samachar*, dated 16 9 1946

[*Gujerati text not printed*]

All the above are facts in black and white and they tell their own story Will the Chief Presidency Magistrate kindly look into these facts as this type of news is allowed to come in daily and which is adding fuel to the fire

The Congress Ministry and the Home Minister who profess to preach justice and fair play have yet to establish their bona fides as instances galore will be written against them in the history of Bombay The Muslims have yet to be given positive proof that their interests, lives and property and their very freedom of existence are safe in the hands of Congress Ministry

COPY OF LETTER DATED 24TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY, HOME DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY (COPY FORWARDED TO THE SECRETARY, PRESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE)

"I am enclosing the copies of letters I have addressed to the Chief Presidency Magistrate from time to time, drawing his attention to the various reports appearing in local newspapers and which have added fuel to the fire I have so far not received any communication from the Chief Presidency Magistrate as to the steps he has taken in these complaints and as such I shall thank you to look into the matter at an early date "

COPY OF LETTER DATED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY (COPY FORWARDED TO THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY)

"On the 16th instant I sent you the *Bombay Samachar* as promised by me, pointing out therein that the paper stated that the typist of Mr Gandhi's Navjiwan Karyalaya was attacked in Ahmedabad riot and has resulted in his death Such news, I believe, is inflammatory and should not have been published in the paper I expected that you would take action against the paper but up to now I find nothing has been done I am sending you again today the *Bombay Samachar* in which on page 4 names of 5 Hindus are given with their ages who are stated to have died in the recent riot In the same issue, on the last page, the name of a Muslim (presumably Pathan) has been given, who is reported to have been arrested with 39 cartridges of a sten gun

"A little further in the report, the name of Narayan Sonare Nath, fitter, together with the location of Mahim is given and it is reported that he was arrested with a stick at night during curfew hours and

he has been released by the magistrate with a fine of Re 1, stating that it was a technical offence Such judgements are considered by Muslims as partial and the news thereof excites the feelings of Muslims Offences of lesser gravity than this committed by Muslims are reported to have been severely dealt with

"On page one in the same paper, under caption of *'Attack on Sikh'*, news is given which would infuriate the Sikh community in Bombay and is likely to result in breach of peace

"Will you please look into the case and do the needful in the matter?"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 27TH SEPTEMBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY
(COPY FORWARDED TO THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY)

"My attention has been drawn to a cartoon which appears in the *Pravasi* (*Janma Bhumi*) of 22nd instant, depicting a big size of Mr Gandhi's figure with the figures of Budh Dev, Jesus Christ, Zarathust [Zoroaster] Sahib and a *masjid* which is shown at the feet of Mr Gandhi This has excited the feelings of the Muslims as it is a direct insult to Islam

"I am surprised how the authorities concerned have not moved in the matter, especially at the present time which is disturbed and abnormal

"Will you please look into the matter and issue orders to proscribe all the copies of the said issue of the *Pravasi* (*Janma Bhumi*) and the block in the first instance, and then deal with the Editor and the Publisher of the paper according to law and do justice to Muslims "

COPY OF LETTER DATED 8TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the last page of the *Bombay Samachar* of today's date wherein, in the reports of the riot, the paper has stated that a well-known pleader, Mr Patanker, was killed at Kurla and the paper has also stated that Mr Patanker was a member of the Peace Committee

"May I ask you whether such reports are inflammatory and are allowed to be published in the papers? May I also know whether you are taking any action against this paper?"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 10TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the statement issued by Mr B G Kher, Prime Minister of Bombay, in which he has given names of

the two Hindus who were killed in Kurla on Sunday night, and also he has stated that they were members of the Peace Committee

"May I know whether you do not consider this statement contrary to the convention laid down by the Government for publication of riot news and whether it is not inflammatory?

"Besides this, is this statement not one-sided and issued without proper enquiries whether the murders were due to communal troubles or enmity due to local party politics, besides other reasons? It does not mention that the trouble was first started by Hindus at Kurla when they (a crowd of 300) attacked four solitary Pathans of whom one escaped and informed Muslims who got police assistance and saved the Pathan

"An early reply as well as the steps that you propose to take in the matter may please be intimated to me"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 14TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the story entitled 'Women must weep' appearing in the issue of 6th instant of *Illustrated Weekly* In this story it is made out that a Muslim girl gave her sacrifice for saving the life of a Hindu girl, but the underlined object appears to be to show that Muslim *goondas* did slaughter an innocent Hindu girl

"Do the Bombay Government not object to the publication of such stories when rioting is going on between Hindus and Muslims?

"Will you please let me know whether you consider this story objectionable or not, and if so, whether you propose to take any action against the paper?"

COPY OF LETTER DATED 14TH OCTOBER 1946 ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEF PRESIDENCY MAGISTRATE, BOMBAY

"I beg to draw your attention to the first page of the *Bombay Sentinel* dated 9th October 1946 and beg to state that, in the report about a big blaze at Mandvi, the paper has stated the name of the building as well as stated that it was utilised for housing families rescued from danger zones In the first place the building was never used for housing families rescued from danger zones, secondly, such information, even if it would be correct, would lead to inflame the affected community It is surprising how such reports have been allowed to be published by the authorities"

Annex

STOP THIS ORGY AND CARNAGE
JINNAH CONDEMNS EAST BENGAL DISTURBANCES[4]

NEW DELHI, Oct 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement to-day condemns the disturbances in the country and appeals for tolerance

Mr Jinnah says "I was anxious to get some reliable news about the Noakhali disturbances I feel relieved that there is no foundation for the grossly exaggerated news, pregnant with serious repercussions, flashed by news agencies Nevertheless I condemn the disturbances and disorders which have resulted in loss of life and destruction of property, and the brutal methods adopted

> "I most earnestly appeal to both Hindus and Muslims and other communities to stop this orgy and carnage It is a blot on the fair name of the two great nations, Hindu and Muslim, with their hoary civilisation and great past
>
> "We stand discredited already before the eyes of the world, because these disturbances have not only happened in Bengal but in other provinces, such as Bihar, the United Provinces, Madras and Bombay Let us not exploit the situation and make Ministers as the shuttlecocks of these tragic events that have taken place all over India
>
> "It takes two to quarrel, and it is up to the leaders of both communities to put an end, in the name of humanity, to what is happening, whatever may be our political quarrels, convictions and ideologies, which we will fight out, but not by these shocking and revolting methods I most earnestly appeal to Muslims, and every Leaguer in particular, wherever they may be, to stand by the principles of Islam to defend and protect the weak, show complete tolerance and help in every way to restore order and redeem the fair name of Islam In the same breath I appeal to every Hindu to reciprocate whole-heartedly and without reserve"—API

[4] *Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 October 1946

APPENDIX VI

REPORT ON THE MIGRATION AND CONCENTRATION OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA, AND NOTE ON AREAS WHERE CASTE HINDUS AND SIKHS TOGETHER ARE NOT IN MAJORITY

BY

A R KHAN

VI.1

REPORT ON THE MIGRATION AND CONCENTRATION OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA[1]

F 7A/1-104

PART II

(INDIAN STATES)

In Memory of Shohada-i-Bihar

Chapter IX
Migration and concentration of Muslim population of Rajputana States
Chapter X
Migration and concentration of Muslim population in Central India States
Chapter XI
Migration and concentration of Muslim population in Punjab States
Chapter XII
Concentration of Muslim population in the U P States
Chapter XIII
Muslim population in Kashmir & Jammu State
Chapter XIV
Muslim population in Baluchistan States Agency
Chapter XV
Muslim population in N W F P States and Tribal Territories
Chapter XVI
Revision of migration process of Bihar and Bengal in respect of Muslim population
Chapter XVII
Total population of various communities in each Indian State and State Agency
Chapter XVIII
Summary of Recommendations relating to emigration, transfer and concentration of Muslim population from States and Minority Provinces
Chapter XIX
Muslim population of various countries in the World together with a comparison of Indian Muslim population with the World Totals

[1] For the covering note see No 303, Vol I, Part I

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Map of the World showing population of Muslims in various countries

[2]This Map and the two listed thereafter are not available in this Report

INTRODUCTION

This is the second part of the report which deals with the exchange, migration and concentration of Muslim masses in India and deals exclusively with the transfer and concentration of Muslims alone The position of Muslims in the Indian States is rather more dangerous than those living in the minority provinces since Muslim population in comparison with Hindus is quite negligible Their insignificant position, practically in all the States irrespective of those where Muslims are in a major minority, cannot in any way combat the opposing forces in their respective States, hence it is imperative to adopt such schemes according to the state of affairs prevailing in the State itself as would ensure their existence and evade the total eradication in case of a country-wide civil strife which is now near at hand A number of incidents already published in the Press—though the Information Department of Government of India tried hard to black out the facts in order to minimise communal tension—indicate that the other party under the guise of various militant organizations is now out to liquidate the meagre Muslim populace all over the country, in the first instance to clear their way for a final and decisive fight between the two major communities—Hindus and Muslims From all over the country reports are pouring in that Muslims are being killed and forcibly converted by brutal force or temptation, the resources of which are not lacking among the Hindus Sometime back such incidents were being attributed [*sic* for regarded] by Muslims as everyday occurrences of a transitory nature but now I am quite confident that this is due to the consistent planning of Hindus and is not a mere passing phase It is, therefore, absolutely essential that something should be done to take up transfer of Muslims from the States where they numerically represent two to four figures only, otherwise their existence is likely to be effaced from the earth altogether Apparently the task is a very difficult one and cannot be taken up openly because it will surely be resented and vehemently opposed by the Rulers Under the circumstances the only course left open to us is to establish immediately undercover services in every State Agency whose premier duty will be to take out meagre and smaller units of Muslim population from Hindu States either to the adjoining provinces in the first instance and subsequently to Muslim majority zones or to a nearby Muslim State according to circumstances and convenience I may suggest here that the Committee of Action should formulate a plan and instruct the States Muslim League to form an underground organization in six Agencies such as Eastern States, Chhatisgarh States, Rajputana States, Central India States, Gujerat States, Western India States and Deccan and Kolhapur States These organizations should take up the transfer of

Muslims from their respective agencies in right earnest The persons selected for the job should be honest and religious fanatics and should also possess astuteness, presence of mind and common sense so as to carry out this programme without fomenting any communal tension as well as with complete secrecy in order to avoid political resentment

I now deal with the statistical aspects of various States in the following pages of this Report which speaks for itself the utility of the suggestions mentioned above It is not out of place to mention here the deplorable condition of Muslims in Gwalior, Datia, Dholpur and Marwar States where Muslims are being subjected to rough, shameful and inhuman treatment as has already been reported in certain papers of the country

Before giving details of the various States in India I am to state that every Chapter relating to a particular Agency contains two maps of that Agency in the main Report The first map shows community-wise population according to the 1941 Census while the second map represents the inflated population of various communities in accordance with the percentage variation, the principle of which is based on the very lines laid down in the main Report[3] on Indian population already submitted I regret that the true position of certain States as to their location could not be shown correctly in these maps for want of sufficient space which was required for filling in the five entries but that the correct position has been shown in the map of India referred to in the last chapter

Abdul Rashid Khan, *A Report on the Transfer and Concentration of Muslim Population in Other States Provinces and Central Compact Blocks* F 7/1-71 QAP

CHAPTER I ASSAM STATES[4]

The following tables[5] indicate community-wise population in Assam States

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Manipur	5,12,069	3,03,636	29,562	25,727	1,52,805	339
Kasia	2,13,586	24,091	2,100	186	1,86,332	877
Total	7,25,655	3,27,727	31,662	25,913	3,39,137	1,216

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Manipur	5,67,840	3,24,852	31,672	47,499	1,63,496	321
Kasia	2,24,280	25,305	2,205	210	1,95,615	945
Total	7,92,120	3,50,157	33,877	47,709	3,59,111	1,266

Manipur Muslims represent only 9 7% of the Hindus in this State The numerical strength of the Muslims warrants immediate emigration to avoid untoward happenings in future The Muslims can very easily cross the border and enter the Cachar district of the Assam Province where they are in a majority and thereby increase the strength of their brethren there from 2,49,310 to 2,80,982 against 2,41,606 Hindus there

Kasia The 2,200 Muslims against 25,300 Hindus represent only 8 3% of the Hindus which figure is too deplorable [*sic*] The Muslims should cross over to Sylhet—another Muslim-majority district of Assam—thereby increasing the Muslim strength there from 20,05,626 to 20,07,826 against 12,18,470 Hindus

[4]See Maps 1 and 2 The community-wise population figures shown in these and subsequent maps in the Report are based on corresponding data in the respective Tables
[5]Some of the figures given in these and subsequent Tables are confusing and some of the totals are also incorrect

CHAPTER II BENGAL STATES[4] [& SIKKIM]

The following two tables indicate the community-wise population in the States of the Bengal Province

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Cooch-Behar	6,40,842	3,94,948	2,42,684	187	2,435	588
Tripura	5,13 010	3,47 752	1,23,570	316	33 633	7,739
Mayurbhanj	9,90,977	2,70,042	5 859	61	7,14,954	61
Total	21 44,829	10,12 742	3,72,113	564	7,51,022	8,388

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Cooch-Behar	6,68,891	4,10,696	2,54 835	210	2,520	630
Tripura	5,73,248	3 88 224	1 38,432	336	37,632	8,624
Mayurbhanj	10 50 460	2,86,200	6,254	53	7,57,900	53
Total	22,92,599	10,85,120	3 99,521	599	7,98,052	9,307

Cooch-Behar The 2,54,835 Muslims against 4,10,696 Hindus are not in any danger at all as they are quite a good match for their opponents besides having a huge majority of Muslims in all the surrounding districts in the Bengal and Assam provinces

Tripura The 1,38,432 Muslims against 3,88,224 Hindus can tackle 3,88,224 Hindus if they properly organize themselves Moreover they are quite safe since they have in their intermediate neighbourhood Muslim population in the surrounding districts of Bengal as well as Sylhet and Cachar, the Muslim-surplus districts of the Assam province

Mayurbhanj The Muslims in this State represent only 3 2% [of the Hindu population,] which is equal to nothing Since the State lies in a Muslim-majority province, the Hindus will no doubt be reluctant to take any unwise action but still it will be safer if the 6,254 Muslims cross the border and enter the Midnapore district of Bengal This arrangement will serve a twofold purpose On the one hand, the low percentage of Muslims in Midnapore will be reduced, and on the other, they will be able to settle in a safer place rather than in an unsupported danger zone

The following two tables give the community-wise population in Sikkim State, a predominantly Hindu State near the Himalayas in the north

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Sikkim	1,21,520	45,888	83	34	63,206	12,309

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Sikkim	1,27,628	48,195	105	53	66,360	12,915

This State lies in the north of Bengal between Nepal and Bhutan Kingdoms at the foot of the Himalayas, and is a full-fledged Hindu State The 105 Muslims residing there against 48,200 Hindus must quit the State by crossing the border and enter into Darjeeling district of Bengal to save themselves from their ruthless massacre in the times to come Muslims in such a deplorable condition anywhere in a Hindu State must sacrifice all their future prospects and financial connections in that unit in order to save their lives and property which they possess at present

*See Maps 3 and 4

CHAPTER III EASTERN STATES AGENCY (ORISSA & C P)[7]

The following tables give community-wise population in the Eastern States Agency

Table I Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Athgarh	55,498	47,937	261	358	6,894	48
Talchar	86,432	81,354	282	73	4,673	50
Nilgiri	73,109	60,240	54	111	12,704	-
Keonjhar	5,29,786	3,77,062	1,639	195	1,50,857	33
Pal Lahera	34,130	22,874	18	2	11,236	-
Athmalik	72,765	58,204	108	4	14,449	-
Dhenkhanal	3,24,212	2,78,466	875	27	44,837	12
Hindol	58,505	54,808	116	3	3,578	-
Narsinghpur	48,448	46,130	152	7	2,157	2
Baramba	52,924	47 602	235	16	4,112	959
Tigiria	26,331	23,761	598	2	1,551	419
Khandpara	87,341	83,558	100	3	3,678	2
Nayagarh	1,61,409	1,52,703	828	35	7,818	25
Ranpur	51,366	48,038	441	1	2,886	-
Daspallah	53,833	43,084	59	13	10,677	-
Baudh	1,46,175	1,23,370	174	17	22,613	1
Bamra	1,78,277	1,03,801	290	958	73,226	2
Rairakhol	38,185	29,306	40	2	8,837	-
Sonepur	2,48,872	2,34,560	575	26	13,603	108
Bonai	92 538	35,590	191	249	56,507	1
Gangpur	3,98,171	95,315	4,433	106	2,98,235	82
Saraikhela	1,54,844	72,469	1,873	29	80,437	36
Kharswan	50 580	20,191	1,013	12	29,354	10
Total	30,23,731	21 40,423	14,355	2,249	8,64,914	1,790

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Athgarh	58 265	50,332	274	371	7,238	50
Talchar	86 792	81,116	310	80	5,230	56
Nilgiri	75,301	62 046	56	114	13,085	-
Keonjhar	5,66,870	4,03,458	1 754	208	1,61,414	36
Pal Lahera	37 200	24 932	20	2	12,246	-
Athmalik	77,130	61,696	114	4	15,316	-
Dhenkhanal	3 46,895	2,97 954	931	30	47,968	12
Hindol	64,345	60,288	126	3	3,928	-
Narsinghpur	52 806	50 279	166	7	2,352	2

Baramba	56,092	50,458	247	16	4,358	1,013
Tigiria	27,109	24,472	606	2	1,598	431
Khandpara	92,579	88,568	106	3	3,900	2
Nayagarh	1,71,092	1,61,865	876	38	8,286	27
Ranpur	53,420	49,958	459	1	3,002	-
Daspallah	65,901	53,856	75	13	11,957	-
Baudh	1,52,013	1,28,296	182	17	23,517	1
Bamra	1,94,279	1,13,143	317	1,003	79,814	2
Rairakhol	39,395	30,478	42	2	8,873	-
Sonepur	2,53,849	2,39,250	587	26	13,876	110
Bonai	99,942	38,438	207	269	61,027	1
Gangpur	4,22,057	1,01,033	4 697	112	3,16,127	88
Seraikhela	1,61,031	75,365	1,945	30	83,653	38
Kharswan	53,610	21,403	1,073	12	31,112	10
Total	32,07,973	22,68,684	15,170	2,363	9,19,877	1,879

The whole Agency consisting of 23 States is a predominantly Hindu Agency having no Muslim State in its fold The Agency as a whole represents 22,68,684 Hindus against 15,170 Muslims, i e roughly 0 8% Muslims and 99 2% Hindus There are only 4 States where Muslims represent 4 figures against Hindus representing 6 and more than 6 figures, otherwise they are a few hundred in every State I emphatically urge the necessity of transferring these Muslims immediately to a nearby province otherwise I am grieved to state that they will be liquidated or forced to convert to Hinduism since they are not at all in a position to save themselves from these two disasters Moreover, I have a personal experience of the mode of living, culture and education of Muslims belonging to these States They are Muslims in name only and no one can identify them unless and until he enquires about their antecedents Of course, their percentage is quite negligible but they are both assets and liabilities of the 10 crore Muslims of India The location of these States is so complicated that concrete proposals for their transfer cannot be given, hence it is suggested that they may be transferred to Bengal, U P or Hyderabad, whichever is more convenient, but, according to the position indicated in the atlas, Bengal would be the best of the three However, the following paragraph contains detailed suggestions for migration or concentration as the case may be

The Muslims of Keonjhar and Nilgiri, numbering only 1,810, may cross over to Midnapore of Bengal while those living in Seraikhela and Kharswan, amounting to 3,018, should go to Bankura, the nearest district of Bengal The remaining population consisting of 10,342 Muslims may find it more convenient to migrate to Ranchi Muslim Concentrated Block of Bihar

See Maps 5 and 6

CHAPTER IV CHHATISGARH STATES [ORISSA & C P][8]

As usual, the following tables indicate community-wise population in the Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Bastar	6,33,888	1,49,960	2,032	2,681	4,78,970	245
Changbakhar	21,266	6,608	53	7	14,598	-
Chhuikhadan	32,731	27,720	883	4	3,996	128
Jashpur	2,23,612	57,771	1,982	30	1,63,811	18
Kalahandi	5,97,940	4,07,449	735	199	1,89,430	127
Kanker	1,49,471	51,098	760	33	97,502	78
Kawardha	77,284	62,462	1,093	23	13,513	193
Khairagarh	1,73,713	1,48,208	2,608	139	22,164	594
Korea	1,26,874	66,911	3,328	16	56,530	89
Nandgaon	2,02,973	1,59,317	2,837	538	39,506	775
Patna	6,32,220	4,93,763	1,297	7,680	1,28,945	535
Raigarh	3,12,643	2,11,385	2,210	101	98,713	234
Sakti	54,517	40,161	448	8	13,896	4
Sarangarh	1,40,785	1,39,954	353	344	130	4
Sarguja	5,51,752	1,33,178	7,826	4	4,10,683	61
Udaipur	1,18,331	32,657	328	13	85,325	8
Total	40,50,000	21,88,602	28,773	11,820	18,17,712	3,093

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Bastar	6,97,340	1,65,000	2,200	2,970	5,26,900	270
Changbakhar	22,110	6,864	55	7	15,184	-
Chhuikhadan	33,386	28,254	918	4	4,080	130
Jashpur	2,41,541	62,424	2,160	33	1,76,904	20
Kalahandi	6,45,692	4,39 992	795	216	2,04,552	137
Kanker	1,56,987	53,655	840	35	1,02,375	82
Kawardha	79,643	64,375	1,135	24	13,905	206
Khairagarh	1,85,900	1,58,574	2,782	148	23,754	642
Korea	1,39,498	73,590	3,630	18	62,150	110
Nandgaon	2,15,087	1,68,858	2,968	570	41,870	821
Patna	6,70,163	5,23,391	1,381	8,143	1,36,681	567
Raigarh	3,31,399	2,24,069	2,342	107	1,04,635	246
Sakti	57,790	42,573	475	8	14,730	4
Sarangarh	1 47,827	1,46,954	371	361	137	4
Sarguja	5,79,341	1,39,838	8,216	4	4,31,218	65
Udaipur	1,30,159	35,922	360	14	93,855	8
Total	43,33,863	23,34,333	30,626	12,662	19,52,930	3,312

The Muslims of Jashpur, Udaipur, Sakti, Raigarh and Sarangarh, [numbering] only 5,708 might cross over to Ranchi Muslim Concentrated Block while those in Changbakhar, Korea and Sarguja numbering 11,901, might find it more convenient to migrate to the Mirzapur district of U P , an important district of another strong Muslim Concentrated Block in the United Provinces Similarly, the residents of Chhuikhadan, Nandgaon, Khairagarh, Kawardha and Kanker totalling 8,641 should go to the Adilabad district of Nizam's Territory The remaining 4,376 Muslims belonging to Bastar, Kalahandi and Khairagarh States should cross over to the Karimnagar district of Nizam's Dominions

The congested location of a number of States in the two Agencies—Chhatisgarh and Eastern States—having meagre percentage of Muslims, makes it very difficult to propose and suggest a tangible solution for their safe transfer except that the instinct of self-preservation coupled with the efforts of our underground organization as well as the mental effect [sic] which has affected the minds of Muslims in general in the minority provinces as a result of the fate of their brethren in the last *Massacre* in the adjoining and nearby province of Bihar might force them to consider the future consequences and voluntarily and speedily migrate after leaving their present abodes even at the risk of considerable loss of occupation and property They will be able to make up this deficiency within a decade among their own people in the safer zones

[8]See Maps 7 and 8

CHAPTER V DECCAN AND MADRAS STATES[9]

The following tables show the population of various communities in these States

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Pudokottai	4,38,348	4,02,078	16,975	19,257	-	38
Banganapalle	44,592	32,500	10,543	1,533	8	8
Sandur	15,814	13,024	2,745	16	-	29
Total	4,98,754	4,47,602	30,263	20,806	8	75
Mysore	73,29,108	66,86,630	4,85,230	98,580	9,405	49,263

Cochin	14,22,875	8,96,950	1,09,188	3,99,394	5,183	12,160
Travancore	60,70,018	35,42399	4,34,150	19,58,491	1,32,682	2,296
Total	1,48,22,001	1,11,25,979	10,28,568	24,56,465	1,47,270	63,719

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Pudokottai	4,60,320	4,22,205	17,850	20,160	-	105
Banganapalle	47,186	34,450	11,130	1,590	8	8
Sandur	17,115	14,040	3,024	18	-	33
Total	5,24,621	4,70,695	32,004	21,768	8	146
Mysore	77,68,846	70,87,796	5,14,312	1,04,516	9,964	52,258
Cochin	15,50,961	9,77,730	1,19,028	4,35,346	5,668	13,189
Travancore	66,77,110	38,96,640	4,77,620	21,54,350	1,45,970	2,530
Total	1,59,96,917	1,19,62,166	11,10,950	26,94,212	1,61,602	67,977

Sandur The State of Sandur lies to the northwest of Madras which is quite near to the Hyderabad border The 3,000 [Muslims] against 14,000 [Hindus] may stick to their place if they so desire since their number is self-supporting against the aggression of the majority party which is only four times their number In case it is considered more feasible and in their interest to migrate from there they should cross over to the Raichur district of Nizam's [territory]

Benganapalle This is a Muslim State with a population of 47,000 people only with 34,450 Hindus and 11,130 Muslims besides others The Muslim percentage is well stabilised since it is one-third of the Hindus and has a Muslim ruler besides It is also possible that the Muslims of Kurnool, Nellore and Anantapore districts of Madras might find it more to their advantage and convenience to migrate to this Muslim State, if circumstances do not allow them to migrate to a distant part such as the Nizam's Dominions and Mysore State The State possesses an area of 259 sq miles only and can accommodate a limited number of these immigrants However as far as the Report is concerned, the 1,83,592 Muslims of Kurnool district in which this Muslim State lies should consolidate themselves, thus increasing the Muslim strength from 11,130 to 1,94,722 against 35,450 Hindus and simultaneously enabling the State to become an autonomous Muslim State with a substantial Muslim strength

Pudokottai The Muslims of this State numbering 17,850 against

4,22,205 Hindus, i e 4 2% of the Hindus are not safe at all The only course for them is to cross the border and enter the Tanjore district of Madras which is the last Muslim Concentrated Block in the south, thereby increasing the Muslim strength there from 6,88,500 to 7,06,350 against 23,91,000 Hindus

Mysore The State has already been dealt with in the First Report [10] No migration of any Muslim population has been suggested from this State The total number of the Muslims which is at present 5,14,312 against 70,87,796 Hindus, will be supplemented by the transfer of 83,700 Muslims from the Salem district of Madras bringing the total number of the Muslims to 5,98,012, i e 11 9% of the Hindus It is presumed that such a substantial Muslim strength will not be attacked by the majority community in the case of civil strife all over the country for the simple reason of a tough rejoinder from the Muslims as well as of their own huge loss while encountering the desperates

Cochin This is the second biggest State, the first being Travancore, in respect of Christian population as would be evident from the above tables as well as from the following figures The Muslims with the help of Christians represent a strength of 5,34,374 persons against 9,77,730 Hindus but we cannot rely on this presumption and hence it would be prudent on the part of Cochin Muslims to cross the border and enter Malabar Muslim Concentrated Block, thus supplementing its [Muslim] strength from 17,41,000 to 18,60,028 against 27,17,000 Hindus

Travancore The State of Travancore also reveals the same state of affairs as is prevailing in Cochin and the substantial Christian population of 21,54,350 coupled with 4,77,620 Muslims, totalling 26,31,970 persons against 38,96,640 Hindus can meet any eventuality The readers might refute this proposal in relation to the argument put forward for Cochin but the reasoning behind this proposal is [that] the Christian population of 21,54,350 which, no doubt, is a substantial majority and is likely to help the third majority in order to save their own skin lest they may be earmarked as a second victim after the eradication of Musalmans

Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad Deccan) While reviewing the recommendations for Hyderabad it has been observed that a discrepancy has occurred in the first report relating to the suggestion made for the Bombay Province The discrepancy is much regretted which was no doubt unavoidable due to the [shortage of] time for the huge amount of work that had to be done However, the same is being rectified in this Report and the data given herein are now quite correct and up to date

Besides the Muslim population of its own, the State will receive the following population of Muslims from various States and Provinces

Number of Muslims to be transferred

1	Gan Jam & Koraput districts of Orissa	6,859
2	Chhuikhadan, Nandgaon, Kawardha, Khairagarh, Kanker, Kalahandi, Bastar and Patna States	13,107
3.	Sandur State of Madras	3,024
4	Ramdurg, Mudhol, Phaltan, Kolhapur, Akalkot, Miraj (Sr) Miraj (Jr), Kurundward(Sr) and Kurundward (Jr), Jath, Aundh and Sangli States in Kolhapur Agency	1,45,718
5	Vizigapatam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Bellary, Anantapur and Kurnool districts of Madras	8,00,243
6	Kanara, Dharwar, Belgaum, Bijapur, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Nasik, East and West Khandesh districts of Bombay Province	9,14,252
7	Chanda, Nimar, Drug and Raipur districts of C P	1,12,129
	Total	19,95,332
	plus Muslim population of the State [itself]	22,44,325
	Total	42,39,657

The total of Muslims will thus come to 42,39,657 against 1,42,41,700 Hindus, amounting to 30% of the Hindus The total strength in accordance with the recommendations will be quite self-supporting and will also strengthen the hands of the Ruler after the delegation of powers to the Rulers by the H M G but I doubt if it would be possible to implement these recommendations after the new changeover in the State Sir Mirza [Ismail] had, no doubt, proved himself a very useful administrator for Mysore and Jaipur States but his antagonism to the Muslims in general, which is quite evident in view of the cancellation of grant for "Taraqqi-e-Urdu" will be very deterimental to the Muslim cause in India in general and the State in particular

See Maps 9 to 12

[1]See note 3

CHAPTER VI DECCAN AND KOLHAPUR STATES [AGENCY][11]

As usual, two tables showing community-wise population of various States, has been provided

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kolhapur	10,92,046	9,83,674	49,615	7,031	184	51,542
Akalkot	1,03,903	88,170	15,037	10	22	664
Bhor	1,55,961	1,47,288	1,917	26	6,172	2,558
Aundh	88,723	84,261	4,000	12	26	424
Jamkhandi	1,26,272	1,08,798	14,696	289	-	2,480
Janjira	1,03,557	83,579	17,096	22	2,112	748
Jath	1,07,036	99,836	6,847	4	17	332
Kurundward(Sr)	52,552	43,287	5,390	156	19	3,700
Kurundward(Jr)	46,609	38,141	5,364	231	6	2,867
Mudhol	72,447	66,837	5,453	3	16	138
Miraj(Sr)	1,08,547	89,218	13,055	1,384	18	4,872
Miraj(Jr)	46,295	42,033	2,858	86	-	1,318
Phaltan	71,473	68,299	1,909	86	17	1,162
Ramdurg	40,114	36,571	3,501	6	-	36
Sangli	2,93,381	2,55,727	22,105	1,111	45	14,393
Wadi	2,022	1,928	54	-	-	40
Savanur	22,440	14,544	7,836	8	-	52
Sawantwadi	2,52,050	2,39,839	5,303	6,771	24	113
Total	27,85,428	24,92,030	1,82,036	17,236	8,678	85,448

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kolhapur	11,68,520	10,52,534	53,087	7,551	198	55,150
Akalkot	1,10,141	93,462	15,940	11	24	704
Bhor	1,65,863	1,54,653	2,012	28	6,482	2,688
Aundh	95,824	91,005	4,320	13	28	458
Jamkhandi	1,32,578	1,14,238	15,431	304	-	2,605
Janjira	1,06,664	86,087	17,609	23	2,175	770
Jath	1,15,599	1,07,822	7,399	4	18	356
Kurundward(Sr)	57,284	47,184	5,876	170	21	4,033
Kurundward(Jr)	50,911	41,578	5,847	352	6	3,128
Mudhol	78,243	72,184	5,889	3	18	149
Miraj(Sr)	1,23,720	1,01,706	14,862	1,578	20	5,554
Miraj(Jr)	52,775	47,918	3,257	98	-	1,502

Phaltan	78,618	75,129	2,099	94	19	1,277
Ramdurg	42,520	38,765	3,711	6	-	38
Sangli	2,99,322	2,59,409	23,431	1,177	48	15,257
Wadi	2,203	2,102	58	-	-	43
Savanur	23,564	15,272	8,228	9	-	55
Sawantwadi	2,64,651	2,51,830	5,568	7,109	26	118
Total	29,69,000	26,52,878	1,94,624	18,530	9,083	93,885

In this group there are only 2 Muslim States—Janjira and Savanur The Muslims of Jamkhandi and Sawantwadi numbering 20,999 may seek shelter in Savanur, thereby bringing the Muslim population there from 8,228 persons to 29,227 persons against 15,272 Hindus Similarly, the Muslims of Bhor and Wadi States totalling 2,070 persons only against 1,56,755 Hindus must leave their respective States and settle down in the Janjira Muslim State The Muslim strength in Janjira will thus be 19,679 against 86,087 [of the Hindus] Being a Muslim State, the Muslims representing a little less than one-fourth [of the Hindu population] will be safe Later on, Muslims from the adjoining districts of Bombay might find it more to their advantage to come and settle down in this State

The 3,711 Muslims against 38,765 Hindus in Ramdurg should enter the Raichur district of the Nizam['s Dominions,] the nearest district of Hyderabad (Deccan), while the 5,889 Muslims against 72,184 Hindus of the Mudhol State should cross over to Gulbarga, another nearest district of Nizam's territory

The Muslims of Phaltan numbering 2,099 against 75,129 Hindus should leave the State and enter the Osmanabad district of Nizam['s territory] to save themselves from maltreatment at the hands of their neighbours

The Muslims of the remaining States of this Group consisting of Kolhapur, Akalkot, Kurundward (Senior) and (Junior), Miraj (Senior) and (Junior), Jath, Aundh and Sangli, 1,34,019 in number against 18,42,618 Hindus, will have to leave their States, since they represent a very meagre percentage in their own States, to the adjoining or nearby district of Hyderabad, viz Gulbarga, lest they may not [*sic*] be wiped out in the times to come

These suggestions will have to be reconsidered in the light of the situation and circumstances, and in case it is more to the advantage of the Muslims of some of the States in this Group they may be considered for concentration in Bombay Suburban and Surat Muslim Concentrated Blocks

"See Maps 13 and 14

CHAPTER VII GUJERAT STATES [AGENCY][12]

The following two tables give the community-wise population in various States of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Jawhar	55,126	14,708	650	15	49,692	61
Lunawada	1,05,318	99,460	5,646	20	-	192
Rajpipla	2,49,032	62,948	9,279	1,451	1,74,343	1,011
Balasinor	61,151	54,052	6,110	326	543	120
Baria	1,89,062	1,10,285	3,123	211	75,304	139
Bansda	54,735	7,485	1,069	32	45,780	369
Cambay	96,592	79,746	12,304	830	169	3,543
Chhota Udepur	1,62,177	1,18,806	4,366	202	38,488	315
Dharampur	1,23,326	23,242	1,666	17	98,193	208
Sachin	26,231	16,749	3,028	30	6,139	285
Sant	94,257	35,887	2,521	94	55,636	119
Surjana	18,292	16,662	154	-	1,440	36
Dangs	40,498	10,961	95	377	29,022	43
Rest of Gujerat Agency	1,72,905	1,11,620	7,989	610	52,143	543
Total	14,58,702	7,62,611	58,000	4,215	6,26,892	6,984

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
awhar	69,031	15,590	689	16	52,672	64
unawada	1,10,580	1,04,432	5,928	20	-	200
ajpipla	2,73,935	69,243	10,207	1 596	1,91,778	1,111
alasinor	66,037	58,376	6,598	350	585	128
aria	2,06,074	1,20,211	3,402	229	82,081	151
ansda	58,015	7,933	1,132	34	48,526	390
ambay	1,01,451	83,734	12,919	872	176	3,750
hhota Udepur	1,71,911	1,25,934	4,624	224	40,796	333
harampur	1,29,490	24,404	1,749	18	1,03,101	218
ichin	28,940	18,426	3,300	33	6,871	310
int	99,912	38,040	2,672	99	58,974	127
irjana	20,117	18,327	168	-	1,582	40
ings	44,546	12,056	105	415	31,924	46
st of Gujerat gency	1,93,649	1,25,012	8,949	682	58,398	608
tal	15,73,688	8,21,718	62,442	4,588	6,77,464	7,476

The Muslims of Lunawada, only 5,928 against 1,04,432 Hindus, may leave the State and migrate to the Muslim State of Balasinor of this Group, which is the nearest Muslim State Thus they will supplement the Muslim population thereby increasing its Muslim strength from 6,598 persons to 12,526 persons against 58,376 Hindus

The Muslims of Rajpipla, numbering 10,207 against 69,243 Hindus, may cross over to Sachin Muslim State to increase its Muslim strength from 3,300 persons to 13,507 persons against 18,426 Hindus

The Muslims of the remaining States, viz Jawhar, Baria, Bansda, Chhota Udepur, Dharampur, Sant, Surjana, Dangs and the rest of Gujerat Agency, totalling 23,490 against 4,87,506 Hindus, should cross over to Bombay Suburban Muslim Concentrated Block, which is the nearest Block, to save themselves from a disaster which is looming large in view of the present unsettled condition of the country They will thus increase the strength of Muslims in this block from 2,58,212 persons to 3,16,862 persons against 1,92,120 Hindus

The Gujerat Agency known as the Rest of Gujerat States consists of the following small States, whose area varies from 5 sq miles to 100 sq miles and the population from 50 persons to 15,000 persons These States are Bihora, Dhamasia alias Vanmala, Sindhiapura, Virampura, Vora, Agar, Alwa, Amala, Amarpur, Angad, Avchar, Bhilodia, Bilbari, Chhaliar, Chinchil Gaded, Chorangla, Chudesar, Derbhavti, Dhari, Dudhpur, Dodka, Gad-Boriad, Godvi, Gotardi, Gothda, Itwad, Jambughoda, Jesar, Jhari Gharkhadi, Jiral, Kamsoli, Jumkha, Kadana, Kanoda, Kasla Paginu Muwada, Kirli, Mandwa, Mevil, Moka Paginu Muwada, Nahara, Nalia, Nangam, Naswadi, Palasni, Pandu, Palashvihir, Pan Talavdi, Pimpri, Pimpladevi, Polcha, Raika, Rajpur, Rampura, Rengan, Sanjeli, Shanor, Shivbara, Sibora, Sujana, Uchad, Umeta, Vadhyawan, Vajiria, Vakhtapur, Varnolmal, Varnol Moti, Varnol Nani, Vasan Sevada, Vasan Virpur and Vasurna The first 5 States are Muslim States

[1] See Maps 15 and 16

CHAPTER VIII WESTERN INDIA STATES [AGENCY][13]

The following tables indicate community-wise population in each State of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Bhavanagar	6,18,429	5,41,806	50,353	376	658	25,236

Dharangadhra	94,417	85,668	5,057	45	164	3,483
Dhrol	33,617	28,913	3,937	1	-	766
Gondol	2,44,514	1,96,691	39,900	35	-	7,888
Idar	3,07,798	2,92,348	11,085	647	-	3,718
Jafrabad	13,837	11,855	1,982	-	-	-
Porbandar	1,46,648	1,31,212	14,035	91	25	1,285
Radhanpur	67,691	55,663	8,522	14	519	2,973
Palitana	76,432	65,931	5,680	10	173	4,638
Navanagar	5,04,006	4,10,471	66,656	166	3	26,711
Limbdi	44,024	37,431	4,543	18	-	2,032
Vijaynagar	13,942	4,680	325	-	8,509	428
Morvi	1,41,761	1,22,170	12,956	31	61	6,543
Rajkot	1,02,951	85,260	10,828	22	213	6,628
Wadhwan	50,915	41,952	3,054	1	93	5,815
Wankaner	54,965	36,420	15,813	31	-	2,701
Cutch	5,00,800	3,17,791	1,16,998	53	1,433	64,525
Junagadh	6,70,719	5,34,321	1,27,814	200	112	8,272
West Kathiawar	4,35,858	3,65,006	61,718	321	112	8,701
East Kathiawar	3,23,019	2,84,510	21,701	810	275	15,723
Sabar Kantha	4,57,813	4,19,076	17,484	233	4,861	16,159
Total	49,04,156	40,69,175	6,00,400	3,105	17,211	2,14,225

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Bhavanagar	6,92,637	6,06,822	56,389	424	742	28,260
Dharangadhra	97,253	88,239	5,210	46	170	3,588
Dhrol	36,977	31,803	4,327	1	-	846
Gondol	2,66,702	2,14,574	43,491	38	-	8,599
Idar	3,35,491	3,18,655	12,084	701	-	4,051
Jafrabad	14,810	12,688	2,122	-	-	-
Porbandar	1,65,709	1,48,268	15,855	104	28	1,454
Radhanpur	68,367	56,219	8,607	14	524	3,003
Palitana	84,837	73,180	6,307	11	195	5,144
Navanagar	5,64,357	4,59,731	74,639	190	3	29,794
Limbdi	46,220	39,301	4,768	19	-	2,132
Vijaynagar	15,322	5,140	355	-	9,359	468
Morvi	1,58,781	1,36,834	14,516	35	73	7,323
Rajkot	1,13,243	93,790	11,908	24	233	7,288
Wadhwan	55,995	46,142	3,354	1	103	6,395
Wankaner	61,559	40,788	17,709	37	-	3,025
Cutch	5,15,822	3,27,325	1,20,508	54	1,475	66,460
Junagadh	7,52,201	5,99,447	1,43,150	224	124	9,256
West Kathiawar	4,66,364	3,90,556	66,037	342	119	9,310
East Kathiawar	3,47,629	3,05,425	23,220	866	296	16,822
Sabar Kantha	4,80,708	4,40,031	18,359	243	5,106	16,969
Total	53,39,984	44,34,958	6,52,915	3,374	18,550	2,30,287

The Muslims of Idar, Vijaynagar and Sabar Kantha, numbering 30,798 against the Hindu population of 7,61,826 persons, should leave their respective States and enter [the nearby] Radhanpur Muslim State The strength of Muslims in Radhanpur will thus be 39,405 against 56,219 Hindus It will also reinforce the position of the Ruler there in the event of an upheaval for which the Congress Mandal in the States is trying hard

The Muslims of Limbdi, Wadhwan, Bhavanagar, numbering 64,511 against 7,78,080 Hindus, may cross over to the Cambay Muslim State of Gujerat Agency which is located quite close to all these States The number of Muslims in Cambay will thus become 77,430 instead of 12,919 against 83,734 Hindus This State will thus become self-supporting in the times to come It is imperative to strengthen it on account of its location on the sea coast for purposes of trade connections

The Muslims of Navanagar, Porbandar, Gondol, Dhrol, Rajkot, Wankaner and Kathiawar (East and West) may go over to the Junagadh Muslim State in their vicinity The Muslim population in Junagadh numbering 2,57,186 [*sic*] against 16,84,935 Hindus [*sic*] will automatically be strengthened by an increase in its strength from 1,43,150 persons to 4,00,336 persons against 5,99,447 Hindus there To make it a strong Muslim Concentrated Block is also necessary since it is also spread over a large area on the western sea coast of India

The Muslims of Palitana, numbering only 6,307 against 73,180 Hindus, may cross over to the Jafrabad Muslim State by increasing the Muslim population there from 2,122 to 8,429 against 12,688 Hindus Due to its close proximity to the Junagadh Muslim State, this State will become a stronghold in the times to come

The Muslims of Dharangadhra and Morvi, totalling 19,726 against 2,25,073 Hindus, should cross over to Cutch Hindu State, increasing the Muslim strength there, already 1,20,508 persons against 3,27,325 Hindus This State will form a strong Muslim Block with the addition of these Muslims in view of its close proximity to the Sind province which surrounds the boundary of this State for the greater part

[1]See Maps 17 and 18

CHAPTER IX RAJPUTANA STATES[14]

The following tables show the community-wise population in each State of this group

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Abu	4,680	2,618	802	42	1,065	153
Alwar	8,23,055	5,39,369	2,20,334	130	58,430	4,792
Banswara	2,58,760	74,522	7,363	98	1,72,194	4,583
Bharatpur	5,75,625	4,49,091	1,10,296	252	12,435	3,551
Bikaner	12,92,938	9,92,601	1,85,323	255	1,341	1,13,418
Bundi	2,49,374	1,86,063	11,776	25	46,554	4,956
Danta	31,110	16,288	2,968	1	11,522	331
Dholpur	2,86,901	2,53,444	18,509	56	12,762	2,130
Dungarpur	2,74,282	1,02,562	9,068	11	1,56,587	6,054
Jaipur	30,40,876	24,63,801	2,49,215	707	2,93,898	33,255
Jaisalmer	93,246	62,747	27,456	-	2,291	752
Jhalawar	1,22,299	1,05,438	9,600	58	4,889	2,314
Karauli	1,52,413	1,09,214	7,800	16	35,000	383
Kishengarh	1,04,127	91,707	7,585	24	2,026	2,785
Kotah	7,77,398	6,13,719	53,481	1,016	1,03,238	5,944
Kushulgarh (CS)	41,153	4,784	898	-	34,841	630
Lawa (estate)	2,808	2,443	100	-	137	128
Marwar (Jodhpur)	25,55,904	21,24,601	2,14,151	914	95,922	1,20,316
Mewar (Udaipur)	19,26,698	13,34,445	63,849	372	4,50,651	77,381
Palanpur	3,15,855	2,56,143	31,151	53	15,674	12,834
Partabgarh	91,967	42,935	4,473	43	39,482	5,034
Shahpur	61,173	52,154	2,914	-	4,663	1,442
Sirohi	2,33,879	1,64,913	7,113	251	45,686	15,916
Tonk	3,53,687	2,72,203	51,616	21	23,200	6,647
Total	1,36,70,208	1,03,17,805	12,97,841	4,345	16,24,488	4,25,729

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Abu	4,723	2,618	802	42	1,065	156
Alwar	8,64,200	5,66,334	2,31,349	135	61,350	5,032
Banswara	2,79,450	80,482	7,955	106	1,85,962	4,945
Bharatpur	6,27,403	4,89,501	1,20,223	262	13,551	3,866
Bikaner	15,51,608	11,91,121	2,22,483	305	1,601	1,36,098
Bundi	2,76,823	1,99,083	22,595	27	49,812	5,306
Danta	33,909	17,755	3,238	1	12,557	358

Dholpur	3,04,112	2,68,648	19,619	59	13,530	2,256
Dungarpur	3,01,713	1,12,822	9,978	12	1,72,247	6,654
Jaipur	32,84,140	26,60,905	2,69,151	763	3,17,410	35,911
Jaisalmer	1,02,556	69,017	30,206	-	2,511	822
Jhalawar	1,29,634	1,11,762	10,176	61	5,183	2,452
Karauli	1,58,505	1,13,582	8,112	16	36,400	395
Kishengarh	1,14,529	1,00,877	8,345	26	2,226	3,055
Kotah	8,31,862	6,56,668	57,289	1,086	1,10,462	6,357
Kushulgarh (CS)	44,441	5,168	970	-	37,625	678
Lawa(estate)	4,838	4,467	105	-	138	128
Marwar (Jodhpur)	28,11,484	23,37,061	2,35,561	1,004	1,05,512	1,32,346
Mewar (Udaipur)	21,19,358	14,67,885	70,229	412	4,95,711	85,121
Palanpur	3,47,428	2,81,751	34,271	58	17,234	14,114
Partabgarh	1,01,152	47,225	4,913	46	43,432	5,534
Shahpur	64,839	55,286	3,088	-	4,939	1,526
Sirohi	2,43,235	1,71,509	7,397	263	47,514	16,552
Tonk	3,74,905	2,88,535	54,712	23	24,592	7,043
Total	1,49,76,847	1,13,00,062	14,32,783	4,711	17,62,586	4,76,705

The Muslims of Jaisalmer, only 30,206 against 60,107 Hindus, are quite capable of meeting any eventuality because of their high percentage as well as due to close proximity with the Northern Pakistan Sovereign State

The 22,483 Muslims of Bikaner may cross the border and enter Hissar of the Punjab, thereby increasing its strength to some extent

One-third of the Muslims living close to Thar (Great Indian Desert) in Marwar (Jodhpur) State, numbering 78,000 may cross over to the Tharparkar district of Sind and increase the Muslim strength there considerably

The remaining 1,57,561 Muslims of Marwar should cross over to Ajmer-Merwara Administration, which should become a strong Muslim Concentrated Block in the course of time since the Muslims cannot forgo their claims and for passing it [*sic* for let it pass] to the hands of their opponents due to [the location of] Khwaja Sahib's *Dargah Sharif* there Thus they will bring the Muslim strength there from 97,092 persons to 2,54,653 persons

Out of the 70,229 Muslims in the Mewar (Udaipur) State, 20,000 may cross over to a part of the nearby Tonk State since Tonk is scattered over a large area in Rajputana at three places, and the remaining 50,229 may cross over to Ajmer-Merwara Administration

Similarly the 8,345 Muslims of Kishengarh State touching the border of Ajmer should also leave the State and settle down in Ajmer-Merwara Administration

Of the total 2,69,151 Muslims of Jaipur State, 1,69,151 should cross over to the Ajmer Block to inflate the total strength of the Muslims there from 3,13,227 persons to 4,82,378 persons The remaining 1,00,000 Muslims of Jaipur should leave their State and enter the Tonk Muslim State

The 37,934 Muslims against 3,75,766 [Hindus], i e about 10 1% of the Hindus, residing at present in Lawa (estate), Shahpur, Bundi and Jhalawar States and the Kushulgarh Chiefship may cross over to the Tonk Muslim State, thereby increasing its strength considerably The position of [*sic* for number of Muslims in] Tonk will thus become 2,12,646 against 2,88,535 Hindus

The total number of Muslims in Alwar State is 2,31,349 against 5,66,334 of Hindus Since the two Muslim States of the Punjab, namely Pataudi and Loharu, touch the border of Alwar, 11,349 Muslims may cross over to Pataudi and 20,000 to Loharu State, thereby increasing the Muslim strength there to 15,256 against 18,967 Hindus and to 24,350 against 26,313 Hindus in Pataudi and Loharu States, respectively The remaining 2,00,000 Muslims should migrate to Gurgaon by simply crossing the border and thereby increase the Muslim strength in this district of the Punjab from 2,88,080 persons to 4,88,080 persons against 6,05,340 Hindus, i e 80 6% [of the Hindu population] It will be rather difficult for Pataudi to accommodate this inflation [*sic* for large number] since it has only got an area of 53 sq miles, but Loharu, having 226 sq miles, can easily accommodate this inflation [*sic* for influx] However, if necessary, the immigrants to Pataudi may be diverted to Rohtak district later on The aim of suggesting this rehabilitation in Loharu and Pataudi is to strengthen these two Muslim States as much as possible so that they may serve the purpose of becoming buffer States in the times to come between Pakistan and Hindustan

The 27,731 Muslims against 3,82,230 Hindus in Karauli and Dholpur Hindu States should cross their respective borders and enter the Agra Muslim Concentrated Block, thereby increasing the proposed Muslim strength from 3,68,884 persons to 3,96,615 persons

The 1,20,223 Muslims against 4,89,501 Hindus in Bharatpur State are quite a good match for their opponents but in case it becomes necessary to leave the State at present or at a later stage they should also cross the border and enter the Agra Block The total Muslim strength in the Agra Concentrated Block will thus become 5,16,838 persons against 11,93,136 Hindus

Similarly, the 9,978 Muslims against 1,12,822 Hindus in

Dungarpur State may also cross over to the Ahmedabad M
Concentrated Block and therby increase the number of Muslims
from 3,10,334 to 5,13,859 against 7,46,375 Hindus

The Muslims of Kotah, numbering 57,289 against 6,56,668 Hi
i e only 8 7% [of the Hindu population], may cross over to Bhop
nearest Muslim State with a substantial Muslim strength

The Muslims living in Abu, Sirohi and Danta States numbering
against 1,91,882 Hindus, i e only 5 9% [of the Hindu population], s
cross the border and enter Palanpur, another Muslim State of Rajpi
thereby increasing the number of its Muslims from 34,271 to 45,724 a
2,81,751 Hindus The late Maharaja of Sirohi State, who many years
embraced Islam secretly but apparently remained a Hindu Ruler t
death a year back, would have done a great service to the Muslim
the strength of Muslims in his State increased to a greater extent b
could not do so on account of age and weak constitution

The Muslims of Banswara and Dungarpur States can go to
State but since Jaora cannot accommodate them on account of its
responsibilities in Central India States in respect of internal migi
from the adjoining States in the Agency, it would be better for th
cross over to the Ahmedabad Muslim Block in Bombay Provir
Palanpur Muslim State in the vicinity, they being equidistant
both the areas But in the interest of formation of strong and Co
trated Muslim Blocks it would be more to our advantage if 1
Muslims of these two States against 1,93,304 Hindus may cross o
Palanpur and increase the number of its Muslims from 45,724 as
above to 63,657 against 2,81,751 Hindus, i e 22 5% [of the Hindus
percentage even at this point would be too small but it cann
helped However, they will be helped by the Ahmedabad Mi
Concentrated Block on account of the latter's substantial M
strength However, at some later stage some other scheme shall
to be formulated to make Palanpur a stronghold of Muslims

The Muslims of Partabgarh numbering only 4,913 against 4
Hindus, i e 10 4% [of the latter], may cross over to a part of the
State, the nearest Muslim unit, thereby bringing its Muslim total
2,12,644 to 2,17,559 against 2,88,535 Hindus

BARODA STATE

The following two tables show the community-wise populati
Baroda State, a premier Hindu State of India lying in the provir
Bombay

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Baroda	28,55,010	21,94,244	2,23,610	9,182	3,73,207	54,767

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Baroda	30,83,400	23,69,736	2,41,488	9,936	4,03,056	59,184

Since Baroda State is spread over a large area touching the Sachin Muslim State, Surat and the Ahmedabad Muslim Concentrated Blocks, the populace inhabited [Muslims living] in this premier State should migrate as under

(1) Out of the 2,41,488 Muslims, 11,488 may go to the Sachin Muslim State, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 3,300 to 14,788 against 18,426 Hindus
(2) The 1,30,000 Muslims may cross over to the Surat Block and increase the Muslim population there to 4,17,723 against 5,19,574 Hindus, i e 80 4% [of the Hindu population]
(3) The remaining 1,00,000 Muslims should cross the border and settle down in the Ahmedabad Muslim Concentrated Block and thereby increase its Muslim population from 5,13,859 to 6,13,859 against 7,46,375 Hindus, i e 82 2% [of the Hindus]

[14]See Maps 19 and 20

CHAPTER X CENTRAL INDIA STATES[15]

As usual, the following two tables indicate the community-wise population in each State of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Indore	15,13,966	10,78,527	1,26,181	3,804	2,82,602	22,846
Rewa	18,20,445	16,78,496	39,044	140	1,01,308	1,457
Bhopal	7,85,322	5,97,254	1,09,870	491	70,969	6,738
Dewas (Senior)	89,352	77,100	8,854	207	2,322	869
Dewas (Junior)	83,669	67,535	10,157	44	5,208	725
Khilchipur	48,462	45,824	1,271	3	1,534	10
Narsingarh	1,25,178	1,12,473	5,376	14	7,007	308

Rajgarh	1,48,609	1,36,298	7,584	10	4,489	228
Ajaigarh	96,596	82,592	2,773	-	10,457	774
Baoni	25,256	22,102	3,096	29	24	5
Baraunda	17,306	14,204	111	-	2,991	-
Bijawar	1,20,990	1,11,701	2,685	10	5,061	1,533
Charkhari	1,23,594	1,16,214	5,665	3	1,443	269
Chhatarpur	1,84,720	1,72,506	7,222	192	4,136	664
Datia	1,74,072	1,66,299	6,700	21	812	240
Maihar	79,558	60,928	2,472	3	16,123	32
Nagod	87,911	75,310	2,369	3	10,169	60
Orcha	3,63,405	3,33,215	8,850	18	15,382	5,940
Panna	2,31,170	1,93,977	5,228	38	29,850	2,077
Samthar	38,279	35,023	2,795	-	438	23
Alirajpur	1,12,754	8,244	2,692	715	1,00,927	176
Barwani	1,76,666	62,035	8,387	109	1,05,367	768
Dhar	2,53,210	1,38,596	17,974	283	92,982	3,375
Jaora	1,16,953	90,365	19,523	120	4,521	2,424
Jhabua	1,78,327	23,095	2,660	83	1,50,250	2,239
Ratlam	1,26,117	67,002	13,756	855	39,013	5,491
Sailana	40,228	20,776	1,308	11	17,290	843
Sitamau	33,461	29,699	1,867	49	1,079	767
Khaniadhana	20,124	19,016	571	-	-	537
Rest of C India	2,95,814	2,26,633	13,054	543	53,974	1,610
Total	75,11,694	58,63,039	4,40,101	7,798	11,37,728	63,028

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Indore	16 19,873	11,53,995	1,35,034	4,066	3,02,382	24,396
Rewa	19,47,989	17 95,995	41,837	161	1,08,391	1,605
Bhopal	8 16,764	6,21,192	1,14,296	520	73,788	6,968
Dewas (Senior)	96,552	83,268	9,612	216	2,484	972
Dewas (Junior)	86,996	70,200	10,608	52	5,408	728
Khilchipur	50,071	47,174	1,339	3	1,545	10
Narsingarh	1 31,484	1,18,125	5,670	16	7,350	323
Rajgarh	1,51 610	1,39,026	7,752	10	4,590	232
Ajaigarh	1,02 502	87,556	2,968	-	11,130	848
Baoni	28,288	24,752	3,472	32	27	5
Baraunda	18 003	14,768	115	-	3,120	-
Bijawar	1,23 430	1,13,934	2,754	10	5,202	1,530
Charkhari	1,26,075	1,18,524	5,814	3	1,428	306
Chhatarpur	1,97,415	1 84,575	7,704	214	4,387	535
Datia	1,81,024	1,72,952	6,968	22	832	250
Maihar	84,307	64,554	2,650	3	17,066	34
Nagod	95 000	81,324	2,592	3	11,016	65
Orcha	4 02,482	3,59,856	9,602	20	26,632	6,372
Panna	2 42 800	2,03,700	5,460	40	31,395	2,205

Samthar	40,899	37,450	2,996	-	428	25
Alirajpur	1,18,335	8,610	2,835	735	1,05,945	210
Barwani	1,97,904	69,440	9,408	112	1,18,048	896
Dhar	2,58,340	1,41,372	18,360	306	94,860	3,442
Jaora	1,26,265	97,632	21,060	121	4,860	2,592
Jhabua	1,99,006	26,640	2,997	94	1,66,833	2,442
Ratlam	1,36,296	72,360	14,904	972	42,120	5,940
Sailana	43,025	22,256	1,391	11	18,511	856
Sitamau	36,304	32,076	2,052	53	1,296	827
Khaniadhana	21,306	20,140	636	-	-	530
Rest of C India	3,19,464	2,44,728	14,148	540	58,320	1,728
Total	79,99,809	62,28,174	4,67,034	8,335	12,29,394	66,872

The Muslims of Ajaigarh, Baraunda, Maihar and Nagod States totalling 8,325 against 2,48,202 Hindus must at all costs leave their respective States and enter the Banda district of the United Provinces to raise the Muslim population there to 53,793 But since the Muslim State of Baoni also lies in this district, the Muslims of these four States might find it more convenient to migrate there if need be but the proposals given in this Report relate to migration to Banda, because if Banda district is secured the State of Baoni will automatically be safe from any aggression

The Muslims of Chhatarpur numbering 7,704 against 1,84,575 Hindus, i e 4 2% [of the latter], might find it more to their advantage to cross over to Hamirpur district of U P, thereby increasing the Muslim population there from 40,135 to 47,842

The Muslim population of Khaniadhana and Datia numbering 7,604 against 1,93,092 Hindus should cross over to the Jhansi district of U P, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 45,156 to 52,760 There was recently some trouble in Datia State as a result of which the Muslim Dewan in the State had to leave the State The Muslims are since then subjected to maltreatment by their neighbours Migration from this State is now absolutely necessary, otherwise the Muslims will certainly be massacred even at the slightest provocation

Half of the Muslims of the Orcha State and one-half of the Panna State, totalling 7,521 persons should cross over to Jhansi and the remaining 4,801 Muslims from Orcha should cross over to Hamirpur, bringing the total of Muslims there to 60,281 and 52,643 against 7,45,392 and 5,66,993 [Hindus], and 2,730 Muslims of Panna may go to Banda, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 53,793 to 56,523

The Muslims of Samthar numbering 2,996 against 37,450 Hindus, i e only 8 0% of the Hindus, should migrate to the Jalaun district of U P to raise the Muslim population there from 33,277 to 36,273 against 4,75,722 Hindus The percentage is too deplorable [*sic* for insignificant] but there is

no other help [*sic* for alternative] in view of the circumstances prevailing at present

The Muslims of Narsingarh, Indore, Khilchipur, Rajgarh, Dewa (Senior) and Dewa (Junior) and Dhar States numbering 1,88,375 against 17,53,160 representing 10 7% of the aggregate should cross over to Bhopal State, one of the premier Muslim States of India, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 1,14,296 to 3,02,671 against 6,21,192 Hindus The question will naturally come up whether this inflation [*sic* for influx] of population will be able to settle in the State or not The State possesses an area of 6,921 sq miles and is the fourth [largest] State in Central India in area When Indore, having 9,934 sq miles, about one and two-fifths of Bhopal, can accommodate 16 lac people, Bhopal with this area can also take 9 5 lac in its fold quite conveniently The other point is that of economic and agricultural resources of the State which are likely to tell upon the economic life of these settlers and the original population These resources will be dealt with in the third part of this series in order to indicate the possibility or otherwise of this inflation [*sic* for influx] in this State as well as in other States

The States of Ratlam, Sailana, Sitamau, Jhabua, Barwani and Alirajpur carrying 33,720 Muslims, representing 14 5% of 2,31,382 Hindus, might find it more convenient to go to Jaora, another Muslim State of this Group, increasing its total of Muslim population from 21,060 to 54,780 against 97,632 Hindus This Group of States is so congested that it is really difficult to divert their Muslim population to other provinces or States except that they should merge into Jaora but I cannot say at this stage whether it will be economically possible to accommodate this inflation I cannot get any data in respect of the resources of this Muslim State, hence at present I cannot comment on this The League may get this information from the State Muslim League As far as the question of accommodation of these settlers is concerned, I must say that Jaora, having an area of 601 sq miles, is evidently capable of accommodating these immigrants

The Muslims of Rewa, numbering 41,837 against 17,95,995 Hindus, i e only 2 3% [of the majority community], may cross the border of the State and enter the Allahabad district of U P, thereby increasing its Muslim population from 2,88,489 to 3,30,326 against 16,95,503 Hindus, i e approximately 20% of the Hindus

The Muslims of Charkhari, numbering 5,814 against 1,18,574, i e 5 0% [of the Hindus], may cross over to the Baoni Muslim State, thereby increasing the Muslim population there from 3,472 to 9,286 against 24,752 Hindus The State has got an area of 122 sq miles and is one of the smallest States in this group but this minor inflation [*sic* for influx] of population can easily be accommodated there

The Muslims residing in a number of small States, [collectively] known as Rest of Central India States, the details of which are being provided in Enclosure 1, may find it more convenient to cross over to Pathari and Mohammadgarh Muslim States but it would be rather more advantageous if they also migrate to the Banda district of U P where a large number of these small States is located Hence it is suggested that 14,168 Muslims against 2,44,728 Hindus may cross over to Banda and thus increase the Muslim strength there from 56,523 persons to 70,691 persons against 7,34,400 Hindus

GWALIOR STATE

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of States	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Gwalior	40,06,159	34,63,310	2,40,903	1,352	2,45,066	55,528

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of States	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Gwalior	42,86,634	37,05,731	2,57,763	1,498	2,62,257	59,385

To reiterate I propose that 2,57,763 Muslims against 37,05,731 Hindus, i e representing 7% of the Hindus, must save themselves by migrating to the Etawah or Agra districts of U P It would be much to their advantage as well as to the advantage of the U P Muslims if they settle down in the Agra district and its vicinity, which will ultimately form a strong Muslim Concentrated Block The Muslim population in Gwalior is becoming too unsafe every day in view of [the possible] aggression by their neighbours as well as carelessness of its Ruler who is, probably, not taking any action for or interest in the safety of his Muslim subjects

[1] See Maps 21 and 22

CHAPTER XI PUNJAB STATES[1]

The following tables indicate the position of the population of various communities in the Punjab States

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Dujana	30,666	23,727	6,939	-	-	-
Pataudi	21,520	17,728	3,655	9	-	128
Loharu	27,892	23,923	3,960	-	-	9
Mandi	2,32,593	2,27,457	4,328	2	-	806
Suket	71,094	69,974	884	-	-	234
Kapurthala	3,78,380	61,546	2,13,754	1,643	-	1,01,437
Malerkotla	88,109	23,479	33,881	115	-	30,634
Faridkot	1,99,283	21,771	61,352	240	-	1,15,920
Chamba	1,68,908	1,55,480	12,318	150	-	960
Patiala	19,36,259	5,97,488	4,36,539	1,412	-	9,00,820
Jind	3,61,812	2,68,349	50,972	134	-	42,357
Nabha	3,40,044	1,46,430	70,373	213	-	1,23,028
Bahawalpur	13,41,209	1,69,002	10,98,814	2,942	-	70,451
Khairpur	3,05,787	49,604	2,53,690	92	779	1,622
Kalsia	67,393	29,866	25,049	55	-	12,423
Sirmur	1,56,026	1,46,199	7,374	31	-	2,422
Bilaspur	1,10,336	1,08,375	1,498	5	-	458
Tehri-Garhwal'	3,97,369	3,95,340	1,945	5	-	79
Other Punjab States	3,59,520	3,45,520	10,812	92	-	3,096
Total	65,94,198	28,81,258	22,98,137	7,140	779	14,06,884

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Dujana	31,888	24,671	7,217	-	-	-
Pataudi	22,913	18,967	3,907	9	-	30
Loharu	30 672	26,313	4,350	-	-	9
Mandi	2,42,543	2,37,101	4,586	2	-	854
Suket	78,192	76,964	974	-	-	254
Kapurthala	4,16,199	67,695	2,35,124	1,803	-	1,11,577
Malerkotla	90,749	24,181	34,898	118	-	31,552
Faridkot	2,19,217	23,951	67 492	264	-	1,27,510
Chamba	1,82,430	1,67,930	13 302	162	-	1,036
Patiala	21,29,884	6,57 238	4,80,194	1,552	-	9,90,900
Jind	3,83,522	2,84,447	54,032	142	-	44,901
Nabha	3,70,535	1,59,506	76,700	231	-	1,34,098
Bahawalpur	15,82,623	1,99,422	12,96,598	3,464	-	83,141
Khairpur	3,43,241	56,052	2,75,371	105	883	1,830
Kalsia	71,497	31 694	26,606	53	-	13,144
Sirmur	1,60,732	1,50,586	7,622	52	-	2,472
Bilaspur	1,15,880	1,13,820	1,575	5	-	480

Tehri-Garhwal	4,25,202	4,22,971	2,140	5	-	86
Other Punjab States	3,73,880	3,59,320	11,232	104	-	3,224
Total	72,62,801	31,02,829	26,03,920	8,071	883	15,47,098

Dujana, Pataudi and Loharu have already been dealt with in Chapter IX above The details of the proposed Muslim population and the ultimate manpower of these States will again be provided in the Summary, wherein all the recommendations made in this as well as in the First Report have been fully summarised

Mandi The present position is that there are 4,586 Muslims and 2,37,101 Hindus Obviously the Muslims are quite unsafe and their [number] should, therefore, be supplemented If the State is left without Muslim population, i e if all the four-and-a-half thousand Muslims leave the State for Gurdaspur, the nearest district of the Punjab, the State might prove dangerous to Pakistan at a later stage since it is surrounded [*sic* for flanked] only on the western and northern sides by the Punjab districts while on the eastern and southern sides it has the Hindu States of Bilaspur, Suket and Tehri-Garhwal of the Simla Hill States Agency It is therefore suggested that 60,000 Muslims out of a surplus of 1,00,000 from Gurdaspur may cross over to this State, if necessary, to raise the total to 64,586, i e nearly one-fourth of the Hindus

Similarly, the remaining 40,000 surplus Muslims of Gurdaspur should go to Bilaspur, thereby bringing its total strength [*sic* for Muslim population] to 41,575 against 1,13,820 Hindus, i e to 36 4% [of the Hindu population] This percentage can meet any emergency and will form a substantial strength of Muslims in the times to come

Tehri-Garhwal The 2,140 Muslims against 4,23,000 Hindus must leave the State at all costs and enter the Sirmur State As a result, there will be 9,762 Muslims against 1,50,586 [Hindus] there The 11,232 Muslims against 3,59,320 Hindus residing in smaller States known as Other Punjab States might also cross over to the Sirmur State A description of these small States is given in Enclosure 2 After the above migration, the Sirmur State will have 20,994 Muslims against 1,50,586 Hindus, i e [the Muslims will be] 14% [of the Hindu population there] The percentage is too meagre but there is no other alternative except to strengthen the Ambala Division, which will ultimately serve as a safeguard for the populace in these Hill States

Chamba The 13,302 Muslims against 1,67,930 Hindus represent a very low percentage in spite of the fact that the State is situated at the Punjab-Kashmir border Under the circumstances, efforts should however be made to transfer 1,50,000 Muslims from the surplus

Muslim population of Sialkot, which is the nearest district in respect of Muslim-surplus population As a consequence of such transfer of Muslim population, the State will carry 1,63,302 Muslims against 1,67,930 Hindus If somehow this migration process takes shape in accordance with the recommendations contained in this as well as in the First Report, wherein Kangra district had also been dealt with in detail, this State itself will become a very strong Muslim Concentrated Pocket and will thereby indirectly help their Muslim brethren in the State of Mandi, which is rather poor in respect of Muslim population

Kapurthala Although it is a Hindu-Sikh State, it has a substantial majority of Muslims who number 2,35,124 against 67,695 non-Muslims [This State, therefore,] needs no readjustment as far [as Muslims are concerned]

Malerkotla This is a Muslim State, having 34,898 Muslims against 24,181 Hindus [No population readjustment is, therefore, called for here]

Faridkot This is also a Muslim-majority State with a Sikh Ruler and needs no re-organization

Patiala This is a Hindu-Sikh State It is so located that it can prove itself a menace to Pakistan The present political conflict on the subject of division of India and the arguments and reasonings put forward by the Congress against Grouping are only due to the strength of this State and the Hindu domination in the Ambala Division wherein this State lies The Muslims numbering 4,80,194 against 6,57,238 Hindus plus 9,90,000 others, who are practically speaking all Sikhs, are rather in a dangerous position The Hindus are trying hard to win over the Sikh majority by various means, right or wrong They (Hindus) are deep in league with the Sikhs and to invite their whole-hearted support and sympathies they are now coming in the fold of Sikhism This conversion, which is obviously not due to their conviction and the so-called good doctrine of Sikhism but merely because the same serves the dual purpose—one that they can easily keep swords, *kirpan*, etc , which right is denied to others, so that they will always be better placed in arming themselves at any time, and the other that they will get full support, help and sympathies from the Sikhs all over the country since Sikhs are better off as a small community The only tangible solution for this menace is to get somehow the surplus Muslims of Gujrat, Jhang, Jhelum, Mianwali, Montgomery and Lahore transferred to Ambala Division to increase the Muslim strength in that Division as well as to surround these Hindu-Sikh States and in order to avoid their going out of their way in making pacts with the Hindu India to harm the Pakistan Sovereign State It will therefore be necessary to transfer the following surplus Muslim population into Ambala Division to make it a strong south-eastern frontier of Northern Pakistan as well as to avoid chances of

losing this Division on the ground of a small percentage, which is the most controversial point at present The avenues for the settlement and rehabilitation of these settlers should be worked out locally in accordance with the circumstances and conditions prevailing there

Gujrat	5,00,000
Jhelum	5,00,000
Jhang	4,00,000
Mianwali	2,00,000
Montgomery	6,00,000
Lahore	2,00,000
Lyallpur	2,00,000
Shahpur	2,00,000
Multan	4,00,000
Total	32,00,000

At present, Ambala Division, comprising Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Ambala, Simla and Kangra, has 14,41,392 Muslims against 42,30,148 Hindus plus 3,03,990 others, who are practically all Sikhs Therefore there are 45,34,138 Hindus and other non-Muslims against 14,41,390 Muslims If the above recommendations are implemented, ultimately there will be 14,41,390 + 32,00,000 = 46,41,390 Muslims In accordance with the recommendations made in the foregoing pages of this Report, the Muslim position in this block will be further supplemented by the transfer of 2,22,483 Muslims from Rajputana and the final number of the Muslims will be 48,63,873 against 45,34,138 [of non-Muslims] The surplus Muslim population of 3,29,735 resulting from the above programme will strengthen the position of Muslims in the Hindu States of the Punjab and the Punjab Hill States lying in this Division

The Punjab is now sufficiently advanced and is politically conscious to such an extent that if an under-cover organization is set up to complete this programme secretly, it might be completed within a period of 8 to 10 years, the period when any Constitution framed at present can be changed as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission Plan in view of the Muslim plebiscite at that time

Nabha and Jind If the Ambala Division is secured, these two Hindu-Sikh States will automatically fall within the Muslim-majority zone and will never try to make undesirable alliances with the Hindu India, instead they will endeavour to remain as a Unit of the Pakistan Federation with the advantages of all the residuary powers

Bahawalpur and Khairpur States These are the two biggest Muslim

States with a huge Muslim population It is now high time to exploit the resources of these two Muslim States in full The details of the resources of these two States will be provided in the Third Report, the outline of which has already been described in the First as well in this Report By the way, I must state that the Ruler of Bahawalpur, with the help of his Revenue Minister and Political Secretary, who is also the Director of Food, is taking keen interest in the agricultural development of his State The Agricultural Department of the Punjab Government may help the State Department with the concurrence of its Ruler Similarly, Khan Bahadur Aijaz Ali, the President of the Council of Administrators in Khairpur State, is a great Administrator and a learned officer of the United Provinces Civil Service He is also doing very nicely in respect of various developments in the State His efforts should also be supplemented by the Sind Government

"See Maps 23 and 24

[1] This State, which is really located in U P, has been wrongly included in the Punjab

CHAPTER XII U P STATES[18]

The following two tables indicate the community-wise population in each State

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*
[Data as given in the relevant Map]

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Rampur	25 96,169	2,37,911	2,35,458	3,245	-	428
Benares	4 51 428	4,09,258	38,167	36	3,404	563
Total	3 04,7597	6,47,169	2,73 625	3,281	3,404	991

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Benares	4,83,159	4,37,951	40,874	54	3,638	642
Rampur	4 86 590	2,42,658	2,40,210	3,314	-	408
Total	9,69,749	6,80,609	2,81,084	3,368	3,638	1,050

Rampur The State needs no readjustment, organization or concentration since it has got an equal number of Hindus and Muslims besides being a Muslim State Also, it is sorrounded by such districts

of U P as are also surplus districts of Muslim population in a way

Benares The Muslims in this State are rather unsafe but the formation of an Eastern Muslim Concentrated Block, stretching from Gonda right up to Mirzapur, will no doubt be a passport for the safety of the Muslims residing in this State Bhadohi, a town in this State, is a great industrial centre and the industry there is practically all in Muslim hands It would be extremely detrimental if they leave the State and migrate elsewhere They must therefore consolidate themselves at one centre, preferably in Bhadohi and roundabout it to make it a strong unit of the Block I am not at liberty to point out anything more on the subject at present but this much I know that the people there can take care of themselves against mob violence

[118] See Maps 25 and 26

CHAPTER XIII KASHMIR & JAMMU STATE[119]

The following tables indicate the community-wise population in the State

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kashmir	39,45,090	8,07,475	29,97,113	3,077	29,374	1,08,051
Gilgit	76,526	74	76,427	2	-	23
Total	40,21,616	8,07,549	30,73,540	3,079	29,374	1,08,074

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Kashmir	41,42,355	8,47,875	31,46,955	3,255	30,870	1,13,400
Gilgit	83,436	109	83,276	26	-	25
Total	42,25,791	8,47,984	32,30,231	3,281	30,870	1,13,425

[By population], the Kashmir State is a predominantly Muslim State and has got a huge Muslim surplus, hence no suggestions in respect of migration or concentration are being incorporated under this head

[119] See Maps 27 and 28 The description of the State as given in this Report differs from the official name which is 'Jammu and Kashmir State "

CHAPTER XIV BALUCHISTAN STATES [AGENCY][20]

The following two tables indicate the community-wise population in each State of this Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kalat	2,53,305	7,971	2,45,208	31	-	95
Kharan	33,832	99	33,733	-	-	-
Las Bela	60,067	1,701	67,310	9	-	47
Total	3,56,204	9,771	3,46,251	40	-	142

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

Name of State	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Kalat	2,60,930	8,240	2,52,556	31	-	103
Kharan	35,490	105	35,385	-	-	-
Las Bela	72,503	1,785	70,665	-	-	53
Total	3,68,923	10,130	3,58,606	31	-	156

The reorganization of these States is not [in] the least necessary since these are predominantly Muslim States, but if Baluchistan Administration is declared a separate province like others, it will no doubt serve a very useful purpose in making it a very strong, self-supporting and rich Unit of the Pakistan Federation

The States of Las Bela and Kalat are spread over the south coast of Baluchistan, hence the development of the coastal cities is absolutely necessary It has got Gwadar, Sonmiani, Pasni and Ormara ports to the south-west and Gwadar at the western extremity, Sonmiani lies on the eastern extremity of the Baluchistan coast The whole of the coastal area and the border along a great length of the Sind Province is under the rule of the Khan of Kalat The development of this area is subject to the wishes of the Khan Sahib and as such Pakistan shall have to come to terms with the Khan as well as with the Ruler of Las Bela for the possession of these important ports which are at present too small in area and trade but it is hoped that they will become big commercial seaports in the future There is one more aspect of the proposal, viz the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan has got no seaport of its own and with the development of its resources it is just possible that

the Government there might seek help and concession from the Northern Pakistan Sovereign State to get possession of a port or try to get it proclaimed a mutual port of both the Kingdom and the Federation for commercial purposes

[20]See Maps 29 and 30

CHAPTER XV NORTH WEST FRONTIER STATES[21]

All the States and Tribal Territories lie beyond the boundary of the Frontier Province and are actually outside India, with an undefined frontier known as "No Man's Land" The States of Chitral, Amb, Phulera, Swat, etc , are predominantly Muslim States These States, including Kurram and Khyber Agencies and the Political Areas under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan, are actually situated in the Tribal Territory and do not form part of the Frontier Province Separate figures for each State are not available and where they are available they differ considerably from one source to another However, efforts have been made to arrive at a most accurate and authentic estimate of the population of these States and Tracts, which are indicated in the following table The population given for the States is based on the statistics provided by the Whitaker's *World Statistics* and the *Encyclopedia of Islam* The numbers of other communities besides the Muslims in these States have not been provided, assuming that their numbers must be negligible and that they must be predominantly Muslim areas with negligible percentages of others No suggestions for reorganization etc , have been provided here except that it is urgent to exploit the resources (particularly mineral) of these States by providing financial and technical help to the Rulers by the Pakistan Federation

[Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

State or Territory	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Chitral	91,000	-	91,000	-	-	-
Dir	2,73,000	-	2,73,000	-	-	-
Swat	2,34,200	-	2,34,200	-	-	-
Phulera	7,600	-	7,600	-	-	-
Amb	41,000	-	41,000	-	-	-
Kurram	6,796	987	4,681	124	1,004	-
Khyber	8,281	2,878	4,000	210	1,192	1
North Waziristan	18,453	6,264	8,909	1,716	1,564	-

South Waziristan	7,648	4,762	2,320	187	376	3
Political Area under D C , D I Khan[22]	717	43	665	3	6	-
Total	6,86,694	12,934	6,63,161	2,240	4,142	4]

TABLE II

Present Estimated Population

State or Territory	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Chitral	91,000	-	91,000	-	-	-
Dir	2,73,000	-	2,73,000	-	-	-
Swat	2,34,200	-	2,34,200	-	-	-
Phulera	7,600	-	7,600	-	-	-
Amb	41,000	-	41,000	-	-	-
Kurram	7,274	1,057	5,010	133	1,074	-
Khyber	8,873	3,074	4,300	244	1,274	1
North Waziristan	19,748	6,705	9,532	1,835	1,676	-
South Waziristan	8,185	5,097	2,481	200	404	3
Political Area under D C , D I Khan	748	46	693	3	6	-
Total	6,91,628	15,979	6,68,816	2,395	4,434	4

The figures for the Political and Tribal Territories have been borrowed from the *Government of India Census Report, 1941*, for the N W F P

The Muslim population of Pakistan, especially that of the Northern Zone, must take special interest in the resources of the Chitral Muslim State in full agreement with the Mehtar of Chitral to make it a wealthy and resourceful State It will undoubtedly serve the following two purposes

(i) The State, if properly manned, will serve as a strong barrier for the Northern Pakistan in case any foreign power (e g , U S S R) looks with an avaricious eye towards the wealthy Northern Pakistan Sovereign State, and

(ii) It will feed Pakistan with a number of minerals available in abundance in this State The details of the mineral resources of this State as well as other States lying at the N W F P will be provided in the third part of this series

Similarly, the Muslim Sovereign State of Pakistan must consider developing the North-West Frontier States and modernizing them in respect of industry, agriculture and defence to serve as a strong frontier for Pakistan With the huge Muslim surplus population in the northern Punjab districts it will be rather easy to transfer a substantial

portion of its labour to these States as well as to the N W F P and Baluchistan areas to work in various mines etc for the development of the States, Tribal Territories and the Pakistan Sovereign State These mines are still hidden and have not been fully exploited so far, the details of which will be provided in the Third Report

[21]See Maps 31 and 32
[22]Refers to the Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ismail Khan District

CHAPTER XVI REVISION OF [MIGRATION PROCESS OF MUSLIMS OF] BENGAL AND BIHAR

In view of the recommendations made in the First Report as well as those incorporated in this Report, it becomes necessary to review the position of Bengal once again and revise the recommendations made previously where necessary As a result of this contention, I am going to reiterate the provisional recommendations made in the First Report The most salient feature of this Chapter is a reconsideration in detail of the Burdwan Division or in other words the Western Bengal on the basis of the migration proposed from Bihar and Orissa States (Eastern States) as well as the Rajshahi Division on the basis of transfer of surplus Muslims from the adjoining districts of Eastern Bengal which lie close to various districts of the Division This revision has necessitated itself owing to Dr Shyama Prasad [Mookerji's] recent cry for the division of Bengal, the western districts which is the predominantly Hindu area [*sic*]

Birbhum The number of Muslims [*sic* for Hindus] in Birbhum is 7,20,720 and [that of Muslims is] 3,01,665, i e the Muslims are 41 9% of the Hindus This is not a bad position in view of the Muslim representation in the province but for strengthening the block as a whole suggestions have been incorporated here to supplement this low percentage in order to avoid criticism of our opponents on the basis of high and low percentage basis The 2,75,940 Muslims of Santhal Parganas of Bihar had already been proposed to cross the border and enter the Birbhum district of Bengal to raise its Muslim strength from 3,01,665 persons to 5,77,605 against 7,20,720 Hindus, i e 80 2% of the Hindus

Bankura The present position is [that there are] 11,64,888 Hindus and 60,048 Muslims respectively This percentage of the Muslims is, as a matter of fact, quite negligible and need be supplemented The transfer of 1,40,132 [Muslims] from the Manbhum district of Bihar and of 3,018 Muslims from Seraikhela and Kharswan States of Eastern States Agency in Orissa will raise the total to 2,03,198 only, i e about one-sixth of the Hindus This position may be left as it is for the present

Burdwan The position of Hindus and Muslims is 15,07,738 and 3,70,370 respectively, i e [the Muslims are] 24 5% of the Hindus The surplus Muslim population of Murshidabad, may be transferred to Burdwan across the border They will thus make up the Muslim population there to some extent and will bring the total up to 6,37,340 Burdwan is an industrial district of the province and as such let four lakh Muslims from Rajshahi and five lakh from the Pabna districts be transferred from their respective districts Those from the Rajshahi district will find their way easily by crossing the border but the Muslims of Pabna will have to cover a long distance by passing through the district of Nadia In accordance with this process of transfer the total Muslim strength in Burdwan will be 15,37,340 against 15,07,738 Hindus

Midnapore The importance of this district had already been described previously but the position of population is again dealt with here in detail as a result of certain transfers from the adjoining States The present position is [that there are] 28,69,740 Hindus against 2,63,862 Muslims The transfer of population from [various] provinces and States will be as under

Keonjhar and Nilgiri States	1,810
Mayurbhanj State	6,254
Singhbhum district of Bihar	48,384
Balasore, Cuttock and Puri districts of Orissa Province	1,38,179
Sambalpur district of Orissa Province	5,460
Total	2,00,087

This transfer will bring the total strength of the Muslims up to 4,63,949 only The percentage is rather low and must be supplemented I am sure if the Howrah, Hoogly, Calcutta and 24-Parganas districts of Bengal are fully supplemented in respect of their Muslim population, the problem of Midnapore will automatically solve itself and in due course of time the populace of this Block, which will surely be increased as a result of migration from Eastern Bengal, will find its way into Midnapore

Howrah This is one of the most important districts of Bengal on account of its commercial and industrial importance It has got a population of 13,98,182 Hindus and 3,49,634 Muslims, i e [the Muslims are] roughly one-fourth of the Hindus It is, therefore, suggested that 6,00,000 surplus Muslims of Pabna should cross over to Howrah The position will thus be 9,49,634 Muslims against 13,98,182 Hindus, i e 68 6% [of the Hindu population] The position as such will be quite sufficient to evade all criticisms on the basis of the population percentage

Hoogly The present position is 12,31,440 Hindus and 2,31,952 Muslims The surplus Muslims of Nadia and Jessore, the adjoining districts, i e 4,53,600 + 2,93,580 = 7,47,180 should migrate to this district to make up strength to a figure of 9,79,132 against 12,31,440 Hindus, i e 79 5% of the Hindus

Khulna The present population has 10,75,470 Hindus and 3,95,120 Muslims The 9,50,000 surplus Muslims of Faridganj, the adjoning district of Khulna should cross the border and settle down in this district thus bringing its Muslim strength to 13,45,120 persons against 10,75,470 Hindus The 2,69,650 surplus Muslims of Khulna as a result of this migration process will be helpful to the Muslim minority in Calcutta and will in due course of time find their way into Calcutta proper

24-Parganas The present position is 26,32,140 Hindus and 13,08,948 Muslims, i e nearly 50% The 13 lakh Muslims out of a surplus of 17,69,240 in the nearest district of Bakerganj may come down to the rescue of their brethren in 24-Parganas, thereby increasing the Muslim strength there from 13,08,948 to 26,08,948 against 26,32,140 Hindus

Jalpaiguri As already recommended in the First Report, 7,24,800 out of 10,24,800 Muslims from Purnea district of Bihar should cross the border and five lakh out of this should settle down in Jalpaiguri and the remaining 2,24,800 may find their way into Darjeeling The position of these two districts will thus become 2,64,075 + 5,00,000 = 7,64,075 against 5,79,180 Hindus in Jalpaiguri and 9,919 + 2,24,800 + 100 from Sikkim State—the adjoining State—will become 2,34,819 against 1,98,750 Hindus [in the Darjeeling District] This process will increase the number of Muslims in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and is being suggested for implementation in order to strengthen the north-western border of Eastern Pakistan Zone for any emergency at some future date A review of the province as a result of recommendations made in this as well as in the First Report will indicate that the Muslims will thus form a substantial strong block stretching from Darjeeling right up to Murshidabad while the remaining districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura and Midnapore will also have a substantial Muslim strength, ultimately to become a strong Muslim block according to the time and need

As a result of the recommendations made in the foregoing pages, the position of communities in the three blocks formed above will become as under

The populace of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Murshidabad will form a figure of 17,52,394 against 15,31,430 Hindus Those in Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura and Midnapore will represent 27,76,632 against 62,63,076 Hindus, i e about 44 3% of the Hindus, while in the block consisting of Howrah, Hoogly, Khulna and 24-Parganas will represent

58,82,836 Muslims against 63,37,232 Hindus, i e 92 8% [of the Hindus] This strength of Muslims will be quite sufficient to meet any emergency whatsoever in the future on the one hand while on the other hand it will eliminate the menace of Muslim minority and Hindu majority in these blocks for purposes of political differences

In the end, I must emphasise the point that since all these recommendations are based on a layman's findings, which, as far as the statistics are concerned, are unequivocally true But to give them a practical shape is the sacred duty of the League Organization concerned in accordance with the conditions and circumstances prevailing there No doubt, it is rumoured that the League is already going ahead on the subject of increase in the Muslim percentage in the western districts of Bengal for which there had already occured a certain resentment from the Hindus, and their leaders are making a hue and cry for the same

Similarly, the formation of the Patna Muslim Concentrated Block had been suggested in the First Report by an oversight It was all along in my mind to form a Muslim Concentrated Block in and around Bhagalpur, a famous centre of Muslim culture and Islamic education of this province, but while writing the Chapter on Bihar, the district of Bhagalpur was altogether omitted due to an oversight This discrepancy has now been rectified and the position of this block will now be as under

The Muslims of Patna, Gaya, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Darbhanga and only 3,00,000 from Purnea, amounting to 21,09,274, should cross over to Bhagalpur, thereby increasing its Muslim strength from 2,90,680 persons to 23,99,954 persons against a Hindu majority of 21,09,274 in that district This block, if at all formed, will be quite self-supporting and will have the following two aspects

(1) The block itself will serve as a Buffer State between Pakistan and Hindustan on the one hand while on the other it will minimise the strength of the Hindus in western Bengal
(2) It will also be in a position to help their brethren in case of emergency in the nearby Ranchi Muslim Concentrated Block which is quite near to Bhagalpur than to Patna

In this connection it must be remembered that during the last Bihar Carnage, in the places where Muslims were in a consolidated majority, the Hindus considered and reconsidered an attack and ultimately had to fight shy and left the places for the distant and scattered tracts where poor Muslims were a meagre minority Under the circumstances and considering the mentality of a Hindu violent mob, the block, will be absolutely safe from any aggression in the interest of self-preservation on the part of the majority community of the Province of Bihar

CHAPTER XVII TOTAL POPULATION OF [VARIOUS COMMUNITIES IN] INDIAN STATES [AND STATE AGENCIES]

The following two tables indicate the consolidated population of various communities in each State/Agency

Table I *Community-wise Population According to the 1941 Census*

State or Agency	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Assam	7,25,655	3,27,727	31,662	25,913	3,39,139	1,216
Bengal	21,44,829	10,12,742	3,72,113	564	7,51,022	8,388
Sikkim	1,21,520	45,888	83	34	63,706	12,309
Eastern States	30,23,731	21,40,423	14,355	2,249	8,64,914	1,790
Chhatisgarh States	40,50,000	21,88,602	28,773	11,820	18,17,712	3,093
Madras States	4,98,754	4,47,602	30,263	20,806	8	75
Mysore State	73,29,108	66,86,630	4,85,230	98,580	9,405	49,263
Cochin State	14,22,875	8,96,950	1,09,188	3,99,394	5,183	12,160
Travancore	60,70,018	35,42,399	4,34,150	19,58,491	1,32,682	2,296
Hyderabad	1,63,38,534	1,33,10,045	20,97,475	2,15,980	6,78,149	36,885
Deccan & Kolhapur	27,85,428	24,92,030	1,82,036	17,236	8,678	85,448
Gujerat States	14,58,702	7,62,611	58,000	4,215	6,26,892	6,984
Western India States	49,04,156	40,69,175	6,00,440	3,105	17,211	2,14,225
Rajputana States	136,70,208	1,03,17,805	12,97,841	4,345	16,24,488	4,25,729
Central India States	75,11,694	58,63,039	4,40,101	7,798	11,37,728	63,028
Baroda State	28,55,010	21,94,244	2,23,610	9,182	3,73,207	54,767
Gwalior State	40,06,159	34,63,310	2,40,903	1,352	2,45,066	55,528
Punjab States	65,94,198	28,81,258	22,98,137	7,140	779	14,06,884
U P States	[Not given]	-	-	-	-	-
Kashmir State	30,23,731	21,40,423	14,355	2,249	8,64,914	1,790
Baluchistan States	3,56,204	9,771	3,46,251	40	-	142
Frontier States	[6,86,694	12,934	6,63,161	2,240	4,142]	4
Total	9,05,10,612	6,54,55,822	92,47,407	27,96,169	95,68,219	24,42,612

Table II *Present Estimated Population*

State or Agency	Total	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Tribes	Others
Assam	7,92,120	3,50,157	33,877	47,709	3,59,111	1,266
Bengal	22,92,599	10,85,120	3,99,521	599	7,98,052	9,307
Sikkim	1,27,628	48,195	105	53	66,360	12,915

Eastern States	32,07,973	22,68,684	15,170	2,363	9,19,877	1,879
Chhatisgarh States	43,33,863	23,34,333	30,626	12,662	19,52,930	3,312
Madras States	5,24,621	4,70,695	32,004	21,768	8	146
Mysore State	77,68,846	70,87,796	5,14,312	1,04,516	9,964	52,258
Cochin State	15,50,961	9,77,730	1,19,028	4,35,346	5,668	13,189
Travancore	66,77,110	38,96,640	4,77,620	21,54,350	1,45,970	2,530
Hyderabad	1,74,82,195	1,42,41,700	22,44,325	2,31,120	7,25,567	39,483
Deccan & Kolhapur	29,69,000	26,52,878	1,94,624	18,530	9,083	93,885
Gujerat States	15,73,688	8,21,718	62,442	4,588	6,77,464	7,476
Western India States	53,40,084	44,34,958	6,52,915	3,374	18,550	2,30,287
Rajputana States	1,49,76,847	1,13,00,062	14,32,783	4,711	17,62,586	4,76,705
Central India States	79,99,809	62,28,174	4,67,034	8,335	12,29,394	66,872
Baroda State	30,83,400	23,69,736	2,41,488	9,936	4,03,056	59,184
Gwalior State	42,86,634	37,05,731	2,57,763	1,498	2,62,257	59,385
Punjab States	72,62,801	31,02,829	26,03,920	8,071	883	15,47,098
U P States	9,69,749	6,80,609	2,81,084	3,368	3,638	1,050
Kashmir State	42,25,791	8 47,984	32,30,231	3,281	30,870	1,13,425
Baluchistan States	3,68 923	10,130	3,58,606	31	-	156
Frontier States	6,91,628	15,979	6,60,816	2,395	4,434	4
Total	9,85,06 270	6,89,31,838	1 43 18,294	38,78,604	93,85,722	27,91,812

The above totals, if compared with the totals given for the Indian States in the First Report, will indicate a certain variation This is due to the fact that in the First Report the population was worked out on the percentage variation arrived at during 1941 Census for the Agency consisting of a number of States while in this Report the calculations were made in respect of each State on the same principle of percentage variations for the individual States Moreover, the additional figures of population for the North West Frontier States and Tribal Territories, which could not be included in the last Report, have an important bearing on the totals given in these two tables

CHAPTER XVIII SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

While consolidating the recommendations as a whole, it has been observed that some discrepancies have occurred in the First Report on account of time and the gigantic nature of the work wherein it was not possible to invite help from others on the ground that either persons interested in this kind of work were not available or those available

were not as reliable as I wanted them to be During the last 4½ months commencing from 1st November (the day I took up this work as a result of *Bihar Carange and Garhmukteswar Massacre*)[2], to 28 February 1947, the period entirely devoted by me to the completion of this work, the idea had taken root in my mind that if these statistics are known to others (opponents), they would certainly derive the same conclusions and advantage which these reports seek to provide for the betterment of Muslim masses inhabited in the danger zone of this subcontinent Accordingly, the only solution that suggested itself to me was to confine my work to my own labours without inviting help from others so much so that the work of preparation of maps and charts was also taken up by me and not entrusted to draftsmen or artists I hope that the names and figures, which could not be written nicely, would not be minded much However, the unavoidable discrepancies contained in the First Report have been rectified in this Report at several places and an additional Chapter has been provided to rectify such discrepancies as well as a consolidated summary of the recommendations has been given in the following pages with illustrations, etc , etc

In order to minimise the extent of work as well as to avoid the Report becoming too bulky a document, all the recommendations, in accordance with the consolidated suggestions of the First and Second Reports, have been compressed and the writing material has been eliminated altogether and a table has been provided instead which has got five columns as under

(a) Column 1 represents the name or names of centres from where Muslim population is suggested to migrate,
(b) Column 2 represents the name of unit where population is to be concentrated,
(c) Column 3 gives the number of Muslims to be migrated from the places given in Column 1 and to be concentrated in places given in Column 2,
(d) Column 4 gives the total strength of Muslims after the migration which naturally differs considerably from the number of Muslims obtaining at present, and
(e) Column 5 indicates total strength of Hindus of the Unit where Muslims are to be concentrated

Table showing recommendations for migrations etc

Centres of Migration	Units of Concentration	Number to be migrated	Total Strength	Total Strength of Hindus
Purnea	Darjeeling	2,24,800	2,34,819	1,04,265
Purnea	Jalpaiguri	5,00,000	7,64,075	5,79,180
Pabna	Howrah	6,00,000	9,49,634	13,98,182
Bakerganj	24-Parganas	13,00,000	26,08,948	26,32,140
Faridpur	Khulna	9,50,000	13,45,120	10,75,470
Nadia	Hoogly	4,53,600		
Jessore	Hoogly	2,93,580	9,79,132	12,31,440
Murshidabad	Burdwan	2,66,970		
Pabna	Burdwan	5,00,000	15,37,340	15,07,738
Rajshahi	Burdwan	4,00,000		
Singhbhum	Midnapore	48,384		
Keonjhar and Nilgiri States	Midnapore	1,810		
Mayurbhanj State	Midnapore	6,254	4,63,949	28,69,740
Balasor, Cuttock Puri (Orissa)	Midnapore	1,38,119		
Sambalpur	Midnapore	5,460		
Santhal Parganas	Birbhum	2,75,940	5,77,605	7,20,720
Manbhum, Seraikhela & Kharswan	Bankura	1,43,150	2,03,198	11,64,888
Manipur State	Cachar	31,672	2,80,982	2,41,606
Sylhet	Khasi-Jaintia	12,000	13,728	13,716
Lakhimpur	Cachar	49,952	3,30 934	
Sibsagar	Nowgong	55,944	3,38,557	3,25,892
Lushai Hills	Tippera	111	33,62,878	9,94,400
Khasi State	Sylhet	2,200	19,95,826	12,18,470
Patna, Muzaffarpur, Monghyr, Gaya, Darbhanga & Purnea	Bhagalpur	21,09,274	23,99,954	21,03,712
Hazaribagh & Ranchi	Ranchi	3,06,960	3,06,960	4,39,400
Rest of Eastern States	Ranchi	10,342	3,17,352	4,39,400
Jashpur, Udaipur, Sakti, Sarangarh, Raigarh & Chhatisgarh States	Ranchi	5,708	3 23,010	4,39,400
Palamau	Mirzapur	90 418		
Changbakhar, Korea & Sarguja States	Mirzapur	11,901	1,57,424	8,57,177
Champaran	Gorakhpur	4,28,664	8,84,782	36,36,542
Shahabad	Azamgarh	1,00,000	3,38,356	17,26,704
Shahabad	Ballia	94,273		
Saran	Ballia	1,92,796	3,62,453	10,05,156
Saran	Ghazipur	2,00,000	2,98,560	9,60,850
Karauli and Dholpur States	Agra	27,731		
Etawah	Agra	57,988		
Muttra	Agra	87 120	7,74,601	11,93,136
Gwalior State	Agra	2,57,763		

Bharatpur State	Agra	1,20,223}		
Ajaigarh, Baraunda				
Maihar and Nagod	Banda	8,325}		
Panna State	Banda	2,730}	70,691	7,34,400
Rest of Central India States	Banda	14,168}		
Chhatarpur and Orcha States	Hamirpur	12,505	52,640	5,66,993
Samthar	Jalaun	2,996	36,273	4,75,723
Khaniadhana and Datia States	Jhansi	7,604}		
Orcha and Panna States	Jhansi	7,521}	1,78,689	7,45,392
Saugor and Jubbulpore of C P	Jhansi	1,18,398}		
Garhwal	Bijnor	5,512	3,59,467	5,82,330
Mainpuri & Etah (U P)	Aligarh	1,65,334}		
Moradabad	Aligarh	1,00 000}	4,66,646	12,43,944
Hoshangabad, Chhindwara,				
Bhandara, Balaghat, Bilaspur				
and Mandla	Nagpur	1,42,505	2,12,995	9,66,614
Betul	Amraoti	8,632	1,12,477	8,58,165
Wardha	Yeotmal	20 700	77,616	6,80,554
Nellore,Cuddapah, Chittor,				
North Arcot South Arcot,				
Chingleput	Madras	7,02,347	8,07,617	6,63,100
Trichnopoly, Madura, Ramnand,				
Tinnevelly	Tanjore	5,11,310}		
Puddokkotai	Tanjore	17,850}	7,06,376	23,90,960
Coimbatore, Nilgiri and South				
Kanara	Malabar	14,18,068}		
Cochin	Malabar	1,19,028}	18,59,937	26,27,316
Salem	Mysore	83,740	5,98,052	70,87,796
Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Poona and				
Satara, Jawahar, Baria, Bansda,				
Chhota Udepur	Bombay	2,58,212}	3,16,862	1,92,120
Dharampur, Sant, Surgana,Dangs		}		
and Rest of Gujrat Small estates	Suburban	23,490}		
Thana and Broach	Surat	2,01,504}		
Baroda (Part of)	Surat	1,30,000}	4,17,723	5,19,574
Ahmedabad and Khaira	Ahmedabad	3,10,334}		
Baroda (Part of)	City	1,00,000}	6,13,859	7,46,375
Bikaner	Hissar	22,483}		
Ferozepur	Hissar	2,00,000}	5,24,795	6,91,862
Alwar	Gurgaon	2,00,000	4,88,080	6,05,340
Alwar	Pataudi	11,349	15,256	18,967
Alwar	Loharu	20,000	24,350	26,313
Jullundur & Ludhiana (1 lac each)	Karnal	2,00,000	5,28,644	7,19,280
Gurdaspur	Kangra	2,00,000}		
Sialkot	Kangra	3,00,000}	5,45,792	8,88,810
Gurdaspur	Mandi	60,000	64,586	2,37,101
Gurdaspur	Bilaspur	40,000	41,575	1,13,820
Gurdaspur	Simla	30,000	37,140	30,090
Sialkot	Chamba	1,50,000	1,63,302	1,67,930
Tehri Garhwal	Sirmur	2,140}		

Other Punjab Hill States	Sirmur	11,332	20,994	1,50,586
Ganjam and Koraput (Orissa)	Hyderabad	6,859		
Chhuikhadan, Nandgaon, Kawardha, Khairagarh, Kanker, Kalahandi, Baster and Patna Eastern States	Hyderabad	13,017		
Sandur Madras State	Hyderabad	3,024		
Ramdurg, Mudhol, Phaltan, Kolhapur, Akalkot, Kurundwar (Sr) and (Jr) Miraj(Sr) & (Jr), Jath, Aundh & Sangli States of Kolhapur Agency	Hyderabad	1,45,718		
Vizigapatam, East and West Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Bellary and Anantapur	Hyderabad	6,16,651	42,39,567	1,42,41,700
Kurnool	Hyderabad	1,83,592		
Kanara, Dharwar, Belgaum Bijapur, Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Nasik and East and West Khandesh of Bombay	Hyderabad	9,14,252		
Chanda, Nimar, Drug and Raipur (C. P.)	Hyderabad	1,12,129		
Jamkhandi and Swantwadi-Kolhapur States	Savanur	20,999	29,227	15,282
Bhor and Wadi States	Janjira	2,070	19,676	86,087
Lunavada	Balasinor	5,928	12,526	58,376
Rajpipla and part of Baroda	Sachin	21,695	21,995	18,426
Idar, Vijaynagar, Sabar Kantha States	Radhanpur	30,798	39,405	56,219
Limbdi, Wadhwan and Bhavanagar	Cambay	64,511	77,430	83,734
Navanagar, Porbandar, Gondol, Dhrol, Rajkot, Wankaner and [East]-West Kathiawar States	Junagadh	2,57,186	4,00,336	5,99,447
Phaltan State	Jatrabad	6,307	8,429	12,688
Dharangadhra and Morvi States	Cutch	19,726	1,40,234	3,27,325
Jodhpur	Ajmer-Merwar	1,57,561		
Merwar (Udaipur) (Part of)	-do-	50,229		
Kishengarh	-do-	8,345	4,82,378	4,06,620
Jaipur (Part of)	-do-	1,69,151		
Merwar (Part of)	Tonk	20,000		
Jaipur (Part of)	Tonk	1,00,000		
Lawa (Estate) Shahpur, Bundi, Kushulgarh and Jhalawar States	Tonk	36,934	2,16,559	2,88,535
Partabgarh State	Tonk	4,913		
Kotah	Bhopal	37,289		
Narsingarh Khilchipur				

Indore, Dhar, Mewar (Sr) & (Jr) and Rajgarh (C I) Ratlam, Sailana, Sitamau,	Bhopal	1,88,375	3,39,960	6,21,192
Jhabua, Barwani and Alirajpur States (C I)	Jaora	33,720	54,780	97,632
Rewa and Bijawar	Allahabad	44,591	3,74,917	16,95,503
Charkhari State (C I)	Baoni	5,814	9,286	24,752
Abu, Sirohi, Danta, Banswara and Dungarpur Rajputana States	Palanpur	29,386	63,657	2,81,751
Jodhpur (Part of)	Tharparkar in Sind	78,000	4,04,040	2,76,600

No Map of the consolidated population of the Indian States separately in various Agencies of India has been provided in this Report as was done for the provinces in the First Report but the Report contains a Map[24] of India giving community-wise population of each district of a Province and State on the opposite page which contains the community-wise population Each State and district has got five entries with different colours to distinguish each other as under Names of districts have been shown in black while States have been indicated in yellow

(i) Hindus have been shown in red figures,
(ii) Muslims have been indicated in green figures,
(iii) Christians have been shown in black figures,
(iv) Tribes have been shown in blue, and
(v) Others have been indicated in yellow colour

These data relate to the present estimated population of various communities in each individual State and District of a Province and do not relate to the 1941 figures

To elaborate these recommendations once again, another Map[25] of India is being provided on the opposite page giving the district and State-wise population of Muslims and others after the migration during the course of transitional period in the following order

(a) figures in red represent Hindus,
(b) figures in green denote Muslims, and
(c) figures in blue indicate the total strength of Others, viz Christians, Sikhs, Parsees, Tribes, Buddhists, Jews, Anglo-Indians, etc , etc

The movement of Muslims during the transitional period along with the number suggested for migration has been indicated by means of arrows drawn from the centres of emigration towards the centres of concentration

The arrows indicating the directional movement of mobile Muslim population during the transitional period in the Map[26] opposite will certainly invite criticisms from any onlooker but while putting the sugges-

tions in the Report, this aspect of the proposition was also considered and not overlooked altogether

Consequently, these recommendations, which appeared to me the only feasible solution of this intricate problem, were incorporated on the following bases

(i) The first and the foremost consideration was the migration or concentration on linguistic and cultural basis

(ii) The second was the distance and location of individual States

(iii) The third was the location of some of the States in Central India and Rajputana, including the Bhopal, Indore, Gwalior and Baroda Agencies Some of the States, e g Tonk, Bhopal and Baroda, are scattered over a large area so much so that they intercept other States at some places and are not situated in a contiguity In a way these small States, bearing this aspect, can be considered as small empires

(iv) The fourth and the most important consideration was as how to supplement the meagre Muslim population in the Muslim States as well as in the Muslim Concentrated Blocks, where Hindus dominate

(v) The fifth was the number of entries given under each place which has resulted in the inclusion of all the States in a limited area, especially in Central India, Eastern States and Chhatisgarh States, which appear to be a beehive as would be evident from the areas of these Agencies given in the Map under review

(vi) The last but not the least was the consideration to avoid inflation as far as possible according to the capacity of the Unit concerned, though it would be quite apparent that some of the population from a particular State has been transferred to a rather distant State or District although other places of concentration were quite near to them

In view of the arguments put forth above, there is a justification for the distant directional movement of arrows in the Map but it must not be forgotten that linguistic and cultural affinities were the main considerations for migration and concentration

Emphasis in the original

[1] Not available in this Report See note 2

CHAPTER XIX WORLD [MUSLIM] POPULATION

This Chapter relates to the population of Muslims in the World with particular relation to the Muslim population in India

There have been many attempts to estimate the number of Muslims throughout the World Accurate statistics are, however, lacking for many regions of the Islamic World There has been, therefore, a great discrepancy between different estimates Where official information is lacking, rough calculations are worked out and the figures for Muslim populations are approximations

Among the widely known and frequently quoted statistics are those drawn up by Louis Massignon in his *Annuaire de Monde Musulman* (Third Edition, Paris, 1929) Many of the figures he gives are, however, inaccurate and very much below the true estimates as given by official reports in many of the principal Muslim countries

I give below a statistical survey (in more or less round numbers) of the World of Islam based primarily on the most recent official statistics where such are available (consulting several works *The Statesman's Year-book, Annuaire Statistique de la Societe des Nations, Political Hand-book of the World,* etc) Where official information is unavailable, an estimate is rendered as complete as possible by data supplied by reliable sources (These data were, no doubt, obtained or borrowed from some of the books written by Muslim writers either in connection with the Pakistan demand of the Muslims in India or various comments on Muslim affairs in the World)

The following table contains the estimated population of Muslims in various countries of the World including the Indian Musalmans and their Muslim Territorial Zones and Compact Areas, which already exist and which have been newly formed provisionally as a result of the recommendations contained in the two Reports

AFRICAN CONTINENT

Name of the country, colony, etc	Total Population
Egypt	1,65,00,000
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	55,00,000
Tripoli (Libya Italiana)	11,00,000
Tunis	25,68,000
Morocco (French Zone)	64,88,000
Algeria	68,72,000
Morocco West (French)	55,00,000

West (Spanish)	7,70,000
Tangier (International Zone)	66,000
Senegal	15,40,000
French Sudan Non-desert	16,50,000
Desert-dwellers	6,60,000
Upper (Haute) Volta	6,60,000
French Guinea	22,00,000
Ivory Coast	11,00,000
Dahomey	6,60,000
Togoland	5,50,000
The Cameroons (French Mandate)	11,00,000
Niger Colony	13,20,000
Dakar and Dependencies	88,000
Mauritania (French) consisting of Trarza	4,40,000
Great Sahara—Scoto, Barno, Adamoua and Quadai	2,20,00,000
Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)	3,30,000
Gold Coast (Ashanti and Northern Territories)	22,20,000
Nigeria (Northern and Southern Provinces)	1,21,00,000
Portuguese Guinea	3,30,000
Liberia	11,00,000
Rio de Oro	77,000
Gabon	2,20,000
Middle Congo	4,40,000
Ubangi-Chari	1,32,000
Chad Region	12,10,000
British Cameroons	5,50,000
Cape de Verde Island (Portuguese)	66,000
Angola (Portuguese)	1,100
South-West Africa (Mandated Territory)	1,10,000
South Africa— Cape Province, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State, Basutoland, Swaziland Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia	1,65,000
Portuguese East Africa, Mozambique	11,00,000
Bechuanaland (British)	55,000
Belgian Congo	2,20,000
Nyasaland (British)	5,50,000
Reunion Island (French)	5,500
Madagascar (French)	8,80,000
Island of Mauritius (British)	1,10,000
Seychelles Islands (British)	5,500
Zanzibar (British Protectorate) and Pemba	4,40,000
Kenya Colony and Protectorate	22,00,000

Tanganyika Territory	11,00,000
Uganda Protectorate (British)	11,00,000
British Somaliland	3,85,000
French Somaliland	2,53,000
Italian Somaliland	11,11,000
Eritrea (Italian Colony)	3,85,000
Abyssinia (Ethiopia)	55,00,000
Sierra Leone (Colony and Protectorate)	22,00,000
Total For African Continent	11,39,83,000

EUROPEAN COUNTRIES (Excluding Turkey)

Name of the country, colony, etc	Total population
Albania	8,80,000
Yugoslavia	19,25,000
Bulgaria	8,58,000
Rumania	2,85,000
Greece	2,00,000
Poland and Lithuania	13,500
Finland	3,000
Hungary	3,000
France	2,20,000
Great Britain	33,000
Belgium	6,000
Holland, Germany and Austria	6,500
Italy and Spain	7,500
Cyprus	71,500
Rhodes Island	16,500
Total For Europe, Excluding Turkey	45,28,500

ASIATIC COUNTRIES (Excluding India)

Name of country, colony, etc	Total [Muslim] population
Turkey	1,65,00,000
Syria and Lebanon	33,00,000
Palestine	9,07,000
Transjordan	4,40,000
Iraq	33,00,000
Saudi Arabia (Hedjaz, Najd, Dependencies) Oman, Yemen, Kuwait and Hadramaut	1,32,00,000

Bahrain Island	1,32,000
The six Trucial States (Sharjah, Ras Al-Khaimah, Um Al-Qawain, Ajman, Dobai, Abu Dhabi)	1,65,000
Aden and Perim	56,000
Qatar	33,000
Socotra	13,000
Iran	1,65,00,000
Afghanistan	1,10,00,000
Borneo (British)	2,97,000
Brunei	36,000
Sarawak	1,32,000
Ceylon	6,60,000
Straits Settlement (comprising the Settlement of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan)	8,80,000
The Unfederated Malay States (Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kalantan and Trengganu)	12,10,000
China (Kansu, Sinkiang, Shansi, Chibli and Yunnan), Sinkiang consists of Chinese Turkistan, Kulja and Kashgaria and all Chinese dependencies lying between Mongolia on the north and Tibet on the south	5,50,00,000
Siam	6,60,000
Tibet	11,000
Manchukuo	22,00,000
Inner, and Outer Mongolia	33,00,000
Netherlands (Dutch) Indies (Java, Sumatra, Flauw-Lingga, Lanka-Billiton, Borneo, Celebes, Malaccas and New Guinea, Timor and Bali Lombak)	6,05,00,000
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U S S R)	3,30,00,000
French Indo-China	5,50,000
Japan	1,11,100
Total For Asia, excluding India	22,39,83,000
North America	1,10,000
South America	4,40,000
Oceania, Australasia & Phillippine Islands	22,00,000
Total	27,50,000
India	10,04,41,577
Total World Muslim Population	44,56,86,077

A Map[2] of the World is attached on the opposite page representing the Muslim World including Indian Musalmans who have been divided into four zones as under

(1) Northern Pakistan—a predominantly Muslim region,
(2) Eastern Pakistan–a predominantly Muslim zone,
(3) Central Territorial Blocks and Compact Areas formed in the minority provinces where Muslims are a major minority, and
(4) Muslim Indian States, where Muslims, though representing a low percentage in comparison with Hindus at present, will, in due course of time, form a strong Muslim Block if full or a part of the recommendations contained in these two Reports are implemented

In the Map[28] of the World on the opposite page, green dots represent Muslim Concentrated Blocks or Muslim Compact Territorial Zones (Areas) where Muslim concentration has been suggested in this Report while the predominantly Muslim zones have been indicated with a green border

As a result of the recommendations contained in these two Reports, the total Muslim population in India comes to 10,04,41,577 at present while the estimated population of the Muslim World, excluding India, has come to 34,52,44,500 Thus the total Muslim population of the World comes to 44,56,86,077 at present

According to the World population of the Muslims indicated above, the Indian Musalmans represent roughly 28% of the total Muslim World Moreover, India as a country is the biggest in the world in respect of Muslim population except that Africa being a continent, is a little bigger in population though several times bigger in area As a matter of fact, I am not satisfied with the world statistics particularly in respect of China and Russia

As far as I recollect, since the days of my childhood the number of Musalmans reported or quoted for China is five crores and I am not prepared to accept the low increase of only 50 lacs in its population during the last two decades

Similarly, Russia, especially Siberia, Tajikistan, Kazakhistan, Kurdistan, etc , is a predominantly Muslim region and its population figure at 3,30,00,000 appears to me to be on the much lower side

The region known as the Undefined Frontier, North and North-West of India and Afghanistan below the U S S R , is surely a Muslim land but its population is not available as far as my knowledge goes anywhere, I am sure if actual data are obtained for this Region it will, no doubt, be a good figure

I am quite confident that if the data according to the present enumeration are available for these three countries, the figure of Muslim population will mount up to a much greater number Besides, the

figure available for the lower half of Africa cannot be considered as authentic on account of the fact that Muslims were the first amongst the civilised nations of the world to penetrate into this Continent, have ruled and are still ruling there over a greater part of this Continent Most probably the statistics reported for this Continent are prejudicial estimates since the writers or those responsible for its calculation are all Europeans whose definite policy is to minimise, as far as possible, the strength, culture and civilization of the Musalmans in the world

In the end I invite the readers to glance through Europe and especially the Muslim population in Spain and Italy, which has been given as 7,500—no doubt a negligible and insignificant figure Considering the fact that Muslims ruled over this country (Spain) for more than 300 years by Umayyid Dynasty, their population figure is really deplorable and shameful They were not the victims of the wrath of Isabella and Ferdinand alone but their downfall was mostly due to their own lack of faith, the debauchery of their chiefs and the intoxication of their unstable power as rulers of this country Can anybody, not acquainted with the history of Spain, will ever believe that this country was once conquered by a Muslim nation and that those who perished there or had to leave the country at the point of the sword were the descendants of General Tariq, whose name will remain alive in the form of Jabal-ul-Tariq (best known as Gibraltar) till the dying days of the world? Considering the fate of the Muslims in Spain, the Muslims of India must consider their own condition and position in India and if at all they ever agree to domination by the Hindus they will surely perish and be wiped off altogether or subjected to the elimination of the basic principles of Islam and domination of Vedic Dharma in the times to come As such, efforts must, at all costs, be made, even if sacrifices are to be made, to form a Muslim Sovereign State to maintain our culture, language, education, etc , etc , as well as the separate entity of the Muslims as a different Nation from others

In the end I must express that the Muslims will no doubt say their thanks-giving prayers to the Almighty for the new move in the Punjab announced today To implement the recommendations contained in this Report for the Punjab in accordance with the suggestions or with modifications, where necessary, is the work and duty of the new Ministry or the League organization in the interest of Pakistan as well as to shake off the everyday criticism and menace of Hindu majority in the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions

As reported earlier, with the completion of this part, my time and labour would now be concentrated on the Third Report which will

exclusively deal with the agricultural, mineral, industrial and economic aspects of the Muslim Zones in detail so far as it is possible according to the availability or otherwise of the statistics and estimates in the country This Report will follow shortly, say after a lapse of two months, provided the same is needed in this connection The justification for writing the Third Report is to indicate if it would be possible for the Muslim Compact Areas to accommodate the inflated [influx of the] Muslim population according to the resources available at their disposal at present

[27&28]Not available in this Report

Enclosure 1

F 74/105

REST OF THE CENTRAL INDIA STATES

Kurwai, Mohammadgarh, Pathari, Makrai, Alipura, Banka Pahari, Beri, Bhaisaunda, Bihat, Bijna, Dhurwai, Garrauli, Gaurihar, Jaso, Jigni, Kamta, Rajaula, Kothi, Lugasi, Naigawan-Rebai, Pahara, Paldeo Sarila, Sohawal, Taraon and Tori-Fatehpur, Jobat, Kathiawara, Mathwar, Piploda, and Ratanmal

The first three are Muslim estates while the rest are Hindu States

The area of these independent miniature States varies from 5 sq miles to 70 sq miles while the population varies from 1,000 to 40,000

Enclosure 2

F 74/106

OTHER PUNJAB STATES

Baghai, Baghat, Balsan, Bashahr, Khaneti, Delath, Bhajji, Bija, Darkoti, Dhami, Jubbal, Rawingarh, Dhadi, Kotili, Theog, Madhan, Ghund, Ratesh, Kumharsain, Kuthar, Kunihar, Mahiog, Mangal Nalgarh, Sangri and Tharoch

The areas of these small States vary from 10 sq miles to 100 sq miles while the population varies from 200 to 25,000 As a matter of fact, individually these States have got no bearing at all but while considering the whole block known as Punjab Hill States they represent a substanial population of various communities

VI. 2

NOTE ON AREAS WHERE CASTE HINDUS AND SIKHS TOGETHER ARE NOT IN MAJORITY[1]

F. 722/43-70

BIHAR PROVINCE[2]

The province of Bihar comprising 16 districts in all covers an area of 69,745 sq miles and has got a total population of 3,63,40,151 according to the 1941 Census Table 1 gives in detail the position of various communities in each district of the province It will be seen form this table that the Divisions of Patna, Tirhut and Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts of Bhagalpur Division are predominantly a Caste Hindu region while the rest of the Province, comprising the districts of Purnea and Santhal Parganas of Tirhut Division and the whole of Chhota Nagpur Division, is an area where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs do not form a majority The community-wise position on the basis of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs versus Others, including the Musalmans, is being provided again in the following table The declaration of a separate province in Bihar has already been demanded by the Adibasis, the majority community in this part of Bihar, and their leader Mr Jai Pal had asked for this declaration a few days back Their demand excludes the Purnea district, which has got a substantial Muslim population of about 10 lakh against 11 lakh Caste Hindus plus Sikhs, hence this district has also been included in this demand This part of Bihar Province is a contiguous area and can easily be divided without any complication whatsoever relating to physical and political features of the province It is also intimated in this connection that the most important river of the country, the *Ganges*, also passes through the district of the Santhal Parganas

Table 1 Community-wise Population in Bihar Province according to the 1941 Census

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Christians	Anglo-Indians
Patna	15 76 450	879	2 35,201	3,33,302	1,267	1,002
Gaya	17 77 909	117	2 93 347	4,44,394	697	138
Shahabad	17 70 835	741	1,76 344	3 49,692	1,167	44

Total Patna Division	51,25,194	1,737	7,04,892	11,27,388	3,131	1,184
Saran	21,68,681	81	3,63,692	3,09,189	212	11
Champaran	16,07,244	29	4,04,434	3,62,095	3,559	50
Muzaffarpur	23,13,193	130	4,24,797	5,03,659	635	105
Darbhanga	24,44,714	184	4,87,835	5,20,830	404	56
Total Tirhut Division	85,33,832	424	16,80,758	16,97,773	4,810	222
Monghyr	18,32,932	161	2,64,411	4,11,638	617	618
Bhagalpur	16,83,989	65	2,79,525	3,38,777	1,119	40
Purnea	10,90,249	767	9,76,048	2,17,114	465	123
Santhal Parganas	7,11,237	50	2,62,836	1,26,929	2,509	199
Total Bhagalpur Division	53,18,407	1,043	17,82,820	10,94,458	4,710	980
Hazaribagh	9,13,038	913	2,09,384	1,46,577	1,651	185
Ranchi	4,02,925	124	77,721	19,575	839	458
Palamau	3,99,482	74	85,272	1,04,264	434	9
Manbhum	10,83,521	668	1,32,234	1,30,380	4,495	1,633
Singhbhum	3,97,491	8,230	43,233	19,964	4,623	1,292
Total Chhota Nagpur Division	31,96,457	10009	5,47,844	4,20,760	12,042	3,577
Grand Total	2,21,73,890	13,213	47,16,314	43,40,379	24,693	5,963

Districts	Others	Jains	Parsees	Buddhists	Jews	Tribes	Total
Patna	507	441	133	42	62	12,722	21,62,008
Gaya	137	516	11	14	49	2,58,032	27,75,361
Shahabad	11	480	6	11	-	29,250	23,28,581
Total Patna Division	655	1,437	150	67	111	3,00,004	72,65,950
Saran	176	88	-	93	-	18,314	28,60,537
Champaran	20	30	14	3	5	20,086	23,97,569
Muzaffarpur	80	10	14	4	28	1,996	32,44,651
Darbhanga	25	18	1	14	7	982	34,57,070
Total Tirhut Division	301	146	29	114	40	41,378	1,19,59,827
Monghyr	511	228	1	6	-	53,421	25,64,544
Bhagalpur	63	372	12	6	32	1,04,879	24,08,879
Purnea	106	375	2	-	-	1,04,856	23,90,105
Santhal Parganas	539	302	3	2	6	11,29,885	22,34,497
Total Bhagalpur Division	1,219	1,277	18	14	38	13,93,041	95,98,025

Hazaribagh	332	899	10	96	1	4,78,253	17,51,339
Ranchi	434	135	18	42	-	11,73,142	16,75,413
Palamau	21	72	-	-	-	3,23,106	9,12,734
Manbhum	564	501	11	6	7	6,78,126	20,32,146
Singhbhum	496	135	311	345	-	6,68,597	11,44,717
Total Chhota Nagpur Division	1,847	1 742	350	489	8	33,21,224	75,16,349
Grand Total	4,022	4,602	547	684	197	50,55,647	3,63,405,151

Table 2 *Group-wise Population of various communities according to the 1941 Census*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Others	Tribes	Total
Purnea	10,90,249	767	9,76,048	2,17,114	1 071	1,04,856	23,90,105
Santhal Parganas	7,11,237	50	2,62 836	1 26,929	3,560	11,29,885	22,34,497
Part of Bhagalpur Division	18,01,486	817	12 38,884	3 44 043	4 631	12,34,741	46,74,602
Hazaribagh	9 13,038	913	2,09,384	1,46 577	3,174	4,78,253	17,51,339
Ranchi	4,02,925	124	77,721	19 575	1,926	11,73,142	16,75,413
Palamau	3,99 482	74	85,272	1 04,264	536	3,23,106	9,12,734
Manbhum	10,83 521	668	1,32,234	1 30,380	7,217	6,78,126	20,32,146
Singhbhum	3 97,491	8,230	43,233	19,964	7,202	6,68,597	11,44,717
Chhota Nagpur Division	31 96,457	10,009	5,47 844	4,20 760	20,055	33,21,224	75,16,349
Grand Total for the new province	39 97 943	10 826	17 86,728	7,64,803	24,686	45 55 965	1,21,40,951
Percentage	41 1	0 1	14 8	6 3	0 2	37 5	100
%age of Groups	4 2		14 8		44 0		100
%age of Caste	41 2				58 8		100

The new province to be named as Chhota Nagpur or by any other name will cover an area of 37,590 sq miles and will consist of 7 districts where Caste Hindu element is in minority The Muslims will be absolutely safe because the two powerful parties—Caste Hindus and Adibasis—representing 41 1% and 37 5% [of the total population, respectively (Table 2)], will always try to crave for Muslim co-operation, and Muslims will be considered as a balancing power for the supremacy or otherwise of the two major political parties—Hindus and Adibasis

A Map of Bihar Province (Map 33) is attached, based on the above proposal, to provide statistics as well as to indicate that this newly formed province will be a contiguous area The predominently Caste Hindu plus Sikh area and the proposed province [are separated by a demarcation line]

[1]For the covering note, see No 350 Vol 1, Part 1
[2]The Maps appended to the original document are in colour whereas the reproductions given here are in black The first figure shown below a district represents the total number of Hindus and Sikhs and the second all Others

CENTRAL PROVINCES[3] AND BERAR

Table 3 *Community-wise Population in C P and Berar according to the 1941 Census*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Christians	Anglo-Indians
Saugor	5,48,702	322	2,34,729	43,044	2,128	283
Jubbulpore	5,46,146	3,875	1,08,360	67,158	5,989	1534
Mandla	1,72,324	125	19,333	7,066	816	109
Hoshangabad	5 35,907	510	1,20,602	35,868	1,876	200
Nimar	2 71,141	5,084	57,962	60,306	3,815	38
Jubbulpore Division	20,74,220	9,916	5,40,986	2,13,442	14,624	2,164
Betul	2,08,466	142	50,905	8,280	850	52
Chhindwara	4,76,865	314	1,12,286	42,552	1,830	96
Wardha	3,42,203	41	1,01,020	20,714	345	6
Nagpur	6,98,758	1,082	2,13,131	66,545	5,411	1,192
Chanda	5,23,838	113	1,58,755	15,410	1,560	19
Nagpur Division	22,50,130	1,692	6,36,097	1,53,501	9,996	1,365
Bhandara	5,69,281	144	2,59,444	17,757	544	36
Balaghat	4,03,253	96	77 573	12,470	967	9
Raipur	9 01,909	583	3,08,138	22,627	8,163	46
Bilaspur	8,55,578	311	3 78 299	20,695	5,552	707
Drug	5,52,897	24	1,59,299	8,038	2,289	8
Chhatisgarh Division	32,82,918	1,158	11,82,753	81,585	17,515	806
Berar						
Amraoti	6,20,763	818	1,96,517	98,865	3,164	131
Akola	5,66,469	1,041	1,98,914	101,886	1,185	14
Buldana	5,57,969	610	1,57,059	78,629	1,062	55
Yeotmal	5,28,114	398	1,39,087	55,789	714	3

Total Berar	22,73,315	2,230	91,577	3,35,169	6,125	203
Total C P & Berar	98,80,583	14,996	30,51,413	7,83,697	48,260	4,538

Districts	Others	Jains	Parsees	Buddhists	Jews	Tribes	Total
Saugor	295	27 389	57	12	-	82,107	9,39,068
Jubbulpore	1,960	8,223	269	26	105	1,66,958	9,10,603
Mandla	8	700	-	-	-	3,04,099	5,04,580
Hoshangabad	225	4,700	66	6	4	1,23,621	8,23,585
Nimar	45	2,202	103	-	10	1,12,570	5,13,276
Jubbulpore Division	2533	43,214	495	44	119	7,89,355	36,91,112
Betul	33	1 377	8	-	-	1 68,229	4,38,342
Chhindwara	85	4,184	42	-	5	3,95,781	10,34,040
Wardha	12	3,109	25		7	51,848	5,19,330
Nagpur	2,273	3,916	1,053	15	142	66,471	10,59,989
Chanda	40	904	35	-		1 72,610	8,73,284
Nagpur Division	2,443	13,490	1,163	15	154	8,54,939	39,24,985
Bhandara	25	820	1	-	2	1 15,173	9,63,225
Balaghat	14	1,259	16		-	1,38,693	6,34,350
Raipur	59	1,858	39	3	1	2,73,260	15,16,686
Bilaspur	179	492	15	1	-	2,87,680	15,49,509
Drug	23	1,413	1	-	-	2,04,859	9,28,851
Chhatisgath Division	300	5,842	72	4	3	10,19,665	55,92,621
Berar							
Amraoti	327	5,222	139	5	-	63,210	9,88,524
Akola	88	7 585	95	-	9	30,456	9,07,742
Buldana	45	5,550	34	-	-	19,849	8,20,862
Yeotmal	35	3,690	16	2	-	1 59,890	8,87,738
Total Berar	495	22,047	284	7	9	2,73,405	36 04,866
Total C P & Berar	5 771	84 593	2 014	70	285	29,37,364	168,13,584

*See note 2

Table 3 shows the actual position of various communities inhabiting this province The province consists of 15 districts, excluding the 4 districts of Berar The province is a predominantly Caste Hindu area but the statistics reveal an interesting feature, which may be utilised with advantage, if possible The district of Nimar of Jubbulpore Division and Betul and Chhindwara districts of Nagpur Division, form a contiguous area in this province (Map 34), where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs are a minority against Others The district of Mandla is also a deficit area in respect of Caste Hindu and Sikh population but because it is a distant district and is not continuous with the same it has been

left out from any comments Table 4 indicates the actual position of various communities in these 4 districts of Central Provinces

Table 4 *Distribution of Various Communities in the new Proposed Province*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes	Tribes	Others	Muslims	Total
Nimar	2,71,141	5,084	57,962	1,12,570	6,213	60,306	5,13,276
Betul	2,08,466	142	50,905	1,68,229	2,320	8,280	4,38,342
Chhindwara	4,76,865	314	1,12,286	3,95,781	6,242	42,552	10,34,040
Total	9,56,472	5,540	2,21,153	6,76,580	14,775	1,11,138	19,85,658
Percentage	48 1	0 2	11 2	34 1	0 8	5 6	100
%age of Groups		48 3		46 1		5 6	100
%age of Castes		48 3			51 7		100

A Map of C P & Berar (Map 34) indicates the predominance of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs and non-Caste Hindus as envisaged above The Caste and the non-Caste Hindu zones are separated by a divide The newly formed block will have an area of 16,046 sq miles, based on linguistic, cultural and contiguity bases

ORISSA PROVINCE[4]

This province has got 6 districts and is a predominantly Caste Hindu area except the district of Koraput having a population of 11,27,162 There the Caste Hindus number only 1,48,938, Tribes 9,40,632, Scheduled Castes 25, 296, Christians 10,344 and the rest Others including Muslims It is not possible to form a [separate] territorial block in this province

[4]See note 2

MADRAS PROVINCE[5]

Table 5 *Community-wise Population in Madras Province Districts according to the 1941 Census*

Name of Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Indian Christian	Anglo-Indians
Vizigapatam	31,30,885	2	29,122	3,76,339	20,503	1,006
Godavari, East	10,52,415	18	32,801	4,35,000	39,117	634
Godavari, West	9,89,193	-	29,728	2,73,988	83,271	5

Kistna	**10,20,885**	1	76,722	2,11,327	1,34,434	**213**
Guntur	**16,31,631**	11	1,83,298	1,65,625	2,93,768	**66**
Nellore	**11,25,636**		1,20,004	2,90,542	80,246	**398**
Cuddapah	**7,30,964**	6	1,47,258	1,32,512	45,635	**11**
Kurnool	**7,23,406**	-	1,73,157	1,50,883	92,818	**15**
Bellary	**7,72,044**	-	1,12,705	1 55,026	9,191	**174**
Anantapore	**8,70,676**	8	1,18,435	1,73,441	7,296	**512**
Madras	5,17,711	66	95,702	1,03,338	45,760	**9,610**
Chingleput	11,66,103	78	43,386	5,67,177	42,404	**2,816**
Chittoor	12,17,506	1	97,000	3,03,225	13,808	136
North Arcot	18,49,419	10	1 74,317	5,02,097	41,341	701
Salem	23 29,358	9	79,016	4,35,700	24,352	365
Coimbatore	22,07,400	77	73,169	4,44,593	68,593	1,716
South Arcot	17,16 117	8	84,118	7,34,404	67,661	652
Tanjore	16,90,810	12	1,70,414	6,08,197	90,419	306
Trichinopoly	15,68,863	13	91,668	4,21,340	1,08,805	3,082
Madura	18,31,605	13	1,06,788	4,11,793	94,302	998
Ramnand	14,27,405	27	1 43,344	3,09,424	99,273	68
Tinnevelly	14 77,482	1	1,44,950	3,56,771	2,62,909	818
South Kanara	10,09,791	6	2,14,109	98 356	1,39,005	82
Nilgiri	54,393	37	17,561	48,373	21,019	**1,809**
Malabar	21,19,632	14	13 37,760	3,59,021	75,052	**2,468**
Total	3,47 31,330	418	38,96 452	80 68,492	20,01,082	28,661

Name of Districts	Others Christians	Jains	Parsees	Buddhists	Jews	Tribes	Others	Total
Vizigapatam	958	50	13	4	107	2,86 923	32	38,45,944
Godavari East	136	195	9	4		1,01 532	2	21,61,863
Godavari West	1 849	11		16	-	1 999	28	13,80,088
Kistna	116	77		160	9	345	5	11,44,294
Guntur	486	106	14	5	15	2 246	12	22,77,283
Nellore	90	45		28	-	15	22	16,17,026
Cuddapah	24	67	1		-	19	10	10,56,507
Kurnool	59	7				5,878	27	11,46,250
Bellary	92	1 319	8	70	-	548	58	10,51,235
Anantapore	48	999	-			4	-	11 71,419
Madras	2 871	1 829	187	213	13	2	180	7,77 481
Chingleput	769	952	13	97	1	39	200	18,23,955
Chittoor	478	17	6	6			112	16,32,395
North Arcot	221	9 121	3	306	4		-	25,77,540
Salem	370	37	1	2		6	10	28,69,226
Coimbatore	643	140	32	27		12 440	818	28,09,648
South Arcot	944	4 731	1	11	-	-	106	26,08,753
Tanjore	2 129	608	-	28	-	213	239	25,63,375
Trichinopoly	212	84	-			24	-	21,94,091
Madura	1 031	40	3	12	6	6	4	24,46,601
Ramnand	61	19	3	19	-		-	19 79,643
Tinnevelly	205	1	2	20	-	161	1 223	22,44,543
South Kanara	39	8 870	17	2		52,312	927	15,23,516
Nilgiri	3 329	194	26	17		62,951	-	2,09,709
Malabar	375	618	30	25	36	34,366	28	39,29,425
Total	17 535	30 136	369	1,072	191	562,029	4,042	4,93,41,810

Table 5 indicates the position of every community in this province It is a predominantly Caste Hindu province except in the district of Malabar and Nilgiri where Caste Hindus do not constitute a clear majority Table 6 gives the position of various communities in these two districts

Table 6 *Distribution of Various Communities in Malabar and Nilgiri Districts, 1941*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Others	Tribes	Total
Malabar	21,19,632	14	13,37,760	3,59,021	78 632	34 366	39,29,425
Nilgiri	54,393	37	17,561	48,373	26,384	62,951	2,09,709
Total	21,74,025	51	13,55,321	4,07,394	1,05,026	97,317	41,39,134

These two districts cover an area of 6,779 sq miles Map 35 indicates first the population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs [under each district, and then that of Others]

The above two districts do not constitute an area where Others are in a majority against Caste Hindus but on the [basis of] linguistic and cultural affinity as well as in accordance with the principle of compensation in the interest of international trade connections and relations of the non-Caste Hindus, this part can be claimed by the Muslims and Others

See note 2

BOMBAY PROVINCE[i]

Table 7 *Community-wise Population in Bombay Province Districts, 1941*

Name of Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Indian Christians	Anglo-Indians
Bombay city	8,99,398	2,410	2,51,318	1,21,352	78,149	8,797
Ahmedabad	9 70,177	980	1,78,531	1,50,628	11,345	124
Broach-Panch	4,44,294	156	1,43,830	52,313	7,642	260
Khaira	7,35 962	50	89,176	47,847	30,220	1
Surat	4,16,611	45	76,251	43,196	3,016	93
Thana	5,45,811	247	43,950	43,893	35,905	309
Bombay Sub	1,41,831	376	29,300	18,231	35,555	876
Ahmednagar	8,51,907	258	61,332	1,20,876	50,692	71
East Khandesh	9,67,899	121	1,48,542	1,37,110	1,680	589
West Khandesh	4,44,106	78	48,324	54,008	2,347	2
Nasik	7,41,450	342	68,333	1,19,277	5,386	760
Poona	10,51,792	2,774	70,986	1,53,541	19,746	1,235
Satara	10,76,730	27	49,590	1,75,309	5,155	60

Sholapur	7,41,529	63	88,547	1,67,825	3,420	197
Belgaum	9,36,744	29	1,10,223	1,11,810	9,393	130
Bijapur	7,55,287	2	1,22,640	92,496	1,343	-
Dharwar	9,31,234	21	1,79,104	66,948	10,479	456
Kanara	3,71,266	-	35,200	14,463	18,715	63
Kolaba	5,24,523	28	33,330	44,777	1,003	1
Ratnagiri	11,51,691	4	91,861	1,19,248	7,621	10
Total	1 47,00,242	8,011	19,20,368	18,55,148	3,38,812	14034

Districts	Others	Jains	Parsees	Budh-ists	Jews	Tribes	Others	Total
Bombay city	13,001	33,281	59,813	912	10,390	4,606	6,456	14,89,883
Ahmedabad	210	48,896	1,885	11	11,421	8,730	233	13,72,171
Broach-Panch	67	5,167	2,092	-	66	2,68,617	23	9,24,527
Khaira	61	6,270	63	-	20	5,161	126	9,14,957
Surat	64	11,595	9,500	12	47	3,20,575	53	8,81,058
Thana	66	2,452	2,481	3	351	2,57,130	135	9,32,733
Bombay Sub	820	5,290	3,944	7	459	13,890	568	2,51,147
Ahmednagar	416	15,370	129	2	16	41,146	14	11,42,229
East Khandesh	301	10,070	307	-	40	61,054	9	13,27,722
West Khandesh	16	5,470	137	-	3	3,57,719	4	9,12,214
Nasik	1 351	8,799	836	1	75	1,67,280	11	11,13,901
Poona	3 732	14,200	3 681	22	789	36 835	75	13,59,408
Satara	564	18,273	478	2	26	1,014	21	13,27,249
Sholapur	82	9,812	336	27	33	2,780	19	10,14,670
Belgaum	1,814	53,481	114	-	16	1,674	-	12,25,428
Bijapur		3,125	24	57	-	1,008	-	9,75,982
Dharwar	57	10 677	198	377	51	1,414	-	12,01,016
Kanara	13	1 232	8	-		197	-	4 41,157
Kolaba	5	1,154	233		1,665	62,170	33	6,68,922
Ratnagiri	-	1,617	11		3	1,298	102	13,73,466
Total	22,640	2,66 231	86 270	1 433	14 471	16,14,298	7,882	2,08,49,840

Table 7 gives detailed population [distribution] of various communities It will be seen from this table that the whole province is a predominantly Hindu Block with the exception of 3 districts only, viz Broach & Panch Mahals, Surat and West Khandesh, where non-Caste Hindus represent a majority though with a meagre and narrow margin Table 8 presents a true position of the population of various communities in these districts

Table 8 *Population of Various Communities in the Three Districts of Bombay Province Where Hindus and Sikhs are not in a Majority*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Tribes	Others	Total
Broach and Panch Mahals	4 44 294	156	1 43 830	52 313	15 317	2 68,617	9,24,527

Surat	4,16,611	45	76,251	43,196	24,327	3,20,628	8,81,046
West Khandesh	4,44,106	78	48,324	54,008	7,975	3,57,723	9,12,214
Total	13,05,011	279	2,68,405	1,49,517	47,619	9,46,968	27,17,799
Percentage	48 1	-	9 8	5 5	1 7	34 9	100
Percentage of Groups	48 1		9 8		42 1		100
Percentage of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs & of All Others	48 1			51 9			100

Map 36 indicates the area covered by these district[s] which will come to 10,213 sq miles All these 3 districts form a contiguous area except that a few States of Gujerat and Baroda Agencies fall within these districts but this drawback will have no serious consequences since the physical feature of this territorial block will remain unchanged as at present, i e when these districts form a part of the Bombay Province

'See note 2

UNITED PROVINCES

Table 9 *Community-wise Population in Western U P , 1941*

Name of districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Jains	Scheduled Castes	Christians	Others	Muslims	Total
Saharanpur	4,73,737	18,201	6,549	2,81,559	2,294	1,016	3,96,287	11,79,643
Muzaffarnagar	5,29,634	8,438	9,783	1,97,688	3,659	38	3,07,519	10,56,759
Meerut	10,36,251	24,279	20,725	3,55,503	10,286	5,155	4,44,383	18,96,582
Bijnor	3,98,333	15,647	1,249	1,56,218	1,569	80	3,37,126	9,10,222
Moradabad	6,33,351	52,565	1,581	2,00,933	15,478	1,788	5,67 358	14,73,054
Bareilly	6,71,626	6,513	5,027	1,50,904	7,003	839	3,34,285	11,76,197
Total	37,42,932	1,25,639	44,918	13,42,805	40,289	8,916	23,86,958	76,92,457

A statement and a short commentary relating to the United Provinces had already been submitted and discussed with the Quaid-i-Azam but the same is being included in this Note to make the same up-to-date in relation to minority provinces Table 9 indicates the community-wise position in the contiguous area comprising the districts of Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bijnor, Moradabad and Bareilly (Map 37) These districts cover an area of 11,887 sq miles against an area of 1,06,247 sq miles for the whole of the province Table 10 represents the Group-wise population of various communities in these districts

Table 10 *Distribution of Various Communities in Western Districts of U P , 1941*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Others	Total
Saharanpur	4,73,737	18,201	3,96,287	2,81,559	9,859	11,79,643
Muzaffarnagar	5,29,634	8 438	3,07,519	1,97,688	13,480	10,56,759
Meerut	10,36,251	24 279	4,44,383	3,55,503	36,166	18,96,582
Bijnor	3,98 333	15,647	3,37,126	1,56,218	2,898	9,10,222
Moradabad	6,33,351	52,561	5,67,358	2,00,933	18,851	14,73,054
Bareilly	6 71,626	6,513	3,34,285	1,50,904	12,869	11,76,197
Total	37,42,932	1,25,639	23,86,958	13,42,805	94,123	76,92,457
Percentage	48 6	1 6	31 1	17 5	1 2	100
Percentage of Groups		50 2	31 1		18 7	100
Percentage of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs and of Others		50 2		49 8		100

The above statistics reveal that in this contiguous area known as the Western Belt of the United Provinces the Caste Hindus plus Sikhs [on the one hand] and Others [on the other] account for equal percentages of total population

The Muslim culture dominates throughout this area and no other community can claim the domination of its culture except the Muslims Moreover, this area is considered to be the stronghold of Jats, who also differ considerably with [sic for from] the Caste Hindus and are more like Muslims in their everyday life in these parts than like the Caste Hindus

Lucknow District of Oudh is also a deficit area for the Caste Hindus and Sikhs but since it does not fall in a contiguity, it is being left out, without any comments One aspect of these proposals that should not be overlooked is that this belt is the backbone of the United Provinces in respect of agricultural resources, especially wheat production, as it produces more than 60% of the province's wheat

Map 37 indicates the areas where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs constitute a majority as well as areas where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs are not in a majority against Others

See note 2

PUNJAB PROVINCE[8]

Statistics relating to Eastern Punjab and a district-wise commentary have already been submitted[9] and discussed in detail with the Quaid-i-Azam, hence the same are not reproduced in this Report However, Map 38 is given with district-wise population of Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Others to provide a clear view of this part of the Punjab which is the most controversial problem at present The figures[10] [below each district] represent Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Others

It is intimated in this connection that the Resolution of the Hindu Congress [calling for division of the Punjab] is not based on [the distribution of] population alone but on full consideration of the resources of the Province as would be evident from the following short description of the resources of this part of the Punjab

1 *Antimony*[11] is available in Shigiri glacier in Lahaul above Hamta Pass (14,500 ft) in the district of Kangra
2 *Petroleum* is also available in the North-West Himalayas, especially in Kangra district
3 *Slate* Hill ranges are available in Kangra district and Aravalli series near Rewari-Gurgaon
4 *Fluorspar* is found in the granitic vein of the Sutlej Valley, North-West Himalayas, which is also [situated] in Kangra and Simla Hills
5 *Beryls and Aquamarines* occur in Bashahr Valley in the district of Kangra
6 *Kyanite* a gemstone, which is often mistaken for sapphire, is also found in Bashahr [Valley] in Kangra district
7 *Gypsum* is the material the chief uses of which are as a fertilizer and in the manufacture of Plaster of Paris This is also available in Spiti and Kanaur in the Himalayas in Kangra district Minor occurrences of this are also reported in Krol Limestones of Sirmur State
8 *Black Paint*, a mineral paint is also available in some of the formations of the Himalayas in Simla and Kangra districts
9 The production of *Wheat* alone in these districts is normally 1039 5 thousand tons while its total production in the Punjab is 3162 5 thousand tons It means that this area alone accounts for one-third of the total produce
10 The normal production of *Gram* in this area is 624 5 thousand tons while the total provincial production is 1016 8 thousand tons, i e nearly half of the production of the Punjab
11 The normal production of *Gur* in this part of the province is 186 6 thousand tons while the total provincial production is 324 7

thousand tons It means that this part alone gives an out-turn of 48 5 over and above the total production of the Muslim Zone

12 The *Rainfall* is also higher in these parts than anywhere also in the whole of the Punjab [Inadequate] rainfall is supposed to be the greatest drawback for the cultivators of Montgomery, Multan and other districts

[8]The Maps appended to the original document are in colour whereas the reproductions given here are in black In the map of the Punjab the first figure shown below a district represents Caste Hindus, the second Sikhs and third all Others

[9]See *A Report on the Transfer and Concentration of Muslim Population in Other States, Provinces and Central Compact Blocks* by Abdul Rashid Khan F 7/1-61 QAP

[10]See note 8

[11]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

BENGAL PROVINCE[12]

Table 11 *Community-wise Population in Western Bengal*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Indian Christians	Anglo-Indians
Burdwan	9 63,520	1 438	3,36,665	4,30,300	3,280	2,377
Birbhum	4 06,182	77	2,87,310	2,80,254	344	28
Bankura	7,23,269	15	55,564	3,55,290	1,216	4
Mindnapore	23 42 897	1 956	2,46,559	3 39 066	3 834	2,043
Hooghly	8,53,734	342	2,07,077	2 45,810	543	184
Howrah	10,00 545	836	2 96 325	1,84,318	994	2,240
Burdwan Division	62,90 147	4 664	14,29,500	18,35,038	10,211	6 876
24-Parganas	15,66,599	1,653	11 46,180	7,43,397	20,823	859
Calcutta	14 76,284	8,456	4,97 535	55,228	16,431	20,141
Nadia	5,14,268	48	10 78,007	1,43,682	10,749	21
Murshidabad	5 17 803	3	9,27,747	1,67,184	394	17
Jessore	4 06 223	10	11 00 713	3,14,856	1,057	-
Khulna	5 07,143	5	9,59 172	4,70,550	3,538	5
Presidency Division	49 88 320	10 175	57 11 354	18,94,897	52,992	21,043

District	Others (Christians)	Jains	Parsees	Buddhists	Jews	Others	Tribes	Total
Burdwan	1 062	615	12	77	-	31	1,51,355	18,90,732
Birbhum	4	13		13	1	7	74,084	10,48,317
Bankura	25	6		5	-		1,54,246	12,89,640
Midnapore	488	100	34	37	8	-	2,53,625	31,90,647
Hooghly	351	90	22	25	-	51	69,500	13,77,729
Howrah	732	130	163	28	26	48	3,919	14 90,304
Burdwan Division	2 662	954	231	185	35	137	7,06,729	1,02,87,369

24-Parganas	2,431	30	521	566	80	162	51 085	35,36,386
Calcutta	15,419	6,689	1,430	3,239	2,585	3,766	1,688	21,08,891
Nadia	348	32	4	15	-	1	12,671	17,59,846
Murshidabad	21	1,217	2	4	-	-	26,138	16,40 530
Jessore	3	25	-	2	-	349	4,978	18 28,216
Khulna	116	1	-	13	-	-	2,675	19,43,218
Presidency Division	18,338	7,994	1,957	3,839	2,665	4,278	99,235	1,28,17,087

Table 11 indicates community-wise population in the two divisions of Bengal—Burdwan and Presidency Divisions—for which the Hindu Mahasabha has already come up with a resolution for the division of Bengal which is well supported by the Hindu Congress A detailed description of population of each district of these two Divisions is given below for the information of the Quaid-i-Azam

Burdwan The Caste Hindus plus Sikhs number 9,64,958 while Others, i e non-Caste Hindus represent 9,25,774, or in other words Hindus exceed by 39,184 persons only which number can be equalised easily by transfer of a few thousand Muslims from the Eastern districts

Birbhum The Caste Hindus plus Sikhs number 4,06,259 and the Others 6,42,058 Muslims and Scheduled Castes are almost equal in number On the basis of population, this district cannot be claimed by the Caste Hindus

Bankura The Caste Hindus number 7,23,284 and the Others 5,66,356 The number of Caste Hindus exceeds that of the Others by 1,56,913 only This number can also be equalised without much difficulty

Midnapore The Caste Hindu population consists of 23,41,853 persons and that of the Others, of 8,47,750 persons The Caste Hindus represent an overwhelming majority in this district

Hooghly The Caste Hindus and the Others total 8,53,734 persons and 5,23,995 persons respectively thus Caste Hindus exceed the Others by 3,29,739 persons, which is a substantial strength

Howrah The Caste Hindus and the Others represent 10,00,545 persons and 4,45,794 persons respectively The number of Caste Hindus exceeds [that of the] Others by 5,10,786, which is also a substantial number

This disposes of the Burdwan Division where Caste Hindus and Sikhs together number 62,90,147 and the Others number 39,97,222, i e the number of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs exceeds that of the Others by about 22,92,925, which is a huge figure

Calcutta The population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs is 14,84,740 [persons and that of the Others] is 6,24,151 persons, i e the population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs exceeds [that of the Others] by 8,60,589, which is a very high figure

Nadia The district shows a figure of 10,78,007 Muslims and Others and 514,316 Caste Hindus plus Sikhs Since Muslim strength exceeds [the population of the Caste Hindus plus Sikhs] by 5,64,000 or, in other words, Muslims are more than twice the Caste Hindus, the Hindu-Sikh demand for this district cannot be justified

Murshidabad The population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs is 5,17,806 while that of Muslims is 9,27,747, which means that the number of Muslims alone exceeds [that of] Caste Hindus by 4,09,941 persons, showing that this is a predominantly Muslim district

Jessore The population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs is 4,06,233 and that of the Muslim 11,00,713, i e Muslim population alone exceeds [that of the Caste Hindus and Sikhs] by 6,94,480 persons Thus, this too is a predominantly Muslim district of the Division

Khulna The population of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs is 5,07,148 and that of Muslims 9,59,172 The Muslim population alone exceeds [the joint population of Caste Hindus and Sikhs] by 4,52,024 Hence, this district cannot be claimed by Caste Hindus

The above statistics reveal that the Presidency Division is undoubtedly an overwhelmingly Muslim area, with the only exception of the Calcutta district

Table 12 shows the position of various communities in those districts of these two Divisions where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs form a clear majority, exceeding 51% of the total population

Table 12 *Populations of Various Communities in Districts of Burdwan and Presidency Divisions where Caste Hindus and Sikhs are in Majority*

Districts	Caste Hindus	Sikhs	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Others	Tribes	Total
Burdwan	9 63 520	1 438	3 36 665	4,30,300	7 454	1,51,355	18 90 732
Bankura	7,23,269	15	55 564	3,55 290	1,256	1,54,246	12,89,640
Midnapore	23 42,897	1,956	2 46,559	3 39,066	6,544	2,53,625	31,90,647
Hooghly	8 53 734	342	2 07 077	2,45 810	1 266	69 500	13,77,729
Total	48 83,420	3,751	8,45 865	13 70,466	16,520	6 28,726	77,48,748
Percentage	63 0	-	10 9	17 7	0 2	8 1	100

It will be seen from Table 12 that the districts of Birbhum and Howrah have been excluded from this table because Birbhum district is a minority district in respect of joint Caste Hindu and Sikh population and the mobile population of Howrah lives in the surrounding

Muslim-majority districts A large number of Muslims come to Howrah in the morning and leave it after the close of working hours in mills, factories and railway workshops and as such Caste Hindus cannot claim it to be a Hindu-majority district

The argument put forth for Howrah also applies to Calcutta which is also a Caste Hindu-majority district

In the end I must state that if at all these 4 districts (total area 11,131 sq miles) are ceded to Hindu Sabha or Congress the province of Bengal will suffer considerably on account of the following

1 Production of coal in Midnapore
2 Exploitation of iron-ores in the Division
3 Production of paddy, the cash crop of Bengal The out-turn of rice in these 4 districts alone is 4,96,14,500 tons against a provincial total of 30,82,13,100 tons
4 Production of jute, another cash crop of Bengal

Map 39 shows community-wise distribution of population in these 4 districts

[13]See note 2

ASSAM PROVINCE

Since Assam is a unit of Group C, no Map or statement is provided in this Note but a short review is being given in the following paragraph relating to population of various communities in the province

The total population of Assam according to the 1941 Census is 1,02,04,600, of which 42,13,000 are Hindus (including Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes), 34,42,560 are Muslims, 24,85,000 are Tribes and the rest are Others Out of 14 districts only two (Lakhimpur and Sibsagar) are Hindu-majority districts while in the rest Muslims plus Tribes form a majority In case the number of Scheduled Castes is taken out, the Caste Hindus will become a minority everywhere

SIND, N W F P AND BALUCHISTAN

All these provinces of India are preponderantly Muslim areas, hence no population statistics are provided here for them Such statistics were given in detail in the two Reports already submitted which may be referred to, if need be

A Map of India[13] is appended here which indicates the community-wise distribution of population in various territorial blocks envisaged in the foregoing pages The figures represent Caste Hindus

plus Sikhs and the Green ones represent Others, which include Muslims, Christians, Scheduled Castes and Tribes In the case of the Punjab, three figures have been provided Caste Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims plus Scheduled Castes and Tribes This was done because the bulk of the Sikh population lives in the Punjab and the Sikhs are supposed to be the third power in the province, but I doubt it very much

[11]Not reproduced here It consolidates the data already given in Maps 33 to 39

APPENDIX VII

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN THE PUNJAB

The Muslim League's claim to be the sole representative of the Indian Muslims was all but proven by the general elections held in 1945-46. The Muslim League had won a landslide. In the Punjab, it bagged 75 out of 84 Muslim seats in a house of 175, and emerged as the largest single party. However, it had not been called upon to form a Ministry. Instead a Coalition of the Congress, Unionists and Sikhs had been installed as the only Provincial Coalition Ministry. The Muslim League had been smarting under chagrin ever since. This caused an under-current of resentment in the League circles. Nevertheless through public meetings and demonstrations, the League kept up an anti-Ministry campaign specially when in January 1947, the Punjab Government decided to curb the growing power of the ML by declaring the Muslim League National Guards unlawful. On 24 January 1947, the police carried out a search at the Muslim League National Guards headquarters in Lahore. To this the Muslim League, already embittered, reacted strongly. The Government move was challenged and defied, which led to the arrest, under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, of prominent League leaders like Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot, Firoz Khan Noon, Begum Shah Nawaz, Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. These arrests triggered a vigorous Civil Disobedience Movement across the province.

The Punjab Government had failed to anticipate and grasp the consequences of its ill-advised move. The outcry against suppression of civil and political liberties sparked widespread public demonstrations and rallies defying the Government ban. Thousands courted arrest. The Government reacted to this mass upsurge by resorting to *lathi*-charge, tear-gassing and even firing on the determined and undaunted crowds. It failed to make any dent in the movement which continued unabated. The Punjab Government was, in the event, obliged to seek a settlement with the League. The ban on public meetings was lifted and those arrested were released. The Government also agreed to consider placing the Public Safety Ordinance before the Provincial Assembly. The movement was called off on 26 February 1947. The Muslim League had won a decisive political victory. On 2 March 1947, the Tiwana Ministry resigned.

The Appendix portrays day-to-day development of the movement.

VII.1

PUNJAB LEAGUE LEADERS ARRESTED[1]

Muslim National Guards Declared Unlawful Arrests Courted to Vindicate Civil Liberties in the Punjab Complete *Hartal* in Lahore

LAHORE, [Jan 24] Seven members of the Punjab League High Command, namely Khan Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, Mian Iftikharuddin, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Syed Amir Hussain Shah were arrested in Lahore on Friday following their opposition to police who had come to search the office of the Muslim National Guards, declared unlawful by the Punjab Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act

Thirty Muslim students were arrested this afternoon when they took out a procession from Nila Gumbad The procession was stopped by the police on the Kutchehry Road and dispersed after arresting the leaders of the procession The total number of arrests has so far risen to 51, adds an API report

Khan of Mamdot in an interview to *Dawn* representative, said "We are courting arrest to vindicate civic liberties in the Punjab, where an unrepresentative Ministry, in order to help itself in power, is resorting to most objectionable methods to gag popular liberties "

The Punjab Government has also banned Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh There is a complete *hartal* in Lahore

Amidst thunderous shouts of *Zindabad* they were taken to police lock-up Lahore Muslims observed complete *hartal* Large police force, on Friday morning, converged on Provincial League headquarters in pursuance of search warrants issued by the Additional District Magistrate, Lahore, under Criminal Law Amendment Act for searching National Guards office Prominent League leaders including Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Syed Amir Hussain Shah, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan and several League MLAs immediately reached the office and after hurried consultations decided upon offering non-violent resistance to police search operations Mian Iftikharuddin, thereupon asked police constables who were busy searching room to quit it The League leaders then stood in front of door waiting to be arrested This determined stand momentarily paralysed police authorities who held long telephonic consultations with the Punjab Premier

After the arrest of the League leaders, the police secured entrance into the office of the National Guards premises [*sic*] by breaking the locks and commenced the search

Over 1,000 steel helmets are reported to have so far been recovered from the office of the National Guards

[*Two paras omitted*]

ANTI-MINISTRY SLOGANS

A number of demonstrations during the day were climaxed tonight when a crowd of several hundred shouted anti-Ministry slogans in front of the Charing Cross Police Station where the League leaders—who have refused to apply for bail—are held

Some windows were broken in a hotel adjoining the [National] Guards office Another crowd which gathered during the search this morning reportedly emptied a lorry of steel helmets which police had seized along with uniform badges and Guard Organisation papers

Lahore Police Chief, J P Norton, said, the League leaders were arrested on charges of obstructing the police

Since about 10 o'clock, police have ringed the Birdwood Road residences of the Punjab Muslim National Guards Commander, Amir Hussain Shah (arrested this morning) while women members, nearly a score of them, of the Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee, have locked the house resisting the police searches

From inside the besieged locked house, the Organiser of the Women's Committee, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, told the Associated Press of America on phone, that they "have decided to defy the police attempt to search" the house "The search can only be made over our dead bodies We will resist the police," she exclaimed on the wire

Among the ladies inside the house were the 70-year old Lady Shafi, Committee Secretary, Fatima Begum, Lady Zulfiqar Ali and Begum Kamaluddin

The besieged residence at last was searched by police early this evening after arresting Punjab League President, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, named as an emergency measure after Khan of Mamdot was arrested—persuaded them to let in the police Begum Kamaluddin, member of All India Women's Muslim League and three male students were arrested at the house

Ghazanfar Ali Khan, League Member in India's Interim Government, visited arrested Leaguers in Charing Cross Police Station and said they were regarding it as a picnic However, at Delhi another League Minister of the Interim Government, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, said in a statement

"It appears to me another attempt on the part of the Punjab Government to kill Muslim League Organisation by force, but let me tell them that by the grace of God they shall not succeed Muslim India will never take it lying down "

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan said that he would wait for details

Sheikh Sadiq Hassan as Acting President of the Punjab League told the Associated Press of America in an interview that "our struggle is non-communal and non-violent I have received instructions to break Section 144 whenever we find it necessary Even if people are shot they are not to retreat "

Meanwhile, a Punjab Government communique on the ban imposed on the RSS and the Muslim National Guards Organisation said "In the present state, private armies are a danger to peace" and added, the search in the offices of RSS in Lahore passed off without any incident, but at the office of the Muslim League National Guards in Lahore "certain gentlemen obstructed the search and compelled the police to arrest them under the ordinary law "

Arrests were then followed by demonstrations necessitating so far about 51 further arrests, the communique said

AT RAWALPINDI

Rawalpindi police raided this morning over half a dozen places of prominent leaders of Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and Muslim National Guards following notification of the Provincial Government declaring these associations as unlawful Besides the Muslim National Guards, police searched simultaneously the residence of Dewan Ranbir Sawhney, Advocate, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, Divisional Organiser of the Muslim League National Guards and other workers Nothing incriminate was discovered by the police at any of these places Application forms pertaining to these associations were taken away by the police

AT JULLUNDUR

The local police headed by Chaudhri Habib Ullah, City Inspector raided this morning the residence of Mr Mohamed Saliah, a prominent leader of the Muslim League National Guards and the residence of Lala Hardayal Chopra, a prominent worker of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh The office of the National Guards was also searched

The police took possession of some records from the residence of Mr Mohammad Saliah, but nothing incriminating was found from Lala Hardayal's residence

The search of the residence of the Secretary of the Muslim League,

Jullundur Cantonment was also carried out and some papers were seized No arrests have so far been made

AT AMRITSAR

The police carried out simultaneous searches today mostly of houses and offices of workers and organisers of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh and the Muslim League National Guards The searches continued for greater part of the day as the literature recovered from these places is still being sorted out About 19 houses were searched and the police recovered three daggers and some uniforms No arrests have been made

AT LYALLPUR

The Lyallpur police raided today the houses of Seth Ramnarain Varmani, Seth Kundanshah Vij and Mr Sachdev, leaders of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh The office of the Muslim National Guards and the house of Shaikh Bashir Ahmad, Muslim League leader were also searched Nothing was, however, recovered

AT FEROZEPORE

Under orders from the Punjab Government, the local police searched the offices and residence of the office bearers and prominent workers of the Muslim National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh The police carried out searches for three hours both in cantonment and city The police, it is stated, recovered important literature, uniforms and heap of helmets

AT SIMLA

Under search warrant from District Magistrate Simla, over six police officers raided today the office of Simla National Guards on The Mall Several other police officers patrolled outside the office Search continued from early morning till late afternoon, but nothing was taken over

AT LUDHIANA

Ludhiana police raided the office of the City Muslim League this morning and searched the office for an hour in the presence of the General Secretary, Khwaja Mazhar Jamil The search was made in connection with the Muslim National Guards Organisation, which has been declared unlawful by the Punjab Government The houses of Professor Ghulam Abbas, Chowdhri Mohardin, Municipal Commissioner, Dr Mahboob Alam Akram and several others are reported to have been searched by the police A few unimportant printed papers from the Muslim League office have been carried away by the police in the raid

AT ROHTAK

Police searched officers of the Muslim League and the National Guards for two hours today at Rohtak also —APA, API, OPI

[1]*Dawn*, 26 January 1947

VII.2

WOMEN TEAR-GASSED STUDENTS *LATHI*-CHARGED[1]

More Demonstrations in Lahore British Troops Called Out Punjab League Decides to Defy Ban 16 More MLAs Court Arrest Leaders Removed to Central Jail Protest *Hartals* and Meetings All Over the Country

LAHORE, [Jan 25] Mounting repression by Khizar-Congress Coalition against the Punjab Muslims culminated on Saturday in Lahore in the arrest of 63 persons including 16 League MLAs, use of tear-gas on three occasions and resort to *lathi*-charge on six occasions, resulting in considerable casualties, particularly in case of four Muslim girls British troops which were called out this evening are standing by in the City Kotwali

An emergent meeting between the Punjab Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins, Punjab Premier, Khizar Hayat, Sir John Bennet, Inspector-General of Police and Mr MacDonald, Home Secretary, was held at the Government House to review the situation It is significant that the Muslim Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government, Mr Akhtar Hussain, I C S , was kept out of consultations

The Punjab Muslim League party which met here today to take stock of the situation created by the arrest of the League leaders yesterday after two and a half hour deliberation "in camera" decided to defy the ban imposed by the Punjab Government on the assembly of more than five persons and taking out of processions Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan was present at the meeting by special invitation

In the morning 80 students of the Islamia College were arrested, but they were later released at Jallo, 12 miles from Lahore Amongst the 16 League MLAs is Major Ashiq Hussain a former Unionist Minister

Sheikh Karamat Ali, MLA, addressing a mammoth meeting before his arrest outside the Mochi Gate said, "The Punjab League has decided to launch a non-violent Civil Disobedience Campaign all over the Punjab as a befitting reply to the repressive, anti-democratic and

anti-Muslim order of the Punjab Government in banning the Muslim National Guards Organisation "

The Pir of Manki Sharif who is on a short visit to Lahore condemned the Punjab Government's repressive action and assured the Punjab Muslims of the Pathan solidarity with them

An API report says A province-wide defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance was characteristic of the Muslim League activities in Punjab today following the decision of the Muslim League Assembly party to court arrest

Fifty-three Muslims including 15 MLAs were arrested today in Lahore for leading processions in different parts of the city The first batch of eight MLAs including Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, Acting President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Begum Tasadduque Hussain was taken into custody near the Assembly Chamber when they led a procession shortly after midday

The second batch of 8 MLAs was arrested in the evening outside Mochi Gate just after the termination of a huge public meeting held in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

Demonstrations were held in different parts of the town throughout the day and the police had to resort to use of tear-gas and *lathi*-charges to disperse the demonstrations By dusk 53 persons were arrested bringing the total number of arrests since yesterday to 104 In addition to the 86 students who were rounded up in the afternoon for taking out a procession were removed to Jallo, 12 miles from Lahore, where they were let off

Reports so far received from some of the mofussil town show that business remained suspended in Muslim quarters and processions were taken out in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

The Punjab Government has issued the following communique in connection with today's situation in Lahore

Further minor disturbances occurred in Lahore today (Saturday) During the morning it was twice necessary to disperse crowds outside the Legislative Assembly Chamber where Muslim League MLAs were holding a meeting

Later a procession was formed in defiance of the order under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, and seven Muslim League MLAs offered themselves for arrest In the afternoon, a meeting was held outside Mochi Gate again in defiance of the law, and then further arrests including eight Muslim League MLAs was necessary

The seven Muslim League leaders arrested yesterday were remanded to judicial custody this morning, but did not offer bail

The Punjab Government wish to emphasise that they have no desire to attack the Muslim League or to arrest its members But they cannot permit deliberate defiance of the ordinary law or of emergency orders which were issued solely to maintain communal peace

Sixteen Muslims including Mirza Mazhar Hussain and Syed Zaffar Hussain Shah, Vice-President and Secretary of the Jhelum Muslim League were arrested today at Jhelum on a charge of taking out a procession in defiance of the prohibitory order under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, says a message received in the office of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League

Seven Muslim League leaders, including the Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and Mr Firoz Khan Noon, ex-Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who were arrested yesterday were produced today before a local Magistrate

The court remanded them to judicial lock-up for ten days

Eight more Muslim League MLAs courted arrest today at 4 30 p m at a big public meeting held outside the Mochi Gate

They are Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim League, Sheikh Karamat Ali, a Member of the Constituent Assembly, Mian Bashir Ahmad, a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, Sardar Ashiq Hussain, a former Unionist Minister of the Punjab, Mian Allah Yar Daultana, Chief Whip of the Parliamentary party, Chaudhry Mohd Hassan a Member of the Constituent Assembly, Chaudhry Mohammad Hussain Chattha and Haji Raj Mohammad

The League leaders who were arrested yesterday on a charge of offering resistance to the police when they came to search the office of the Muslim National Guards, were removed to the Central Jail this morning from the Civil Lines Police Station where they were kept for the night

Processions of Muslims were taken out in different parts of the city but they were dispersed by the police

Three girl students who dropped on the road as a result of the effect of the tear-gas were removed to the hospital

The girls re-organised themselves in procession after some time and marched along The Mall to the Assembly Chamber shouting slogans They were stopped by the police in front of the Assembly Chamber and were not allowed to proceed to the main entrance of the Chamber The processionists then marched off towards the office of the Provincial Muslim League —API

AT JULLUNDUR

Muslim business quarters observed complete *hartal* today to protest against the arrest of the Muslim League leaders in Lahore

yesterday Four League workers in a loud-speaker fitted *tonga* paraded the streets shouting slogans They were arrested opposite the District Courts after being asked to disperse

Another batch of 30 students marched in a procession upto the court where Thaker Bikram Singh, Additional District Magistrate, stopped them and ordered them to disperse On their refusal, they were, however, taken into custody and removed to jail

A strong police force has been posted at strategic points in the city as a precautionary measure

AT MULTAN

Muslim shops in Multan City remained closed today as a protest against the arrest of Punjab League leaders

A large number of students including girl students came out of their schools and colleges and went round the main bazaars carrying League flags and shouting slogans They demanded the release of the Punjab League leaders

AT FEROZEPORE

To protest against the arrest of Muslim League leaders of the Punjab, the local Leaguers observed *hartal* today Some Muslim schools remained closed In the morning, school boys marched through the bazaars of Cantonment in a procession demanding the release of their leaders

Armed and mounted police is patrolling the city —API

AT MADRAS

The arrest of Muslim League leaders in the Punjab had its echo in Madras today when Muslim students of the city observed complete *hartal* as a protest against the action of the Punjab Government All Muslim educational institutions remained closed today

Later the students held a public meeting and passed a resolution condemning the action of the Unionist Ministry of the Punjab for its action in arresting League leaders and *lathi*-charging the students

AT AGRA

The Muslims observed *hartal* as a protest against the arrests of the Muslim leaders in the Punjab Black flags are flying on the houses of all prominent Muslims of the city The Ahrars also joined the *hartal* Entire business has been suspended —OPI

AT AURANGABAD

Following the arrests of Muslim League leaders in Lahore all Muslim shops here remained closed on Friday in protest Boys and girls of the

Osmania College and High School came out of their classes Muslim League leaders addressed meetings later in the evening —API

[1]*Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.3

'ULAMA CONDEMN SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES[1]

KARACHI, [Jan 25] A Resolution condemning the arrests of the Muslim League leaders in the Punjab yesterday was passed by the All India Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam Conference at Hyderabad (Sind) today Maulana Mohammed Sharif, a prominent leader from the Punjab, presided over the conference

The speakers criticised the action of the Punjab Government against the Muslim National Guards Organisation which has been started by the Muslim League for the protection of the Muslim community had never given any cause to the authorities for such action Their activities had always been peaceful

The conference recommended that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League meeting at Karachi next week should take suitable action in the matter —API

[1]*Dawn* 27 January 1947

VII.4

MUSLIMS MAY TAKE IT AS CHALLENGE TO THE LEAGUE ITSELF[1]
—GHAZANFAR ALI

LAHORE, [Jan 25] "The [Muslim] National Guards in the Punjab is a branch of an all-India body and the parent body may not allow what has happened in the Punjab to remain a local or provincial issue," says Mr Ghazanfar Ali, Member for Health in the Interim Government in a statement commenting on the banning by the Punjab Government of the Muslim League National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh

"I have seen the official communique explaining the decision to declare the Muslim League National Guards and the so-called Rashtriya Sewak Sangh as unlawful associations in this province The attempt to bracket these two bodies together is, I think both wrong and full of potential mischief

"The Sewak Sangh is neither a political party nor a part of or under the discipline of any political party It is more or less a secret organisation, unconnected with and unclaimed by any party in the political life of the country On the other hand, the Muslim National Guards is a part and parcel of the Muslim League Organisation and is under its discipline

"It is an organisation of volunteers for purposes of open and ordinary political activity To declare this body as unlawful is really an attempt to ban an important part of the activities of the Muslim League itself "

Deploring the Punjab Ministry's action in banning the organisation he says "It may endanger the peace of the province to an extent which cannot be foreseen," adding that "I cannot be too sure that the Ministry's action will not lead to serious consequences Muslims may take the banning of the National Guards as a challenge to the Muslim League itself, which they regard as their national organisation "—API

[1]*Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.5

NATIONAL GUARDS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF LEAGUE[1]
—LIAQUAT ALI [KHAN]

"It is a complete travesty of truth to describe the [Muslim] League National Guards as a private army, and this is only an excuse for the indefensible conduct of the Ministry which is clearly out to suppress the Muslim League in the Punjab," says Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League in a statement from New Delhi on Saturday [25 January]

"I have now seen fuller reports of the Punjab Government's action against the Muslim League National Guards in the province and that Government's communique purporting to explain the action

The Muslim League has no private army, continues Mr Liaquat Ali Khan The National Guards are an integral part of the Muslim League Organisation and an attack on it is an attack on the Muslim League as such The Punjab Government's apologia that their action is not directed against the League will deceive no one

"Since the National Guards came into existence in 1938 they have not once been guilty of violence or lawlessness Their activities have

been confined to inculcating discipline among Muslims, maintaining order at public meetings and processions, and carrying out relief work in times of distress During the war, the National Guards played an important part in assisting the Civil authority in affording relief to the evacuees from Burma During the Bengal Famine they carried out extensive relief operations, and during the recent Bihar massacres they did exemplary humanitarian work

"The fact is that the present Punjab Ministry, which is essentially Hindu in character and which continues in office with the support of a handful of Muslim quislings, is an unnatural form of Government for the Punjab where Muslims form a majority in the population

"The recent by-election in Dera Ghazi Khan, in which the Muslim League won a remarkable victory in spite of every [sic] conceivable odds and obstacles put by the authorities in the way of the League candidate, has once again demonstrated Muslim Punjab's lack of confidence in the present Ministry which is now making a desperate bid to overawe and suppress the Muslim League by these repressive measures

"Its present action in outlawing the National Guards and arresting respected and responsible leaders of the Punjab Muslims marks the culmination of a long chain of oppression and persecution of Muslim Leaguers throughout the province since the Ministry came into office

"The Punjab Ministry has thrown a challenge to the Muslim League Organisation not only in the Punjab but throughout India, and it alone must bear the responsibility for the consequences of its insane action "

[1] *Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.6

DELHI OBSERVES COMPLETE *HARTAL*[1]

Muslims observed complete *hartal* in Delhi on Saturday as a protest against the arrest of the Punjab League leaders and the ban on the Punjab Muslim National Guards The Muslim students also joined the protest and there was complete strike in the Anglo-Arabic College The Hindu shops were also closed as a protest against the ban on the RSS

Chandni Chowk, Sabzi Mandi, Sadar Bazaar, the Cloth Market, *Juma Masjid* and all other business centres presented a deserted appearance Only most of the Muslim shops in Connaught Place were closed

A mammoth meeting, one of the biggest held in *Juma* Mosque in recent years, forcefully condemned the Punjab Government in declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful body, and arresting the League leaders

After the meeting, a large number of people paraded in a procession through Chandni Chowk, Lal Kuan and Qazi Hauz The processionists, mostly young Muslims, raised anti-Khizar and anti-imperialist slogans The processionists remained peaceful and disciplined and avoided provocative slogans A police guard equipped with tear-gas shells accompanied the procession

LEADERS CONGRATULATED

The meeting which was held in *Juma* Mosque congratulated the Punjab League leaders for courting arrest to vindicate the honour of the Muslim National [Guards] Organization The meeting warned the Punjab Government that it would not succeed in crushing the Muslim League by adopting Fascist methods and turning the freedom into a farce The meeting was of the opinion that the Muslim National Guards was a part of a political organization and it was wrong to put it in the same category as the RSS The excitement of the people could be measured by the deafening anti-Khizar and anti-imperialist slogans which frequently interrupted the speeches But as far as the communal aspect was concerned, the speakers displayed restraint

Mr Zakir Hussain Mashhadi, former office Secretary, Punjab Muslim League, referring to the seizure of the steel helmets from the National Guards office, said that they had been purchased through Government's Disposal Directorate They had not been intended for taking part in Hindu-Muslim riots but to restore peace and to help the victims during the disturbances

He said that the Lahore arrests marked the beginning of a revolutionary era in the history of the Muslim struggle for independence "I am happy that the Muslim struggle is not on the pattern of Bihar or U P but is being launched against the oldest enemy of Islam We do not want riots But in the Punjab, we want to display the traditional Muslim magnanimity by giving protection to the minorities "

Referring to the promulgation of the Public Safety Ordinance in the Punjab, he said "The Congress is playing into the hands of the British Government Nehru, Patel, Sachar and Khizar, all are agents of the British Imperialism and are adopting the old imperialist tactics " Sheikh Abdus Salam said "There have been riots on a large scale in Bihar and U P , and everybody knows that some secret organizations were working there But

no action was taken against them in those provinces But in the Punjab where there have been no troubles they have banned the National Guards The aim of the Ministry is to cripple the Muslim League Organization "

Mr Qadeeruddin Ahmad said that Delhi Muslims should be ready to meet every situation because what happened in the Punjab could happen in Delhi He said "If such a thing happened in Delhi we will resist it as heroically as the Punjab Muslims are doing "

Mr Manzoorul Haq, *Salar*, Delhi Provincial National Guards, said that the National Guards were ready to make every sacrifice and would not take any challenge to their existence lying down

Mr Abdul Mohie Jafri, Mr H A Suboohi, Mr Ayub Ahmad Kirmani also addressed the meeting

Resolutions protesting against the cut in ration and sympathising with the teachers' demands were moved and supported by Mr Abdul Ghani Shamsi and Mr Anis Hashmi respectively

Earlier batches of young Muslim boys went round the city calling upon the people to observe *hartal*

The Working Committee of the Daryaganj Muslim Women's League condemned the Punjab Government's action and declared that the Muslim women were behind their leaders in all eventualities

[1]*Dawn*, 27 January 1947

VII.7

LEAGUE LEADERS RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY[1]

Civil Disobedience Campaign Gains Momentum in Punjab
213 Persons Including 8 Women Rounded Up Tear-Gas Used Again More Protests and *Hartals*

LAHORE [Jan 26] The Punjab Muslim League Campaign of Civil Disobedience is gaining momentum and the arrest of 213 persons, including 8 women and 5 members of the Lahore Corporation and use of tear-gas on a large scale on a resolute crowd of 7,000 strong were the highlights of the third day of the Movement Following 2 statements in his self-defence by the Premier, Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Kamaluddin were released from the Central Jail at 9 p m

The six members of the Punjab League High Command, who were arrested in Lahore on Friday, namely, Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar

Shaukat Hayat Khan and Syed Amir Hussain Shah were literally thrown out of the Central Jail at 11 30 p m on Sunday night following an order by the Punjab Government releasing them unconditionally

The leaders refused to come out of the jail unless all other arrested men and women were released unconditionally They assembled in a meeting at 11 30 p m at the house of the Khan of Mamdot, and they are going to address a public meeting in Lahore at 10 a m on Monday The Khan of Mamdot in an interview said "We shall not rest content unless and until the ban against the National Guards is withdrawn unconditionally "

Interviewed by the *Dawn* correspondent, Begum Shah Nawaz said "We were chatting in our cells after our evening meal, Begum Kamaluddin and I were asked to come out This we did The Assistant Superintendent of the jail told us that the Premier had ordered our unconditional release and that we should leave the jail at once

"We protested and refused to move out without the unconditional release of all our brothers and sisters The Assistant Superintendent said if we did not comply with orders we would be bodily lifted and thrown out of jail premises We were told that other colleagues of ours of the Muslim League were also released unconditionally "

For the second day a *hartal* was observed by Muslims in the Punjab and other parts of India Protests against the Government action have been received from Muslim leaders and organisations all over the country

It is understood that the Punjab Ministers held a meeting today at the residence of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan to take stock of the situation arising out of the Satyagraha launched by the Punjab Muslim League

Muslims again took out processions today in different parts of the town in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance By 2 p m forty arrests had been made

At about 1 p m a batch of eight Muslim women led by Fatima Begum, Councillor, marched on the Temple Road raising slogans They were stopped near the Mozang Police Station by a large force and were arrested Five men who followed them were also taken into custody

Twenty-seven more persons were arrested in the Mozang area this afternoon

Seventeen Muslim League workers including five councillors of the Lahore Corporation were arrested in the walled City of Lahore in the afternoon The councillors, Mian Farakh Husain, Mian Gul Mohd Butt, Chaudhri Karimuddin, Mr Shahabuddin and Mr Mohd Sarfaraz courted arrest near the Tibbi Police Station by marching in a procession and raising anti-Ministry slogans

Twenty-four more Muslims were arrested in the Mozang area for the alleged defiance of the Public Safety Ordinance by leading processions

A batch of thirty Muslims of Lahore Cantonment who were proceeding to the city in a procession was arrested near Garhi Shahu, a suburb of Lahore, this afternoon

Three persons were taken into custody by the police outside Bhati Gate, bringing the total number of arrests to 114 at 4 p m

Mr Abu Saeed Anwar, Editor of the *Pakistan* a vernacular weekly of Lahore, was arrested today at his residence under the Public Safety Ordinance He has been sent to the Central Jail where he will be detained for one month

A batch of 15 Muslims was arrested this evening for leading a procession in contravention of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance outside Mochi Gate

Before the processionists outside Mochi Gate were arrested the police used tear-gas to disperse them

[1]*Dawn*, 28 January 1947

VII.8

GOVERNMENT'S ACTION MOST HIGH-HANDED AND UNWARRANTED[1]

—JINNAH

KARACHI, [Jan 26] Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the press

"I am shocked to read the report in the press of the decision of the Punjab Government to declare the Muslim National Guards Organization unlawful under the guise of and plea that the Government cannot allow private armies There is not an iota of truth in it that the Muslim National Guards are based on the idea of rearing up a private army and this has been fully explained by Mr Liaquat Ali Khan in his statement issued yesterday

"No complaint was made, or warning given, by the Punjab Government to the Executive of the National Guards, the Provincial Muslim League or the All India Muslim League nor has the Muslim National Guards Organization been shown to have done anything or attempting to do anything that was unlawful

"The sudden swooping down upon the National Guards Organisation

and declaring it unlawful under Section 16 of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, is most high-handed and unwarranted action and besides it raises another very serious question as it strikes at the root of civil liberties

"This is followed up with terrorist methods of searching the offices of the Muslim National Guards and arresting Muslim Leaguers This policy of suppression and oppression of Muslim League raises very grave issues

"It is not clear whether this policy and the action taken by the Punjab Government is by the Ministry, or the Governor, or both The Premier of the Punjab, who was in Delhi discussing with the Viceroy, the question of a military academy for the Punjab, when asked what he had to say about this action on the part of the Punjab Government, to my astonishment, said that he had nothing to say until he returned to Lahore

"Evidently, the decision was taken in his absence and without his knowledge and I hope the Premier will explain his position without any further delay with regard to this matter

"The repercussions of this one more mad and inimical action against the Muslim League on the part of the Punjab Government will be terrific all over Muslim India and I appeal to the Viceroy to immediately intervene and save the situation which otherwise may take a very serious turn for which the entire responsibility will rest with the Viceroy and H M G

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League which is meeting in Karachi on the 29th of January will consider the whole matter and decide upon what course of action should be adopted to meet this uncalled for aggression and unwarranted policy of the Punjab Government at this most critical time when already there is so much trouble and unrest all over India "—API

[1] *Dawn* 28 January 1947

VII.9

BAN ON MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS LIFTED[1]
League to Continue Struggle Against Ban on Civil Liberties
Punjab Muslim Press Gagged

LAHORE, [Jan 28] The police arrested at mid-night all top-ranking leaders including Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mr Mumtaz

Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mr Ghulamuddin Kasuri, Professor Abdul Waheed, Mian Noorullah and Mian Amiruddin

They have been taken to the Charing Cross Police Station Mr Jinnah has been informed

An earlier message from the same correspondent said The Punjab League won the first round of its battle against the Congress-Khizar Fascist regime when the Punjab Premier made a statement to the Press this afternoon withdrawing the ban on the Muslim League National Guards

Following the lifting of the ban, the Punjab League announced that the struggle will continue till the ban on processions and public meetings is lifted In pursuance of that decision Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Begum Noon, Miss Zahida Hayat and Mian Amiruddin courted arrest But they were taken out of Lahore and then let off at different places

The Punjab Muslim press has decided to suspend publication for 15 days from Thursday next This decision was taken by *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Zamindar*, *Ehsan* and *Eastern Times* following an order by the Punjab Government directing the papers not to publish anything concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

Khizar-Congress Coalition in the Punjab which has already been shaken to its foundation by the first impact of the League's movement is now resorting to most objectionable Nazi tactics to gag all expression of free objective views regarding the League's movement which is now assuming gigantic proportions throughout the province The Punjab Government have served an order this evening on the editors of all the newspapers in Lahore and news agencies directing them "not to print or publish in any of their issue for a period of 15 days, any statement or report which is not official, any comment, any correspondence or any other matter concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Safety Ordinance", adds an API message

An APA report adds

The Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League declared today its intention of continuing the "present all-out, non-violent mass struggle against the reactionary Punjab regime" in a statement issued a short time after the Punjab Ministry withdrew its five-day-old ban on the League National Guards and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh

"The struggle will continue", the Committee asserted in a 1,000-word statement, "until the normal functioning of peaceful and legitimate popular groups and parties is secured "

Meanwhile there were approximately 80 arrests up to 6 p m and others were reported throughout the province Those taken into custody in Lahore included three of the eight leaders arrested last Friday—the first day of the ban—as well as the Austrian-born wife of Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who was arrested at the head of a women's procession

The Committee of Action statement said in part

"We need not emphasise that our struggle will remain non-violent and non-communal and no better truth of this can be given than the gallant and heroic manner in which the Muslim masses have behaved during the past three or four days despite ruthless police repression and provocation from many quarters "

'We warn our people," the statement continued, "that the key to our success lies in continuing to resist all provocation toward communal outbreak despite efforts of *agents provocateurs* and proving to the world the nature of our struggle "

The Committee statement added

"As the majority community in this province and as the architects of Pakistan, it falls upon us to prove to our minorities the realities of the security and mutual harmony we promise them in Pakistan and to invite them today to join us in our struggle which is a common democratic one against common oppression "

The Committee detailed what it termed "intolerable circumstances" and said

"The course of the Muslim League, which is the major party in this province and the proper guardian and respector of the rights and privileges of all the citizens of the Punjab, is crystal clear

"In full consciousness of this responsibility, the Muslim League Organisation in the Punjab had finally decided to challenge effectively the disgraceful methods and motives of the present unpopular Government by launching a general non-co-operation movement at an early date and the order banning the Muslim League National Guards is only the occasion which precipitated that action, already ripe for execution

"Therefore, there is no truth whatever in the suggestion made in certain usually misinformed quarters that the present step of the Punjab Muslim League was taken in haste On the other hand, if anything, we owe an apology to the expectant masses of the Punjab for the delay in giving the orders for the struggle and thus forcing them to submit to this brutal suppression of their liberties for so long "

PUBLIC MEETING

In pursuance of their decision to continue the struggle, the Punjab League held a public meeting outside Delhi Gate at 3 p m in defiance

of the Public Safety Ordinance Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan reiterated his pledge to carry on the struggle against the Punjab Coalition Ministry to the last He exhorted the people not to follow the procession which should consist only of the people who were to court arrest

The names of 65 people were announced at the meeting who were to court arrest this evening They included Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mian Amiruddin, the Mayor of Lahore, Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin, Syed Amir Hussain Shah, Commander of the Punjab National Guards, eight councillors of the Lahore Corporation and 52 Muslim League workers

The procession led by Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan carrying Muslim League flags and shouting slogans marched towards the Empress Road, where the house of the Punjab Revenue Minister and the others of the Unionist Party are situated

A strong force of police followed the procession in trucks despite the instructions of the League leaders, a big crowd followed the procession and formed a part of it

The crowd performed a mock funeral before the residence of the Revenue Minister, Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash

A strong contingent of police led by high police officials and the District Magistrate blocked the road in front of the Unionist headquarters and took the leaders of the procession into custody

The procession was now led by Mian Iftikharuddin and proceeded towards the Assembly Chamber After crossing The Mall it marched towards Mozang where it was dispersed after a *lathi*-charge by the police Eighteen persons were taken into custody

Seventeen more persons were arrested after the termination of the procession near Mozang Police Station

The arrested persons who came in three groups walked straight into the police station where they were put under arrest

Eight Muslims arrested this evening were later on let off on the ground that they were not wearing any badge or insignia or holding any flag to differentiate themselves from the common people

All those arrested in Lahore today in connection with the Muslim League's Civil Disobedience Movement including Mrs Firoz Khan Noon, Begum Shah Nawaz, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mian Amiruddin, Mayor of the Lahore Corporation, were taken out of Lahore to different places and were let off —API

AT LUDHIANA

Complete *hartal* continues in the city for the last three days Processions were taken out So far 117 persons have been arrested, including

Chaudhri Mehar Din, Municipal Commissioner, Mr Anwar Kirmani, Mr Tufail Mohd and Agha Hyderi

Further reports show that Nawab Ehsan Elahi, President of the Punjab Shia Conference, Maulana Mufti Abdul Hameed, Mian Wahid Naulakha and Syed Hilal Ahmad, President of the City Muslim League, Ludhiana, parading the streets and defying the ban have also been arrested

About one thousand ladies in *burqa* took out a procession, wearing Muslim National Guards badges and defied the ban Baji Rabia, General Secretary of the Zanana Muslim League led the procession No arrest of women is reported

AT BENARES

The Muslims of Benares observed a complete *hartal* on January 25, as a protest against the arrests of the Punjab League leaders, says a report Muslim business was entirely suspended

A mammoth meeting of the Muslims was held in the evening which Mr Mohd Athar presided Resolutions, congratulating the Punjab League leaders on their sacrifices and assuring them of the whole hearted support of the Muslims of Benares, were passed

In one of its resolutions, the meeting condemned the Punjab Government, and expressed its indignation over their undemocratic action

AT AMRITSAR

British-troops have been called out and are standing by in the Amritsar City Kotwali

Processions of League sympathisers ranging between 10 to 20 carrying green flags of the National Guards and shouting slogans are being taken in different parts of the city Street corner meetings are being held

Muslims are observing complete *hartal* today

The police arrested this morning Chaudhri Nasrullah, MLA, Mir Anwar Saeed, General Secretary of the local Muslim League, Malik Ghulam Nabi, and some other prominent workers of the Muslim League

Out of 69 persons arrested on Monday, 23 persons have been detained while the remaining were taken to the River Beas and let off there

Mr S F Robinson, Senior Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, was grievously wounded while controlling a Muslim League procession on Tuesday

He was assaulted by a member of the procession with a flag-pole and is now in hospital with a fractured skull

Mr L V Dean has been appointed to officiate for Mr Robinson

Enquiries made at hospital show that Mr Robinson is out of danger and is making satisfactory progress —API

AT RAWALPINDI

Seven members of the Muslim League and National Guards, and others led by Mr Nasir, President, District Muslim League and National Guards and Vice-President of the Pindi Cantonment including Sheikh Altaf Hussain, *Salar*, Rawalpindi courted arrest by defying the Safety Ordinance of the Punjab Government and the ban placed on the National Guards

The procession marched through the city, wearing National Guards badges, and raising thunderous anti-Ministry slogans

Mr Nasir severely condemned the anti-Muslim policy of the Punjab Ministry and exhorted the people to continue to defy the ban, until the arrogant Ministry comes to its senses, and civil liberties are restored in the Punjab

AT FEROZEPORE

For defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 57 Muslim Leaguers were arrested on Monday in Ferozepore Cantonment, bringing the total number of arrests so far made in this connection to 95

AT FEROZABAD

Ferozabad Muslims observed the Punjab Day on Tuesday

All bangle factories work and shops were closed A public meeting was held and a resolution was passed condemning Chief Minister Khizar Hayat Khan's anti-League action

[1]*Dawn* 30 January 1947

VII.10

MUSLIMS STIRRED TO LIFE BY CHALLENGE[1]

LAHORE, [Jan 28] A little before his arrest, Ch Mohd Hasan, in a statement to the Press says

"The Muslim Punjab has been stirred to life It has accepted the challenge thrown by the Punjab Government It is a challenge to our national honour and prestige The Muslims are determined to give a suitable reply to it Mr Khizar Hayat has put us to the hard test It was necessary for such tests to come in our way

"All our top-ranking leaders are already behind the bars and now the masses are moving in that direction Let the jails be filled to vindicate our

honour We shall pass through these trials and tribulations with brilliant success The movement has already gained momentum and it would daily grow in intensity

"It is high time that the British should think seriously whether the Unionist Government in the Punjab is at all a popular Government It is the most undemocratic Government No name is more hated in the Punjab than that of Khizar Hayat He is not the true representative of the majority community, but he is still at the helm of affairs because he happens to profess the faith of the majority community

"The Ministry should at once be dismissed and new elections ordereds The Punjab would give better account of itself even than Sind In order to secure a stable Government in the Punjab, there is no other course left than dismissing the present unpopular, undemocratic and inefficient Ministry These are not the war days and no drastic measures are justifiably required to kill the popular aspirations

"The National Guards are part and parcel of the Muslim League just as the Congress volunteers are part and parcel of the Congress To ban the former and leave the latter free is to offer challenge to the Muslim honour The National Guards is not a secret organisation In fact under the pretext of banning Muslim National Guards the Government wanted to impede and stop the work and activities of the Muslim League, which cannot be tolerated

"By the Grace of Allah, we shall carry this movement with courage and discipline The movement will expose the hollowness of the present Government, I am sure that even the Nehrus and Patels would not approve of the action of the Punjab Government They know how they will react to the banning of their own volunteer corps of the Congress

"May God Almighty, guide our activities and grant us success We go to jails with faith and conviction that our cause is just and that we are bound to succeed Let the Muslims pray that the Punjab may be rid of the oppression and tyranny of the present unrepresentative and undemocratic regime"

[1] *Dawn* 30 January 1947

VII.11

PUNJAB ACTION COMMITTEE'S CALL[1]

Stand Firm, And Go Forward In This Non-Violent Struggle

LAHORE, [Jan 28] The following statement has been issued to the press by the Committee of Action of the Punjab Provincial Muslim

League including the leaders who were arrested on 24th January

On account of the recent sudden development precipitated by the Punjab Government's order banning the Muslim National Guards, there is liable to be some confusion in the minds of the public about the real motives which have compelled the Punjab Provincial Muslim League to embark on a general Civil Disobedience Movement throughout the province, and it is possible that a comparatively subsidiary provocation may be confounded with the proper cause of our action Therefore, we find it necessary to acquaint our people with the background and the occasion of our decision

As the public is very well aware, the past general elections in the Punjab were held under circumstances of indescribable oppression, when the entire coercive machinery of the Government was prostituted and perverted to harass, victimise and suppress the Muslim League Methods of violence and illegal interference were employed which have no parallel outside the darkest chapters of the Fascist gangsterism

After the elections when all the satanic resources of the Glancy-Khizar axis had failed to stem the triumphant progress of the aroused Muslim people, the Governor of the province imposed upon the Punjab, a Government headed by a handful of professional disrupters and discredited traitors, who at the hands of the people had suffered a defeat hardly equalled in political history

This Government, composed almost exclusively of non-Muslims and headed by half a dozen Muslim traitors who had been expressly repudiated by the electorate, was forced by the most undemocratic methods and through the vilest intrigue on a province which was predominantly Muslim, and which was regarded by the Muslims throughout India as the cornerstone of their future freedom and Pakistan

Immediately after the formation of the Government, the first action of this clique of traitors was to impose Section 144 in almost all the towns of the province, thus choking all political life and making the normal functioning of every bonafide political party impossible This was naturally no loss to the Unionist ramp which had never had the slightest relationship with the people and which having secured a handful of seats in the last elections through the obliging pencil of the polling officers, wished for ᶻ so much as to be protected from public expression, opinion the Congress of the present unpopular Government by launching a general non co-operation movement at an early date, and the order banning the Muslim National Guards was

only an occasion which precipitated an action already ripe for execution

Therefore, there is no truth whatever in the suggestion made in certain usually misinformed quarters that the present step of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was taken in haste On the other hand, if anything, we owe an apology to the expectant masses of the Punjab for the delay in giving the orders for the fight and thus forcing them to submit to this brutal suppression of their liberties for so long

In passing we would comment only so far on the incidental occasion of our arrest, that the Muslim National Guards, an integral part of the Muslim League, that it is an organisation meant and employed for social service and the political discipline of the masses, and that it can in no way be compared to be secret and militant organisation of the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh which is associated or integrated with no responsible and democratic popular party The Muslim National Guards is to the Muslim League what the various Congress volunteer organisations are to the Indian National Congress, and we would willingly allow to and expect from the latter what we demand for and will fight to the bitter end to secure for the former

ALL-OUT STRUGGLE

In view of the above circumstances, it is our decision that we shall continue our present all-out non-violent mass struggle against the reactionary Punjab regime until the normal functioning of all legitimate and peaceful popular organisations and parties is secured

We need not emphasise that our struggle will remain non-violent and non-communal, and no better proof of this can be given than the gallant and heroic manner in which the Muslim masses have behaved during the last three or four days, despite ruthless police repression and provocation from many quarters

We warn our people that the key to our success lies in continuing to resist all provocation towards communal outbreaks, despite the efforts of *agents provocateurs* and by proving to the world the manifest political and democratic nature of our struggle

As the majority community in this province and as the architects of Pakistan it falls upon us to prove to our minorities the reality of the security and mutual harmony we promise them in Pakistan, and to invite them today to join us in a struggle which is a common democratic fight against a common oppression

Lastly we congratulate the Muslims of the Punjab on the wonderful spirit they have displayed and salute them in the name of Islam, to the high traditions of which they have gloriously and nobly lived up

Our message to them is "Stand firm, and go forward in the front rank of this non-violent struggle, offering yourself for arrest in the largest possible numbers for the vindication of our honour and our freedom and for the achievement of our Pakistan"

[1]*Dawn*, 30 January 1947
[2]Not legible in the original

VII.12

PUNJAB BAN REDUCED TO MOCKERY[1]
Province-Wide Demonstrations Gain Momentum
Premier's 70-Year-Old Uncle Courts Arrest
Tiwana Issues Lying Communiques

LAHORE, [Jan 30] On Thursday, the seventh day of Punjab people's fight for the restoration of civil liberties, the greatest procession numbering hundreds of thousands ever formed itself at Mochi Gate at 2 p m and wended its way towards Montgomery Road The police obstructed their way The huge concourse squatted on the road Seventy of them were arrested

Earlier two lorry-loads of students were arrested in High Court compound where hundreds of them were demonstrating on the occasion of the production before the High Court of Dr Omar Hayat Malik (Principal Islamia College Lahore), on habeas corpus petition

Major Nawab Mumtaz Tiwana, 70-year-old uncle of the Punjab Premier, was arrested today He has renounced his titles and it may be mentioned that he was once A D C to Lord Kitchner

According to an unconfirmed report the Pir of Gulhar Sharif who is also the Pir or spiritual guide of the Punjab Premier himself was arrested today

The MLAs arrested today are Choudhry Bahawal Bakhsh, Mr Abdul Hamid Beg, Mr Khurshid Ali Khan, Ch Abdul Hamid of Montgomery, Mr Abdul Haq, Sheikh Gilani of Multan and Hafiz Mohammad Abdullah of Lyallpur and five others

Throughout the Punjab lakhs of people are daily offering themselves for arrest But the authorities are not arresting them because they have neither accommodation for such a vast multitude nor can they give food to so many Ban on public meetings and processions has been already reduced to a mockery

Another procession headed by Ch Abdul Karim, member of the Lahore Corporation also paraded the streets raising slogans for the release of arrested leaders Mr Chaudhry was arrested

One procession encountered the Governor's car and immediately scores of voices shouted, *Bachha Saqqa Raj Khatam Karo*

The Governor's car turned into a side street and made for Government House by a different route

A women procession also defied the ban led by Mrs Saeeda

The D I G of Police said to me today, "it is remarkable that such mammoth crowds are behaving with such absolute restraint "

The police ban resorted to tactics of stripping arrested persons of their warm clothes and their shoes and then taking them out some distance and letting them loose in the cold without warm covering and bare-footed

K B Rangriyal, former Unionist MLA, has renounced his title and courted arrest

The Punjab branch of All India Muslim Women's Conference has passed a resolution condemning the tear-gassing of women

The Lahore Students' Federation has also condemned the tear-gassing and *lathi*-charging on students

While Muslim Punjab is carrying on the fight for civil liberties, the four Muslim Ministers are carrying on secret conferences with Sardar Baldev Singh who has come here obviously to pull the strings from behind the scene

AT WAZIRABAD

The President of the Muslim League Wazirabad was arrested at his residence on Thursday [29 January] night under Punjab Safety Ordinance

AT BHALWAL

Mr Fazal Haq Piracha, MLA, was arrested in Bhalwal under Section 8 of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, on Friday [30 January]

AT BASTI

An extraordinary general meeting of the Musalmans of Basti was held, under the presidentship of Mr Mohd Ismail, MLA, (Central)

The following resolution was unanimously adopted

"Resolved that this public meeting of the Musalmans of Basti unanimously condemn the action of the Punjab Government in declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful Organisation

"The meeting congratulates the League leaders of the Punjab, and the bold stand taken by them in the matter It demands, immediate

release of all the arrested persons and warns the Punjab Government that if it persists in its repressive policy, the Muslims of India will take it as a challenge

"This meeting requests the U P Muslim League to announce a day as 'Punjab Day', so that a unanimous verdict of the Musalmans may be registered against the mischievous and anti-Muslim policy of the Punjab Government"

AT FEROZEPORE

The processions each consisting of more than a thousand persons as well as a women's procession marched through the main bazaar of the city shouting, "break Section 144," "release Muslim League leaders," and other slogans The police did not interfere

The last procession was led by Mr Abdur Rahim, *Vakil*, who was arrested along with the National Guards volunteers

At Ferozepore Cantonment all the Muslim shops which were closed were surrounded by the police at 4 p m and they forcibly opened them to break the *hartal* At 5 p m a procession of 15,000 strong marched through the bazaars of the Cantonment and ended peacefully No arrests were made A students' procession also took place here

Maulvi Abdussattar Niazy was brought to Ferozepore Jail last night

[1]*Dawn* 1 February 1947

VII.13

DAWN BANNED IN PUNJAB[1]

LAHORE, [Jan 29] The Governor of the Punjab issued an order this evening under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance prohibiting the bringing into the Punjab for a period of 15 days issues of the *Dawn*, Delhi, containing such matter connected with the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance as is not contained in statements and communiques etc , issued officially

The order says that the paper has been found to contain matter connected with the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, which is prejudicial to the public safety or maintenance of public order

[1]*Dawn*, 1 February 1947

VII.14

FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES TAKES A NEW TURN[1]

Hindus Join Hands With Muslims In Punjab Agitation Pir Of Taunsa Sharif Arrested More Divines Decide To Defy Ban Frontier, Sind And Kashmir Volunteers To Pour Into The Province

LAHORE, [Jan 30] The non-communal and non-violent movement launched by the Punjabis for the restoration of civil liberties gains momentum in spite of the desperate attempt of the Ministry to suppress truth and mislead the public as to the real situation

The biggest news of the day was the arrest of *'Ala Hazrat* Hafiz Khwaja Shujauddin, *Sajjada Nashin*, Taunsa Sharif, who is the biggest spiritual leader of Muslims in Asia, the followers of the *Gaddi* numbering over twenty lacs

Among others arrested today were Major Mubarak Ali Shah, MLA (Jhang) and following from Sargodha

Sh Fazal Shah [*sic* for Haq] Piracha, MLA, Pir Qalander Ali Shah, Mohammed Abdullah, Moulvi Faiz Mohammed, Mian Abdul Aziz and Hakim Abdul Rahman

The Punjab Ministry's communique says today that no Muslims came forward to be arrested in Lahore and no arrest was made here The following facts will show how false the statement is

The 29-year-old Mr Ibrahim Ali Chishti, former Director of the Punjab Communal Harmony Movement and Assistant Director of Information Bureau, Punjab, courted arrest today in Anarkali with 119 persons

They were taken in four lorry-loads to the Charing Cross Police Station in the evening They were thrown out of the lorries and many are reported to have been beaten by the police

One man had a bone fractured and received other injuries, while a boy of eight was seen bleeding profusely

As for the Punjab Ministry's statement that small processions only were taken out the camera-man of a well-known Movie Company, who took pictures, told me that Thursday's mammoth procession was the largest gathering of people he had ever seen anywhere

POLICE REFUSE TO ARREST

Today's procession had more than one lakh of people and they all shouted out *"Arrest us", but the DSP said "We could not arrest* them because we could not take them anywhere"

Today's procession marched through the Kashmiri Bazaar, Dabb Bazaar and Anarkali Bazaar The processionists were *lathi*-charged

The underground newspaper *Voice of Islam* publishes the report tha at Multan, Hindus joined the Muslims in the movement Mullah Abdullah, says the paper reporter, marched through Multan at th head of 500 villagers about 450 of whom were Hindus The Hindus o Multan demonstrated their sincerity and solidarity with Muslims and garlanded the processionists

According to the *Voice of Islam*, Makhdum Syed Sher Shah Gilan MLA (Central) and brother of His Holiness Makhdum Sadrud Dir leader of Gilanis all over the world, who had been arrested earlier, wa sentenced to one year's imprisonment

Among others sentenced to imprisonment were Syed Zainul Abedi and Khan Mohammed Ayub Khan, Vice-President, District Muslim League, Multan Following the news of their conviction the whole o Multan went into mourning

Among others arrested today were Mian Lal Din Kaiser and 80 year-old famous Punjabi poet Ishaq Lehar

The *Voice of Islam* announces that the centenarian saint, Pir Jama Ali Shah will offer himself for arrest at Lahore

The Frontier leader, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, has sent informa tion that volunteers from N W F P , Sind, Kashmir will shortly, b pouring into the Punjab to take part in the movement for restoration o civil liberties

At Jullundur today the public observed *hartal* for the eighth con secutive day, police has tried all kind of repression but failed to get th shops open

[1] *Dawn* 2 February 1947

VII.15

PUNJAB CAMPAIGN SPREADS FAR AND WIDE[1]

Situation In Most Of The Towns Extremely Tense
Ex-Unionist Minister Decides To Court Arrest
Volleys Of Tear-Gas Bombs Fired On
Lahore Procession

LAHORE, [Feb 1] In spite of the Goebbelsian lies by the Punjab Ministry in misrepresenting the intent and scope of Punjab people's

non-communal and non-violent struggle for civil liberties and in spi of prefabricated "Communiques" designed to mislead world publ opinion regarding its progress, the League Civil Disobedience Can paign, on its 9th day, has spread far and wide in the Punjab

In Gujrat two Muslim League MLAs, Mr Jahan Khan Bhusal an Nawabzada Asghar Ali Khan, courted arrest with 60 League Nation Guards riding on horse backs The horses were also placed und arrest The processionists numbering several thousands peacefully di persed Nawabzada Asghar Ali Khan is the son of late Nawab S Fazal Ali who was regarded as one of the pillars of the British rule India The remaining three MLAs of Gujrat have already been arreste

Thousands of villagers are trekking their way to Gujrat to cou arrest Today's biggest news is the arrest of the Leghari, Chief of De Ghazi Khan, which place is described by the Government to be "quiet Nawab Mohd Khan Leghari, President of Dera Ghazi Khan Musli League, son of Nawab Hafiz Mohammad Khan Leghari, Chaudh Mazhar Ahmed Tumandar, Mr Ata Mohammad Khan Bolzar, ML Sardar Bahadur Khan Treshek, MLA, Fayaz Mohammad Zaildar an Akhwand Abdul Karim, MLA, were arrested after they led a hu procession through the city of Dera Ghazi Khan

Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari, who will court arrest in Lahore o Monday, is the biggest landlord of the Punjab

The first martyr of the Punjab who fell to police *lathi* blows belon to Simla He died as a result of a *lathi*-charge by the police Sim observed complete *hartal*

All leaders and League workers of the Lahore District Muslim Leag were arrested at Kasur on Friday Among them is Sardar Mohamma Husain, MLA

Reports from Jullundur show that all League prisoners have gor on hunger-strike in protest against ill-treatment by the authorities Th situation in Jullundur is extremely tense The people refuse to call o the *hartal*

11 persons of Nankana Saheb who have been sentenced to 2½ year rigorous imprisonment each under the Public Safety Ordinance passe through Lahore on their way to Rawalpindi Jail They were hanc cuffed and fettered

The Muslim League flag with crescent and star flew over the gat of the Government House this afternoon, the heroine of the drama wa Zahida Hayat, daughter of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan Alon with Begum Mumtaz Daultana, she led a thousand-strong processio of Muslim women who carried children on their arms and marche towards Government House

Amidst vociferous shouts of "Down with Khizar Ministry", Zahida Hayat planted the League flag on Government House gate It fluttered there for a while and was eventually removed by a police constable

On the way the women's procession passed the house of Minister Qizilbash and demonstrated for some time The doors of the Qizilbash household were bolted and barred

The main meeting outside Mochi Gate was again attended today by a crowd of about one lakh of persons and was addressed by Choudhry Abdul Kabir, Secretary, Lahore City Muslim League He advised people to carry on the struggle peacefully and non-communally till the victory was won

The audience converted itself into a huge procession, passed through Delhi Gate and Dabbi Bazaar and then as it progressed towards The Mall and reached Queen's Statue Volleys of tear-gas bombs were fired at it

Sixty persons were arrested earlier in the day Sixty students were also arrested, among them being Mr Bashir Ahmed, President of the Pakistan Ambulance Corps, 7 Khaksars also courted arrest

In Multan Syed Ali Husain Gardezi, Syed Vilayet Hussain Gardezi, Mr Abdur Razaq, Bar-at-Law, and Mian Abdullah, one of the biggest landlords of the Northern Punjab, Syed Nabi Shah Gilani, MLA and Nawabzada Mohd Islam led a procession estimated to be one lakh strong

Malik Shaukat Ali, Advocate, member of the Lahore Corporation, has been nominated Acting Vice-President by Mr Khalil Ahmed, the Acting President of the Provincial League

[1]*Dawn*, 3 February 1947

VII.16

BOMBAY MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS SEEK PERMISSION TO DEFY BAN[1]

BOMBAY, [Feb 1] The Muslim National Guards volunteers have approached the Bombay Muslim League to arrange to send *jathas* to the Punjab to defy the Government's Public Safety Ordinance

Mr Hasan A Sheikh, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League, said today that as no instructions from the President of the All India Muslim League had been received, no decision had been taken by the Provincial Muslim League in this matter —API

[1]*Dawn* 3 February 1947

VII.17

FEROZEPORE MOVEMENT GAINING MOMENTUM[1]

FEROZEPORE, [Feb 1] Two processions of men were taken out today in the Cantonment One of them contained over a thousand persons On one of these processions the police made a fierce *lathi*-charge A women's procession, 400 strong, was also taken out, but police did not interfere

The police are beating arrested persons mercilessly and then letting them off

The movement is gaining momentum and people are pouring in from the villages to take part in it

[1] *Dawn*, 3 February 1947

VII.18

SIND PLEDGES FULL AID TO PUNJAB HEROES[1]

KARACHI, [Feb 2] The Punjab Muslim League leaders, Choudhry Amir Ali and Mr Mohamed Amin, who arrived in Karachi from Lahore yesterday, addressed a largely attended public meeting, held under the auspices of the City Muslim League at which they explained the Punjab situation Mr Ali Mohamed Mari, MLA (Sind), presided over the meeting

Choudhry Amir Ali maintained that the Muslim League which formed the Opposition in the Punjab Assembly had started the movement to dislodge the present Ministry This he said, was within the principles of democracy and a constitutional right of the Opposition

Mr Mohamed Amin explained that the Muslims in the Punjab had grave doubts when the Safety Ordinance was introduced The present arrests were being made under this Ordinance and the Punjab Muslims were determined to erase this and other repressive laws from the Statute Book

Sardar Aurangzeb, a prominent member of the League Working Committee, who also addressed the meeting, emphasised that the movement in the Punjab was not directed against any community

It was started to safeguard the civic rights and political liberties of

the people He criticised the Punjab Ministry for their repressive and oppressive policy against the Muslims, the majority community of the province

The meeting passed a resolution supporting the movement and assured the Punjab Muslims full support from Sind —API

[1]*Dawn*, 3 February 1947

VII.19

LEAGUE CABINET CONDEMNS REPRESSION IN PUNJAB[1]

Government Urged To Withdraw Ban On Civil Liberties

KARACHI, [Feb 1] The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League adjourned *sine die* at 8 45 p m today after adopting a lengthy resolution on the Punjab situation

The Committee proposed to release two more resolutions, one on Bihar and another on the Hazara situation tomorrow morning

The resolution on the Punjab strongly condemns the order banning the Muslim League National Guards, congratulates the Punjab Muslims on having successfully resisted the "insulting order" and secured its withdrawal

The Committee expresses whole-hearted sympathy for the Musalmans of the Punjab in their sufferings and trials and advises them to maintain a perfectly non-violent, disciplined, firm and dignified attitude in their protests against "repression" and suppression of democratic freedom in their province

The Committee maintains that the objectives of the Punjab Muslim League's present movement are confined to securing the restoration of normal civil liberties in that province and involve no inter-communal issue at all

It earnestly urges the Punjab Government to withdraw forthwith all restrictive measures on the political activities and release all those who have been imprisoned or arrested in this connection

The following is the text of the resolution on the Punjab situation adopted by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League released to the press

"The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have noted with grave concern the serious situation developing in the Punjab where thousands of Muslims, men and women, are courting arrest every day all over the province as a protest against the suppression of their political

rights and civil liberties and against continued provocations offered to them by the Provincial Ministry

"One of these provocations, which deeply stirred the feelings of Muslims in the Punjab and outside, was the order promulgated by the Punjab Government on January 24 and since withdrawn declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful association

"The Committee strongly condemns this order which amounted to the biggest and most high-handed attempt to suppress the activities of the Muslim League in the Punjab

"The National Guards is a body of volunteers, organised by the Muslim League to assist in peaceful and legitimate political and social work The National Guards functions under the Muslim League's discipline and control and forms part of the Muslim League Organization

"The Working Committee congratulates the Punjab Muslim League Organization on having successfully resisted this insulting order and secured its withdrawal

"The Committee, however, cannot overlook the fact that the mere withdrawal of this order makes no improvement in the general conditions prevailing in the Punjab and involving on the one hand, persistent and widespread persecution of the Muslims for political reasons by the Ministry and, on the other hand, almost total denial to them of those constitutional methods of self-expression and criticism of the Government by the Opposition, which are the essential bases of democracy

"The present Ministry which is a fundamentally unrepresentative and unpopular one and which is a creation of a combination of groups hostile to the Muslim League which is the largest party of the Muslims in the Punjab generally, in its fear of free public opinion and democratic principles and in order to maintain itself in office in defiance of the wishes and rights of the politically awakened majority in the Punjab has been resorting with growing recklessness to the Fascist methods of gagging public opinion, suppressing normal civil and constitutional liberties of the people and persecuting its political opponents

"For a long time now the Provincial Legislature has practically ceased to function except for the purpose of hurried voting on budget once in a year, the Opposition being given absolutely no opportunity of bringing forward non-official proposals in the House

CIVIL LIBERTIES REDUCED

"A ban on public meetings under Section 144 of the Cr P C practically throughout the province has long been a normal feature of the administration

"A so-called Public Safety Ordinance, which reduces civil liberties

and the liberty of the press to a farce, has been promulgated on a false pretext.

"The fact that the powers vested in the Government and its officials, under this Ordinance are actually being used to put down an agitation for the restoration of civil liberties in the province has thoroughly exposed the falsehood of the pretext for promulgating it

"It is significant that the Muslims are the principal sufferers from all these bans and restrictions on fundamental civil rights and normal political activity, because the other communities can influence the administration through their chosen representatives in the Ministry

"At the same time the Ministry has been carrying on a widespread campaign of persecution, coercion and intimidation against workers and supporters of the Muslim League with the object of disrupting and breaking up the political solidarity of Muslims

"Its war upon the united political front of Muslims in the Punjab has imposed untold suffering on numerous Muslims, particularly in the rural areas of the province Thousands have been and are being even refused any ration of controlled commodities, like sugar, salt, kerosene oil, and otherwise persecuted because they are members or supporters of the Muslim League Muslim public servants from gazetted officers down to clerks and petty village officials who refuse to act as the tools of the Ministers in their political [2] of the Muslim League, are being harassed, humiliated and removed from positions of responsibility

"Keeping in view the situation thus created in the Punjab, the Committee have no doubt that the responsibility for the present serious developments in the Punjab rests solely on those who have practically blocked every channel of constitutional political activity for Muslims and made it impossible for them to exercise their political opinions, thereby reducing democracy in the Punjab to mockery

"The Working Committee express their whole-hearted sympathy for Muslims of the Punjab in their sufferings and trials It is the Committee's considered opinion and earnest advice to Muslims that they should maintain a perfectly non-violent, disciplined, firm and dignified attitude in their protest against repression and coercion and the suppression of democratic freedom in their province

LEAGUE OBJECTIVES

"The Working Committee wish to make it absolutely clear that the objectives of the Punjab Muslim League's present movement are confined to securing the restoration of normal civil liberties in that province and involve no inter-communal issue at all

"The Committee warn Muslims as well as non-Muslims to be on

their guard against attempts which may be made out of mischievous motives or because of misapprehensions, to give the present situation in the Punjab a colour of inter-communal strife or to impart irrelevant communal controversies into it and feel confident that no community will lend itself to be dragged into this conflict by the machinations of those who want to discredit the Muslim League

"The Working Committee most earnestly urge and call upon the Punjab Government to forthwith withdraw all restrictive measures on political activities and not to misuse the special powers conferred by the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946 and release all those who have been imprisoned, arrested or detained in this connection "—API

[1] *Dawn*, 3 February 1947
Not legible in the original

VII.20

1,000 SIND WOMEN VOLUNTEERS ENROLLED FOR PUNJAB[1]

KARACHI, [Feb 1] Begum Abdoola Haroon, President of the Women's Section of the All India Muslim League has received a communication from the Women National Guards in the Punjab for help

At a public meeting of Muslim women at Karachi yesterday about 1,000 women volunteers were enrolled for the purpose

The meeting passed a resolution condemning the Punjab Government —API

[1] *Dawn* 3 February 1947

VII.21

DELHI WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION[1]

The Delhi Muslims' protest against the Punjab leaders' arrest took a new turn on Saturday when a large number of *burqa*-clad Muslim women came into the open and demanded the release of the Punjab leaders and the restoration of the civil liberties in the Punjab

It was an unusual spectacle in this ancient City of Delhi, for in its recent history it was only during the Rashid Day demonstrations[2] that *purdah* women paraded the streets

Earlier a meeting was held under the auspices of the Daryagunj Muslim League Women's Committee to celebrate the birthday of the Holy Prophet Begum Mohammad Ikram presided at the meeting Begum Khurshid Bashir Ahmad moved a resolution condemning the arrests of the Punjab leaders and demanded the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab

Begum Bashir Ahmad in an impassioned speech called upon the Muslim women to send their children to join the struggle in the Punjab She said that Muslim women should also become members of the National Guards and do their bit

Begum Mohammad Ishaq, Propaganda Secretary of the Punjab Women's League, referred to the great courage and the heroic spirit of sacrifice displayed by the Muslim women in the Punjab —API

[1] *Dawn*, 3 February 1947
[2] In connection with the I N A trials

VII.22

SIKHS IN VANGUARD OF LAHORE PROCESSION[1]

Muslims Behaving Like A Disciplined Army Rawalpindi Commissioner rushes to see leaders in Gujrat Jail Province-Wide Arrests Continue

LAHORE, [Feb 2] Carrying a bi-coloured flag—green and yellow—inscribed with slogans of civil liberty, two Sikhs Amir Singh and Bhola Singh courted arrest today in Lahore with 118 other persons Shaikh Sardar Mohamad, a member of the Municipal Corporation led a procession of over one lakh people

On the 10th day of this great movement against suppression of popular liberties, all sections of opinion—including ministerialists—openly admit that in spite of grave provocation, the Punjab Muslims have performed a miracle by behaving like a disciplined Army

Congress scoffers themselves have now turned grudging admirers of the splendid morale and restraint of the Muslims whom 10 days of continued repression have neither daunted nor provoked

Even Muslim League leaders, themselves now in jail, are staggered at the magnitude which the movement has so spontaneously assumed and at the perfectly peaceful behaviour, dignity and restraint which their followers have maintained throughout

Reports show that every Muslim leader of any worth all over the Punjab has already offered himself for arrest

A significant fact is that huge processions of Muslims often pass through Hindu localities but in spite of instigation the other communities have not only not interfered [sic] but some of them have actually joined while many have sympathised with the movement which does not aim to achieve at any communal end [sic] This has unnerved the Ministry who show visible nervousness

On Sunday Lahore had its bigger than ever procession which passed through Mochi Gate, Akbari Gate, Brandreth Road and on to Empress Road The size of it can be gauged from the fact that while its head was near Railway Headquarters its tail was near Railway Road

When the processionists neared the house of Revenue Minister Qizilbash, the police stopped them and the two Sikhs and Shaikh Sardar Mohammad offered themselves for arrest with 118 others as already stated Thereafter the procession broke into smaller ones and fanned out in several directions

Earlier, a huge meeting of over one lakh people was held near Mochi Gate and was addressed by Shaikh Zafar Ahmad, member Lahore Corporation and others They warned the audience against the police game of provocation and urged them not to be provoked, whatever happened

The food market, the mutton and beef market and the vegetable market will remain closed for a week from the 4th February It is understood that the *tonga*-drivers are also likely to join the strike

LYALLPUR

Mir Abdul Qayyum of Lyallpur, a close friend of the Punjab Premier said today "The Muslim League has worked a miracle in the Punjab" Mr Azizuddin with 200 *Lambardars*, has been arrested

GUJRAT

The situation in Gujrat is becoming grave, Mr C King, Commissioner, Rawalpindi Division, rushed there and met Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mian Mumtaz Daultana in jail He offered to withdraw the ban in Gujrat if the villagers did not come and join the processions The League leaders refused to any withdrawal of the restrictions on civil liberties on a piecemeal basis

The following leaders of Gujrat have been convicted [sic] to 4 months R I (Rigorous Imprisonment) and a fine of Rs 200 each Sardar Abdul Ghafur Khan, Retired Superintendent of Police, Haji Din Mohammad a millionaire, Haji Cheragh Mohammad, Chaudhry Bahawal Baksh, MLA, Sahibzada Ghulam Rabbani, Hakim Sardar Mohammad, Pirzada Sh Mohammad, and 23 others

JHANG

Syed Ghulam Mohammad Shah, MLA, has been arrested There was complete *hartal*

JULLUNDUR

Mr Abdul Majid Sach, Mohammad Shah, Shaikh Abdul Hamid and Mr Tofail Mohammad have been sentenced to one year's R I each

Khalifa Imam Din has been arrested

LUDHIANA

The following have been arrested Nawab Ihsan Ali Khan of Malerkotla, President, Punjab Shia Conference, Ch Anwar Ali Shah, Agha Sher Ahmad Khamosh, Ch Mohammad Abdullah, Advocate, Maulana Abdul Hamid, Dr Azam Shah, Khwaja Mohammad Shafi, Mr Tofail Mohammad, and Mr Mazhar Jamil

Rai Mohammad Iqbal, MLA, and his brother Rai Mohammad Ashraf—a Punjab chief, were arrested at Raikot in Ludhiana

JHELUM

Raja Khair Mehdi, MLA, has been arrested

HOSHIARPUR

Lt Col Anwarul Huq and Mr Mohammad Din, Bar-at-Law have been arrested with 11 others

PANIPAT

Ch Abdul Rahim, President, District Muslim League, Nawabzada Iftikhar Ahmad, Secretary, Munshi Mohammad Din and Haji Izharul Islam have been arrested

CHINIOT

50 arrested today

MULTAN

The *Voice of Islam* reports that here the movement has assumed a revolutionary character A procession of over a lakh was taken out and 60 Hindus offered themselves for arrest

TRIBESMEN'S SUPPORT

Tribal leader Ghulam Khan Masud of Jandola in Waziristan has sent a telegram addressed to Malik Firoz Khan Noon and has pledged the support of the tribesmen for the movement 12 volunteers from Delhi have arrived here to take part in the movement, under the leadership of Mr Manzoor Ahmad

Begum Firoz Khan Noon addressed a meeting of students at Islamia College today She urged them to maintain the integrity of Islam and

to fight on for the sacred cause which was in the interest of all—Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs She asked students to fan themselves out into the villages and to hold aloft the ideals of non-violence and non-communalism

Mr Khalil-ur-Rahman, 6th Acting President of the Provincial League, was arrested at midnight of Saturday

[1]*Dawn* 4 February 1947

VII.23

RESTORE CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE PUNJAB QUAID-I-AZAM'S WARNING[1]

KARACHI, [Feb 2] "I once more draw the attention of the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy, not to indulge in any camouflage and deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the Punjab" said Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement on the Punjab situation today

Mr Jinnah appealed to the Muslims particularly the youth in the Punjab to avoid communal conflicts and keep the movement absolutely peaceful He said that they were fighting on an issue which was just and right one and their sacrifices would not go in vain

The following is the full statement

"I hope that the Muslims of the Punjab will be able to get a copy of the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League that was passed in Karachi on February 1 [2] It is unfortunate, and I am sorry to say that the Punjab press is censored and news is blacked out by the executive orders of the Punjab Government

"The policy of the Punjab Government and the actions they took were clearly not based upon any apprehension of breach of peace or communal clash The Punjab Muslims have been the target of extraordinary and exceptional laws by means of which the Punjab Ministry is armed and which were enforced and utilized against the Muslim League party and the Muslims generally, in order to keep this ramshackle Ministry going

"It is absolutely untrue that the Muslim League wants to break the Ministry by force or is indulging in unlawful activities

"The Premier of the Punjab, Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Tiwana, has

proclaimed an elementary proposition, when he says that to break or defeat a Ministry in power the only way is, for the Opposition to secure a majority in the House, and he talks of democracy like the devil quoting scripture

"Ever since this Ministry was formed about the end of March 1946, now for nearly a year it has faced the Assembly only once and that too for a few days to transact some serious official business and no chance was given for any non-official business

ABSURD ORDINANCE

"It is quite clear and the result is very simple, that they are afraid of their very doubtful small majority and unnatural combination of groups, combined because of their hostility to the League

"It is therefore, that no opportunity or facilities are afforded to the Opposition for any criticism, exposure and challenging the strength of the Government in the House

"Outside [*sic*] Section 144, various other methods are adopted for gagging the legitimate constitutional expression of the public opinion and criticism of the Government by banning meetings and processions etc and the promulgation of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance which is absurd and other executive methods by which the police and the administration are used not only to gag the free expression of opinion and criticism, which are the elementary rights of the citizens, but they have destroyed all semblance of civil liberties and have, by various methods, chloroformed the press

"It is against these conditions that the long-suffering Muslim League party and the Muslims have revolted, the Ministry have taken the offensive by declaring the Muslim League National Guards Organization, which is part of the All India Muslim League Organization, unlawful Again by an extraordinary method by resorting to the Criminal Law Amendment Act without any complaint or warning having been given beforehand

"I note, that the unjust and unwarranted action of the Government has been rectified by removing the ban against the Muslim League National Guards

"But, there still remains the policy and the well-considered programme of the present Ministry of gagging free expression of opinion and liberty of criticizing the Government and exposing it by all legitimate constitutional methods and that policy has been enforced ruthlessly by extraordinary executive methods and in order to maintain this policy and programme they have resorted to extraordinary executive powers such as the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance These

orders and methods resorted to, are beyond the pale and jurisdiction of judicial tribunals It is against this policy, programme and state of things that the Muslim League is fighting

"I once more draw the attention of the Punjab Government, the Governor and the Viceroy, not to indulge in any camouflage and deal with the situation boldly and frankly and restore civil liberties of the people of the province

"I, therefore, appeal and advise the Muslims of the Punjab and particularly the Muslim youth to strictly follow

"(1) That your movement must be absolutely peaceful (2) that under no circumstances should you allow yourselves, or be a party to any communal conflict or clash, whatever and however much be the provocation This is not a communal fight at all Every citizen of the Punjab, whatever may be his community, should support the Muslim League, for the issue which they are fighting for affects all, i e the restoration of civil liberties (3) that you must maintain complete unity and discipline

"You are struggling and fighting on an issue which is a just and right one and whatever sufferings or sacrifice you may have to go through will not go in vain

"It is quite clear that the entire Muslim India is in sympathy with your struggle and the issue for which you are fighting, I can only repeat what the Working Committee of the Muslim League has already said in their resolution, that the All India Muslim League and its Central Organization will do all that lies in their power, to help you in our legitimate demands and rightful struggle "—API

[1]*Dawn*, 4 February 1947
[2]No VII 19

VII.24

STUDENT HEROES OF LAHORE[1]

LAHORE, [Jan 30] I just want to tell you what happened in Lahore today Islamia College students staged a demonstration outside the High Court It was very peaceful but the police tried to disperse the students by repeated *lathi*-charges and tear-gas attacks Failing in this, the police said that they would arrest the students who volunteered All the thousand students volunteered

A batch of twenty was squeezed in a truck and another truck of 25 soldiers was sent with them They were taken some 78 miles away from Lahore and ordered to get down They simply refused A Muslim policeman requested them to get down but they did not Then a tear-gas bomb was exploded in the truck and the students were *lathi*-charged

Another batch of 50 was taken and went to some place 12 miles away These people were made to stand in a line and a few tommies tried to terrify them by showing as if they were going to shoot The students did not stop Then a tommy came out with bayonet and made scratches on the students Then all of them were "flogged" thrice and then they were taken some fourteen miles further and made to get down

[1] *Dawn*, 4 February 1947

VII.25

WOMEN PROCESSION TEAR-GASSED IN FEROZEPORE[1]

FEROZEPORE, [Feb 2] Yesterday a batch of three Muslim League National Guards arrived here from Bhatinda They were arrested by the police at Ferozepore Cantt and were given a severe beating by a police Sub-Inspector, assisted by an A S I

They were later stripped of their clothes and let off in jungle about 12 miles from the city with their knees fallen and ribs broken, the Guards, however, managed to return to the city where they were accommodated by the City Muslim League

They will be examined medically tomorrow and on the basis of the report, a suit will be filed against police officials involved

The agitation in Ferozepore is gaining momentum but the police are not making any arrests Yesterday a women's procession was heavily tear-gassed

[1] *Dawn* 4 February 1947

VII.26

WOMEN TEAR-GASSED INSIDE POLICE VAN[1]

Begum Noon Severely Burnt On Face And Neck 4 Girls Faint Sir Sikander's Brother Sent To Jail Leghari's Arrest Also Reported Tide Of Resistance Rising High Censorship Ring Further Tightened

LAHORE, [Feb 4] A brutal and barbarous attempt to suffocate eleven arrested women in a closed police van, 12 miles out of Lahore, was the highlight of Khizar administration's ruthless repression on the 11th day of the Civil Disobedience Movement

The heroines of the occasion were none else than Begum Firoz Khan Noon and 10 other women who had been arrested before the Civil Secretariat and removed by the police in a van to be "dumped "

Late in the evening, Begum Noon, severely burnt on face and neck, gave me this almost incredible account of what had happened She said the police wanted them to get out on the deserted road 12 miles from Lahore, they asked to be taken to jail

A police constable then threw a tear-gas bomb inside the van and closed the door

"I rushed to the door to open it," the Begum continued, "Begum Shaukat Hayat and Begum Daultana, who were following in a car, came to our rescue Meanwhile 4 girls got suffocated and fainted I was burnt on neck and face The clothes of other girls caught fire In the confusion every one of us got hurt "

"But this is not going to debar us from doing our duty," concluded the wife of the now-jailed former Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, with a glint in her eyes

"*Insha 'Allah* we shall march on till the Punjab Government are forced to withdraw all restrictions on free speech, free press and normal political activities "

Earlier, carrying League flags and shouting slogans a large procession of Muslim women headed by Begum Noon, Begum Shaukat Hayat, Begum Bashir, Begum Kamaluddin, Begum Iftikharuddin, Begum Aziz, and Begum Daultana, marched towards the Civil Secretariat When they reached near the gate they were pushed back by the police

Some daring girls tried to gatecrash but the police again repulsed them with *lathis* Eventually 3 girls managed to get inside the Secretariat compound and tried to unlock the gate

This brought the Inspector-General of Police, an A D C to the Governor and a large number of the Secretariat staff to the scene

The women's peaceful demonstration before the Secretariat lasted for 2 hours, delaying the Governor's lunch-time Eventually 11 women were arrested, as stated above, and the procession marched on shouting slogans

Nawab Jamal Khan Leghari, whose 2 sons were arrested at Dera Ghazi Khan, left Lahore today to court arrest at his headquarters According to an unconfirmed report, he was arrested at Multan Railway Station

Sheikh Abdul Karim, Senior Vice-President, Lahore City Muslim League, along with 60 volunteers, was arrested at Lahore on Monday evening

Then followed a huge public meeting outside Mochi Gate held after a spectacular procession through the main bazaar

Sardar Barkat Hyat, brother of the late Sir Sikander Hyat, was arrested at Campbellpore for leading a huge procession

The perfectly peaceful and non-communal character of the movement continues to draw appreciative comments from non-Muslims Sardar Kapur Singh, MLA, said to me, today "This aspect of the movement has greatly impressed me "

A Sikh officer said "The Punjab Muslims by their conduct have now knocked the bottom out of the argument of those who oppose Pakistan "

The Punjab Government have tightened their ring of censorship

An API report says

A procession of Muslim women was taken out from Mozang in the morning and it swelled in number on its way to the Civil Secretariat

The Governor of the Punjab was in his office at the Secretariat when the demonstration was in process at the main entrance The demonstration continued for an hour, eventually the police took 11 women into custody

The procession then marched towards The Mall and proceeded towards the residence of the Minister of Revenue, Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash, on the Empress Road

Forty-two persons were arrested in the evening while leading a procession on the Empress Road in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

Addressing a large gathering of Muslims outside Mochi Gate this afternoon, Malik Shaukat Ali, Acting President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League exhorted the people to guard against their movement drifting into an inter-communal strife

"We are fighting" he said "against the tyranny of an undemocratic regime "

MIANWALI

Pathans of Mianwali took out a huge procession and defied Section 144 Khan Amir Abdullah Khan, MLA, and others spoke No arrests were made

RAWALPINDI

Sheikh S A Rashid, Altaf Husain, Mohammed Omar, Mohammed Minto, Chaudhry Zafrul Huq, MLA, were arrested

Houses of the following were searched

Mr Abdul Ghafur, Sheikh Mohammed Nasim, Mr Bashir Ahmad, Ghous Mohammad, Municipal Commissioner, Ch Mohammed Iqbal, Municipal Commissioner, and Sheikh Ataullah *Rais-e-Azam*

DHARAMSALA

Dharamsala, Ferozepore, Lyallpur, Gurgaon and Bhera report that processions were taken out but no arrests were made

CHINIOT

Twenty-one persons were arrested in Chiniot yesterday and removed to the District Jail at Jhang according to a news bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters

CHUNNIA

President of the Lahore District Muslim League was arrested yesterday in Chunnia along with the General Secretary of the Muslim League

JULLUNDUR

In District Jullundur, four prominent League workers have been sentenced to one-year imprisonment each

GUJRAT

The police resorted to *lathi*-charge to disperse huge crowd in Gujrat which was marching into the town, shouting anti-Khizar slogans The police arrested the uniformed volunteers who formed the vanguard of the procession and were marching in military form

KASUR

Complete *hartal* was observed in Kasur yesterday and in the evening a procession was taken out which after parading the main thoroughfares of the town terminated in a public meeting

PAKPATAN

In Pakpatan, Muslim League workers were arrested yesterday for organising a public meeting in defiance of the Ordinance Several arrests were made in Wazirabad yesterday

SIALKOT

Nine Muslim Leaguers including two Municipal Commissioners of Sialkot were arrested on Saturday for leading a procession in defiance of the Ordinance 31 persons were arrested yesterday but 25 of them were later released

WARBURTON

11 League workers who were arrested at Warburton on Saturday were today produced before the District Magistrate of Sheikhupura and were sentenced to two years' imprisonment and Rs 100 fine each

[1]*Dawn*, 6 February 1947

VII.27

PUNJAB POLICY FRAUGHT WITH GRAVE DANGERS[1]

London League's Warning To Congress-Unionist *Junta*

LONDON, [Feb 5] A resolution condemning the "repressive policy of the Punjab Government against Muslims" was unanimously passed at a public meeting last night organised by Muslim League London Branch

The resolution added that the meeting "considers it a result of the Unionist-Congress Government on one hand and the Governor on the other This meeting warns the British Government, Congress Hindus and traitor Muslims in the Unionist camp that suppression of civil liberties in the Punjab is fraught with grave consequences and the Muslim League will fight out the issue to a finish "

Speaking before the resolution was put to the meeting, Mr A R Siddiqui, Member of the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, said that Muslims in India had to protect themselves "Seeing the mentality of Hindus and Sikhs during riots, a Muslim now feels that in Muslim minority provinces he must be physically protected," he declared

Of the decision taken at Karachi to keep to the policy of Pakistan, Mr Siddiqui said "Mr Jinnah is fighting the Muslim battle and unless and until our fellow citizens of majority groups see reason we shall remain the slaves of the British, we deserve to be "

The meeting passed a further resolution reading "This meeting of the London Muslims held under the auspices of the Muslim League London Branch endorses the resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League passed at Karachi declaring the failure of

the British Cabinet Mission Plan and calling upon the British Government to declare the present Constituent Assembly 'illegal and invalid', and [? stands] fast to the goal of Pakistan "— Reuter

[1]*Dawn*, 6 February 1947

VII.28

ONE LAKH PROCESSIONISTS' MARCH THROUGH LAHORE IN POURING RAIN[1]

Rashid Ali Khan Arrested

LAHORE, [Feb 4] A huge procession in pouring rain, which marched through all the principal streets of Lahore, marked the 12th day's demonstrations here on Tuesday The participants numbered more than a lakh

The vast multitude was soaked to the skin but they did not mind it What they did mind was that the rain washed out the black from the face of Khizar's effigy which the processionists were carrying

Former Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, President, City Muslim League and son of late Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, along with 60 others courted arrest today They were leading the procession

Earlier, outside Mochi Gate a mammoth meeting was held Addressing it, Mr Rashid Ali Khan said "This great movement for civil liberties will continue untill all the restrictions on the people's freedom had been withdrawn"

As the meeting formed itself into a procession a drizzle began and soon developed into a heavy downpour

The women also took out another procession today, undaunted by the brutal torture by the police yesterday on Begum Firoz Khan Noon and ten others

Khwaja Muhammad Sayeed, Finance Secretary, Lahore City Muslim League, Mian Muhammad Ibrahim, member, Lahore Corporation, Mirza Mohd Aslam, *Salar*, National Guards, were arrested

Today some of the foreign correspondents watched the huge procession and saw for themselves how Khizar Ministry's communiques are blacking out facts and doling [*sic*] out blackest lies instead They also took photographs

Here is one instance of the Ministry's lies Their communique describes Muzaffargarh as "quiet" The fact is that Mian Ghulam Jilani

Gurwani, MLA, Mian Abdul Hamid Dastur, MLA, Mian Khuda Bakhsh, Vice-President of the Ahrar Organisation, Syed Nazar Husain Shah, former Sub-Registrar, Syed Ahmad Khan Zaildar, and Mr Amjad Hameed, Advocate, have been arrested for leading a large gathering of Ordinance-breakers in a place supposed to be "quiet"

BALUCH TRIBES RESTIVE

It is now learned that Nawab Sir Jamal Khan Leghari has succeeded in reaching Dera Ghazi Khan He will court arrest there with 900 *Mukaddaw* or leaders of the Baluch sub-tribes

This is causing the greatest headache to the Dera Ghazi Khan authorities as serious repercussions on Baluch tribes are expected

Another development which has led to speculation is that Khizar Hayat has summoned to Lahore Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana, who is known to be a "power behind the throne" on which the Punjab puppet sits

FEROZEPORE

On Monday about 80 students took out a procession When the processionists came near the court they were arrested by the police After that they were taken to a room The doors and windows of the room were closed and then a tear-gas bomb was exploded in the room The students were forced to remain there for about 15 minutes when they were allowed to come out It was then found that about 50 students had fainted If they had been kept there for ten minutes more they would have died

About six local leaders were also arrested These include Sardar Ali, Jan Mohammed, Mohammed Sadiq and Mohammed Khalil These arrested leaders were severely beaten as a result of which some of them had their hands and knees broken They have filed suits against the police officials

JULLUNDUR

Details are now available of the torture of Muslim women by the police here on Saturday last, 20 *burqa*-clad women who were leading a procession were arrested at 4 p m They were driven to the police station and detained there till 8-30 p m Then they were driven to a village 8 miles away from the city, bodily thrown out of the police van and left there They walked back to the city, reaching their homes after 1 a m in the early hours of the morning

GUJRAT

The movement in Gujrat took a new turn under the direction of Amir Hussain Shah, *Salar-i-Suba*, Punjab Muslim League National

Guards Batches of demonstrators would enter the court rooms of the local Magistrates, paralyse their work by shouting slogans "civil liberties *Zindabad*", "Muslim League *Zindabad*", "Khizar Ministry *Murdabad*" Scores of arrests were made The students of Zamindara College took an active part

On Saturday the Leaguers again surrounded the courts A large police force tried to stop them and *lathi*-charged the peaceful demonstrators At this a Sikh constable threw down his belt, i e refused to carry out orders and threatened to resign He was hustled away In the general pandemonium an enterprising student went and hoisted the League flag on the *Thana* This nettled the S P who shouted in rage "Damn it—*utaro-yih hamara thana hai* "

On Sunday a large police under a D S P raided the village Moinuddinpur, the residence of Amir Hussain Shah from where he was conducting the movement But they were sent [back] by thousands of Syeds, including over a thousand women, who shouted slogans and said that only over their dead bodies would Amir Hussain be taken

The police went away unable to do anything When they returned the next morning, the surrounding villagers had gathered together 5,000 women headed the ranks with over 15,000 men, mostly Syeds Amir Hussain Shah fearing a breach of peace decided to give himself up He addressed the gathering exhorting them to continue the struggle on non-communal peaceful lines and not to give up till civil liberties were restored in the Punjab

He was then taken in a procession over a mile long to Gujrat, where he is now under detention

MIANWALI

Amir Abdullah Khan of Rokhri again managed a mass meeting at *Juma Masjid* at 10 o'clock Khan Mohd Abdullah Khan of Piplan had also followed the example of Khan of Rokhri He joined the party along with a considerable number of persons from his own estate to court arrest The Muslim public exceeded three thousand Khan of Rokhri opened the meeting by complaining that our yesterday's efforts for arrest were not crowned with success He declared that the flow of volunteers from all corners of the district will never cease, and we will use all means to make Government arrest us He said that we are glad to see Khan Mohd Abdullah Khan of Piplan who has also come forward to help us to achieve success The Secretary, Muslim League, had taken no interest in the proceedings and did not turn up at any meeting A new Secretary was therefore appointed

and a Committee of Action was inaugurated Khan Mohd Abdullah Khan was elected President on Khan of Rokhri's proposal Maulvi Sher Zaman delivered a heart-warming speech Khan of Piplan protested that Unionist Government had better not enforced a law against the public freedom, but if they had done so they should not witness its violation in silence They must arrest us The procession headed by Khan of Rokhri, Faqir Sher Abbas Khan, Mohd Abdullah Khan marched throughout the city and reached District Courts shouting anti-Government slogans and then District Jail where again speeches were delivered by the leaders No arrests were made

A special meeting of Council of Action is being called at Khan of Piplan's residence, to think over the situation and arrange new plans to meet the same.

Malik Fateh Sher, Malik Mohd Sharif courted arrest by leading a huge procession after a large scale meeting under the presidentship of Khan Mohd Afzal Khan Dhandla at Bhakkar Police refrained to arrest [*sic*] Malik Fateh Sher in spite of all sorts of provocations

[1]*Dawn*, 6 February 1947

VII.29

PUNJAB SNIPPETS[1]

On the evening previous to Principal Dr Omar Hayat's arrest, Mr MacDonald, Home Secretary to Government of the Punjab, personally went to the former's residence in order to get his help for suppressing the Muslim League's movement Mr MacDonald asked Dr Hayat to help the Government in curbing the "hooliganism" spread by the Muslim League

As soon as Dr Hayat heard this uncalled for remark from the Home Secretary he was enraged and asked him to leave his residence at once This offended the Home Secretary, who drove straight to the Governor and later to the Premier's residence and pressed them for Dr Hayat's arrest He further said that if he was not arrested, he would lead a procession with the teachers and the students the following day Thus Dr Omar Hayat was arrested next day

The Punjab Government is understood to be considering banning a few unimportant Hindu Papers of Delhi in order to show the people that their policy is not one-sided But they will not ban the *Hindustan*

Times as they have been warned by the Congress Interim Government Members against banning this newspaper

A certain police officer holding title of *Rai Sahib*, of the rank of Deputy Superintendent, is the chief culprit who has started a campaign to torture and molest the Muslims since the latter started their movement for civil liberties

A number of police officers and policemen at Amritsar and Lahore have been suspended by the authorities for their alleged refusal to take harsh action against Muslim lady processionists

It has been already stated in newspaper reports that one day when the mob at Jullundur became "unruly", the police opened fire in the air in order to disperse the mob But that is absolutely wrong The police officer incharge ordered the police to open fire on the mob but the policemen fired in the air as they did not want to kill their own brothers All those policemen have been suspended and put under arrest for further investigation

If the Muslims of the Punjab are imprisoned in different jails of the province, the Punjab Ministers are imprisoned in their bungalows The Punjab Premier and Ministers do not come out of their bungalows as they are afraid of losing their lives Wireless sets have been installed at the residence of the Premier, Inspector-General of Police and other top-ranking Punjab Government officers This helps them to get news regarding the movement as the police reports transmit news through wireless sets fixed at different police stations in the town The wireless and the secrophone are the medium of communication between the Punjab Government officers

A number of Khaksars of the Punjab have been employed by the police to act as fifth columnists Ostensibly they join the processions and show sympathy but they are working as spies sent by the police in order to get all possible information from the Muslim League leaders lodged in jails and from other workers

Voice of Islam, an underground paper published by the Muslims of the Punjab is available to the public from early morning in all the restaurants and hair-cutting saloons In addition to that in different parts of the town Muslim League news boards have been installed where day-to-day news regarding the movement is written Early in the morning, people flock there and read the latest news

[1]*Dawn*, 6 February 1947

VII.30

PUNJAB ADMINISTRATION TOTALLY PARALYSED[1]

Non-Communal, Non-Violent Struggle Under Leadership Of Masses Processions Tear-Gassed One Lakh Damages Claim On Government Jamal Khan Leghari Leads 60,000 Tribesmen at D G Khan

LAHORE, [Feb 5] Under the unswerving leadership of the masses Punjab struggle for ending the puppet Ministry which has suppressed the people's civil liberties has entered the 13th day with an incomparable record of discipline and non-violence

Not a single communal incident has taken place anywhere in the province during this period although by now millions of people in the aggregate have been out on the streets defying the ban on meetings and processions

Commenting on the situation in the province today a high Punjab official admitted to me in an off-the-record talk that the administration had been completely paralysed The ban on meetings and processions now merely remains in theory Lakhs of people every day are defying these bans all over the province without being arrested

Dr Tassaduq Hussain Khalid has served the Punjab Government, the Inspector-General of Police, the Senior Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate with notices to pay damages to the extent of rupees one lakh and t[w]o thousand to Begum Firoz Khan Noon and Miss Zareena Razzaq and two other ladies for physical and mental injuries caused to them on February 3 by shutting them up in a police van and tear-gassing them with the result that they fainted, got burn and were otherwise hurt, the clothes of some catching fire

At Lahore today a huge public meeting and procession took place Mian Mohd Ibrahim was arrested with 60 persons including a Sikh The Muslim crowd shouted *Sat Sri Akal* with the Sikhs

DERA GHAZI KHAN

At Dera Ghazi Khan, Sardar Haji Jamal Khan Leghari, who has renounced his title of Nawab and Sir, led today a procession of 60,000 tribesmen, one thousand of whom were armed with rifles and pistols The procession marched through the Civil Lines in front of the D C 's bungalow but no one came forward to arrest the processionists or the leader

Later at a meeting Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari asked them to remain non-communal and non-violent Should a single Hindu or Sikh be

molested, he declared, he would not hesitate to take up arms against the aggressor

Thereafter the Sardar Sahib visited the Hindu localities and assured the Hindus that their lives and their honour would be protected by the Muslims as dearly and zealously as their own

Dera Ghazi Khan observed complete *hartal* in which the Hindus joined

Begum Leghari will lead a women's procession there on Thursday

Nawabzadas Mohd Khan and Mahmud Khan, the two sons of Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari, who were arrested earlier are in Multan Jail

GUJRAT

Gujrat Muslims added a new chapter to their glorious struggle in the cause of civil liberties on Monday when they faced the most determined and repeated tear-gas attacks and *lathi*-charges, in an even more determined manner

Splitting themselves into four parts the huge crowd marched in four different routes, a tactic which completely baffled the police One of the processions wended its way towards the court While the police was busy trying to prevent them from going forward another procession converged towards the court from another direction This puzzled the police who made a severe *lathi*-charge

The processionists then sat down whereupon tear-gas bombs were thrown at them Still people refused to leave and neither *lathis* nor tear bombs had any effect on them

Then the police gave in and the processionists entered the court Later they moved towards the jail and when the police tried to stop them, they brushed the police aside and reached the jail gate

For sometime they stayed there raising slogans in which people from inside the jail also joined

Some people from Kunja village clashed with the police led by Mr Scott, D I G, who was hurt The police opened fire Mr Scott was removed to the bungalow of the civil surgeon

Syed Abid Ali Shah, MLA (Central), and Mohd Arif, MLA (Punjab), are daily leading processions of thousands but no arrest has been made

APOLOGY LIE

In a telephone message to me today Mian Abdus Salam, MLA, repudiated the report contained in a Government communique that 79 persons had tendered apology and thereafter released He characterised this report as an absolute lie A later message from Jullundur says that Mian Abdus Salam, MLA, and Mr Mumtaz Ali Khan, MLA, have been arrested

MULTAN

The administration here has been completely paralyzed The ban has been defied here for 13 successive days but no arrests are being made now Today Raza Shah Jeelani, MLA, son of His Holiness Syed Mukaddam Sadrud-Din, led a huge procession

GUJRANWALA

Hafiz Mohd , Malik Ali Bahadur Khan, Dr Mohd Nawaz, Sheikh Mohd Nasir, Chowdhry Mohd Iqbal, pleader, Chowdhry Ghulam Ahmed, Municipal Commissioner, have been arrested According to another report Chowdhry Salah-ud-Din, MLA, and 11 others have also been arrested

At Nizamabad, Sheikh Mohd Nazir has been arrested

Panipat, Simla and a number of other places also report processions, meetings and arrests

JHELUM

Many persons have been arrested in Jhelum City in connection with the Muslim League agitation during the last week according to a bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters

HOSHIARPUR

The bulletin states In Hoshiarpur 36 persons were arrested for taking out processions in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance A procession was taken out yesterday

16 persons were arrested

DHARAMSALA

Processions are daily taken out in Dharamsala which are parading the main thoroughfares of the town

SARGODHA

11 persons were arrested in Sargodha yesterday for taking out a procession in the town

JAUNPUR

A big public meeting was held at Jaunpur in defiance of the Public Safety Ordinance, and later a procession was taken out in the main streets of the town No person was arrested

[1] *Dawn* 7 February 1947

VII.31

ABOUT 13,000 ARRESTED SO FAR IN PUNJAB[1]

Government Officials Nervous, Outworn And Completely Demoralised Tiwana's Frantic Bid To Throttle Press Headlines Of News To Be Pre-Censored Movement Further Spreads To Rural Areas Province Observes Principal Day

LAHORE, [Feb 6] The Punjab people's gallant fight for civil liberties on its fourteenth day found the officials visibly nervous, outworn and completely demoralised This is evident from the latest directive issued by the Government to editors of local newspapers

The editors have been asked to submit for pre-censorship even headlines of news regarding the movement This order is regarded as a confession that the communiques daily issued from the Secretariat declaring that the movement was subsiding were nothing but "MacDonaldian lies" The question asked here is "Why these fresh attempts to gag the press if the movement was fizzling out?"

Throughout the Punjab today students observed "Principal Day" to protest against the arrest and detention of Dr Omar Hayat Malik, Principal, Islamia College The students of Islamia College, Law College, Government College, Dayal Singh College and Islamia Women's College paraded in a large procession which started from Islamia College and after passing along Circular Gardens, Anarkali, Kachehri Road, The Mall and MacDonald Road dispersed peacefully

The processionists also showed their resentment against the A I R [All India Radio] suppression and falsification of news of the movement, by raising the slogans "All-*Jhut* radio"

The students' leader, Mr Salah-ud-Din Toor was arrested

The underground Muslim Youth Movement, it is learnt, is sending an envoy to Mr Gandhi to acquaint him with the manner in which the Congressmen in person in the Punjab are resorting to bestial method in dealing with worker and student demonstrators and to all kinds of mean tactics in order to crush the movement

The envoy is also understood to be carrying with him the text of a secret discussion between Lala Bhim Sen Sachar and the Khaksar leader Mashriqi on the subject of creating dissension among the Muslims through fifth columnists supplied by Khaksars

More news comes in to show that the movement is rapidly spreading to rural areas

AT SARGODHA

At Sargodha, 10,000 peasants spent the whole night outside the Central Jail where the Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif has been lodged

Reports from Western Punjab, which has a Muslim population of nearly 95 per cent, show that the minorities there are enjoying absolute protection of life and property

The ever-vigilant Hindu press has not been able during all these 14 days to report a single case where the slightest act of aggression has been committed by the majority against the minorities

News has been received of the arrest of the following

The Pir of Makhad, Rai Shahadut Khan of Sheikhupura, Cowdhry Mehtab Khan, MLA, Gurgaon, Mr Ahad Khan Meo of Gurgaon The last-named led a procession of 1,000 Meos at Gurgaon

The news that 3 top-ranking All India League leaders are coming to Lahore has electrified the people

The Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif has sent a message that the *Mushaikh* of the Punjab will soon take an active part in the movement

A large number of persons confined in Jullundur, Panipat and Karnal Jails have gone on hunger-strike

An API report states

To protest against the arrest of Dr Omar Hayat Malik, Principal of the Islamia College, Lahore, the students of the College observed "Principal Day" today (Thursday) by taking out a huge procession

The procession which was led by members of the College staff started from the College at 10 a m carrying green flags and raising anti-Ministry slogans and paraded the principal streets of the town reaching the Civil Secretariat at about midday

A large police force headed by District Magistrate and a Deputy Superintendent of Police blocked the progress of the procession near the Civil Secretariat where the processionists held a hostile demonstration for some time The demonstrators then marched back to the Provincial Muslim League office where they dispersed peacefully

The League bulletin states "The President and the Secretary of the Tala Gang Muslim League were also arrested yesterday along with the General Secretary of the Cambellpur District Muslim League," adds API

Twenty persons have been arrested at Sargodha during the last two days including the Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif, the religious leader of the Punjab Chief Minister

SHAHPUR

Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha, Member of the Punjab Legislative

Assembly, along with 7 Muslim League workers was arrested in Shahpur yesterday

AMBALA

Seven office-bearers of the Ambala City Muslim League and the National Guards Organisation were arrested by the police for leading processions in defiance of the Ordinance

LUDHIANA

In Ludhiana, 150 Muslim League workers were arrested during the last two days of which 130 were later released

SIALKOT

Forty-three arrests have been made in Sialkot during the last two days in connection with the Muslim League agitation Two National Guard volunteers were taken into custody today for leading a procession

GURGAON

Chaudhri Mehtab Khan, Member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, was arrested yesterday along with five Muslim League workers for leading a procession in Gurgaon —API

[1] *Dawn*, 8 February 1947

VII.32

CHIEFS SHIFTED TO LAHORE FORT[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 6] Seventy-four Muslim League Members of the Punjab Assembly out of the total of 79 are at present in jail in connection with the Muslim League agitation against the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, stated an official spokesman

The spokesman, however, could not confirm the total number of arrests which is stated to be about 13,000 by the Muslim League quarters

It is reported in Muslim League circles that all top-ranking leaders of the Punjab Muslim League have been transferred to the Lahore Fort —API

[1] *Dawn*, 8 February 1947

VII.33

OVER 100 ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 6] Over one hundred Muslim League prisoners, at present lodged in Sonepat, Jullundur and Simla Jails, have been on hunger-strike for the last three days as a protest against ill-treatment by jail officers, according to information received in the office of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League —API

[1]*Dawn*, 8 February 1947

VII.34

BEGUM NOON NARRATES GRIM EXPERIENCE INSIDE TEAR-GASSED VAN[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 6] Begum Noon, wife of Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former Defence Member of the Government of India, who along with ten other purdah (veiled) women was tear-gassed in a police van on February 3 relating the incident to a representative of the Associated Press of India said

"It was about 2 p m when I and ten other women were taken into custody in front of the Punjab Secretariat in Lahore on February 3 We were driven in a police van first to the Charing Cross Police Station and then to a place about six or seven miles from Lahore on Multan Road, where we were asked to get out of the van We told the police Inspector to arrest us and take us to jail but we will not be thrown out here

"We took our stand on the grounds that women, especially purdah women from the city, could not tolerate such a treatment of being taken miles and miles away from their homes, away from any point of public conveyance and dumped on the road I told the Inspector to drive us back to the town He said that his orders were to get us out of this police van here, if we were not willing to get out he should be obliged to use gas Some of the girls, said Begum Noon, replied in a defiant and spirited way that they were ready for bullets not to speak of tear-gas

Begum Noon then explained how the policemen prepared the tear-gas bomb The Inspector put on his gas-mask and then the bomb was thrown into the van and she said "To my horror the door was shut from outside The fumes were brown and burnt like fire I rushed to

the door over the bench completely unable to breathe When I reached the door it opened outside and I not being aware of what I was doing fell down on the road

"During the stampede a bucket of water which had been placed in the van, full of gas as it was, flowed on my *salwar* and burnt my legs I tried to roll up the *salwar* above my knees but the concentrated cloth left strong red burns My face and hands were burnt as well besides the usual effect of extreme irritation and pain in the eyes"

"I suppose", Begum Noon said, "every one of us must have suffered from bad effect of the shock Later on I saw bruises on my knees Those must have occurred when I fell from the high step of the police van We must thank God, she added, that no one broke a limb falling out on to the road"

Begum Noon interviewed today her husband Malik Firoz Khan Noon, and the Khan of Mamdot who are confined at Kasur Jail —API

[1]*Dawn*, 8 February 1947

VII.35

MILITARY POLICE RUSHED TO DERA GHAZI KHAN[1]

League Leaders Arrive In Lahore New Strategy May Be Evolved Simla Martyrs' Day Observed Throughout Punjab 231 Including 11 Women Court Arrest In Lahore And 100 Peasants In Ferozpore People Kicked And Beaten At Sargodha

LAHORE, [Feb 7] The fifteenth day of the movement was observed throughout the Punjab today as "Simla Martyrs' Day" in honour of the first victim of Khizar Ministry's violence who had succumbed to injuries received in a police *lathi*-charge

This also synchronized with the arrival in Lahore of the three League leaders, Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr Siddiq Ali Khan Their arrival has given a tremendous fillip to the popular front against Ministerial repression

Addressing a gathering of over one lakh people at Badshahi Mosque today Khwaja Nazimuddin said "Indian Muslims are passing through the most critical period in their history Now as never before is there need for discipline, courage and guts to enable them to brave the coming storm

"Everywhere outside the Punjab people are watching with admiration the Punjab Muslims' heroic struggle"

The League leaders are busy discussing future plans with local leaders and according to my information new strategy is soon likely to be evolved to bring the Ministry to its knees

In Lahore today 231 persons courted arrest including 11 women So great was the rush to get arrested that the police had to bring in a number of additional lorries in order to collect all the arrested

This was preceded by a huge procession led by Mr Mohammad Sharif, member, Lahore District Board and Municipal Corporation Begum Kamaluddin led the procession of women

SIMLA

In Simla today so great was the enthusiasm of the people to court arrest that the Deputy Commissioner, who had ordered the *lathi*-charge which caused the death of the martyr of Simla, almost in tears begged the people to disperse and not to insist on getting arrested This Deputy Commissioner is the brother of M Fazal Haq Piracha, MLA, who has been arrested

FEROZEPORE

At Ferozepore, severe *lathi*-charges have become a daily affair The result has been to make the people more determined and the movement has now spread to all parts of the district

At Ferozepore today 100 peasants were arrested after a procession of several thousands of villagers had been taken out

DERA GHAZI KHAN

At Dera Ghazi Khan, due to the activities of Sardar Haji Jamal Khan Leghari and his followers, the administration has been brought to a complete standstill

At the urgent requisition of the District authorities, military police have been rushed there

SARGODHA

At Sargodha the Hindu S P is reported to be resorting to terrorist methods Processionists are pinned down to the ground by *lathis* and then kicked and beaten But this has not produced any effect on the people's morale and processions are daily taken out

It is interesting to note that Sir Allah Bakhsh Tiwana whom Khizar had summoned for consultation has left Lahore after telling the Premier virtually that as he had not followed his advice he had better stew in his own juice

Reports are current in Lahore that Premier Tiwana has been spending the nights at Government House and is in a mentally shattered condition

The other traitor—Qizilbash—is reported to have gained ascendancy

[1]*Dawn* 9 February 1947

VII.36

GENERAL FOOD STRIKE IN LAHORE FROM MONDAY[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 7] The Lahore Butchers' Association, the Fruit Market Association, Lahore, and the Vegetable Market Association, Lahore, have decided to suspend their business from Monday, February 10 in sympathy with the Muslim League movement in the Punjab —API

[1]*Dawn*, 9 February 1947

VII.37

WHERE ARE PUNJAB LEAGUE LEADERS?[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 7] The principal leaders of the Punjab Muslim League are detained in Kasur, Dharamsala and Gujrat Jails

Yesterday's API report that they have been transferred to the Lahore Fort is not confirmed from authoritative sources —API

[1]*Dawn* 9 February 1947

VII.38

PUNJAB NEWS TO BE PRE-CENSORED[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 7] The Governor of the Punjab has ordered a 10-day pre-censorship of all news, comment, etc , relating to the agitation against the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance in substitution of the 15-day ban on all but official communiques which was dated January 28 The new order, which is dated February 6, was served on all Lahore newspapers, including the *C & M G* , reads

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by clause (a) and clause (b) of sub-Section (1) of Section 6 of the said Ordinance read with the Punjab Government notification No 6322-HG-46 42625, dated the 19th November 1946, the Governor of the Punjab is hereby pleased to direct that you shall not for a period of 10 days, with effect from the date on which this Order is served on you, print or publish in any of

the issues (including supplements) of the said *Civil & Military Gazette* or any other newspaper of which you may be printer, publisher or editor, any comment (including headlines there to) any statement or report which is not official, any correspondence, article, photograph, cartoon or drawing concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the provisions of the said Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, without its previous submission for scrutiny in duplicate in manuscript form to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab, Lahore, at his office in the Punjab Civil Secretariat between 10 a m and 6 p m

[1]*Dawn*, 9 February 1947

VII.39

MOVEMENT INCREASES IN INTENSITY IN PUNJAB[1]

Police Excel In Brutal Assaults On The Innocents
Severe *Lathi*-Charge On Prisoners, Women And Students

LAHORE, [Feb 8] A severe *lathi*-charge on 60 prisoners in police custody in the Civil Lines Police Station, Lahore, another *lathi*-charge on women's procession led by Begum Jamal Khan Leghari at Dera Ghazi Khan and a third brutal *lathi*-charge in Ferozepore were the highlights of the 16th day of the Civil Disobedience Movement

Mr D' Heaum and Mr Janak Lal, D S P, were the "heroes" of the *lathi*-charge on the prisoners and to them belongs the credit of having broken all precedents by ordering *lathi*-charge on men in custody—a thing that is never done by any civilised police [force]

The assault on the innocents took place in the following circumstances

A huge procession, led by Mr Ahsan Hayat, grandson of Nawab Liaqat Hayat Khan of Bhopal, started from Mochi Gate and passed through Railway Road, Kh Dil Mohammad Road and other roads until a large police force numbering about 1,000 stopped it The police made 60 arrests including Mian Mohammed Musa, member, Municipal Corporation, and asked the arrested people to get into lorries They refused to be taken for a lorry-ride to be dumped outside the city They said they would rather go to jail and accordingly they themselves marched to Civil Lines Police Station

When they reached there, it was time for *Maghrib* prayer and th offered prayers in the police station compound

While they were praying *lathi*-armed police virtually surrounded the Hardly had these 60 Muslims finished their communion with God wh the police fell upon them all of a sudden and without any warning European police officer also kept up a running abuse of them in filt language as if providing music for the rhythm of the *lathis*

Four processions were also taken out by students An Anglo-Indi Traffic Inspector belaboured some of the students with his baton ir merciless manner, and though the students could have effectively turn the table on this police underdog, they maintained complete non-v lence

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Member of the Interim Government, w was in Lahore today on his way to Pind Dadan Khan was an eye-witn of this unprovoked assault on students

Earlier a women's procession also paraded several main streets sta ing from the Purdah Garden. This was led by the indomitable Begu Firoz Khan Noon, Saeeda Waheed, Hashmat Ara, and Saeeda Habibull

News from the mofussil continues to show that the movement is sprea ing and increasing in intensity everywhere

Ferozepore, Jullundur, Amritsar, Sargodha registered a new high pe

In Ferozepore, Mr Manzoorul Haq, *Salar*, Delhi Muslim League N tional Guards, and Malik Maratab Ali Khan led a procession of Natior Guards which was *lathi*-charged by the police Sixty National Guar were injured and 9 arrested The arrested persons were kept in poli lock-up and given no food whatever for one whole day

Villagers continue to take increasing part in the movement in tl district

GUJRAT

The situation here is taking a serious turn The District authorit informed the Punjab Government that it is difficult for them to cope wi the movement with their present police force

MONTGOMERY

The picketing of the courts has become a daily feature of the moveme here making it difficult for the courts to function In addition there is large-scale picketing of police stations

The following Advocates have been arrested Sahibzada Nawazish A Sh Nusrat Ahmed, Sh Jaafar Husain, Mian Abdul Wahab, Syed Moham Shah, Mr Mahbub Gilani, Pir Ashiq Husain, and Sh Abdul Hafeez

SARGODHA

Several thousands of the people who had besieged the Central J

dispersed only when the Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif, lodged in that jail, was brought out by the jail authorities and asked them to disperse

Dinga, Gurdaspur, Mianwali, Jaranwala, Amritsar, Kasur, and Gurgaon also report big processions but no arrest

An API report from Lahore adds a number of persons received injuries as a result of a *lathi*-charge made by the police to disperse a Muslim League procession at Ferozepore yesterday, according to a bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters

The bulletin also reports that in Gujrat a Muslim League procession marched towards the Gujrat Jail where some of the provincial leaders are confined and dispersed after staging a demonstration outside the jail The police did not interfere

[1]*Dawn*, 10 February 1947

VII.40

90 ARRESTS IN LAHORE ON SATURDAY[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 8] Ninety Muslims were arrested in Lahore today, the 16th day of the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement—near the Punjab Assembly Chamber on the charge of taking out a procession in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance —API

[1]*Dawn* 10 February 1947

VII.41

WHY GOVERNOR LENDS A HAND TO KHIZAR IN REPRESSION OF MUSLIMS[1]

London *Times* Apologia

That the Punjab constitutes not only the key to the realisation of Pakistan and the defence of India but also the corner-stone of the British Empire was expressed to me in a talk last evening by a highly placed Britisher closely connected with the Punjab Governor

"If the Punjab goes," he said to me, "with it goes the Empire It is to prevent such an eventuality that the Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins had

for long been urging the Khizar Ministry to take action against Leaguers It is a pity that action was not taken earlier "

This estimate of the importance of the Punjab to British Imperialism—with which now coincide the interests of Hindu Imperialism—is shared in London as will be evident from the fact that while there is complete black-out of factual news from the Punjab, London *Times*—the traditional upholder of British imperial glory—obligingly sent a "special correspondent" to Lahore to write an apologia for the Governor and his Ministry's misdeeds for consumption of the appallingly ill-informed British public

Writing a three-quarter-column-long story about the "Justifiable" ban on the Muslim National Guards in today's issue, he avers that its withdrawal was interpreted by the League as a "sign of weakness" and goes on to defend the promulgation of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance which alone in his opinion saved the province from communal riots like those that took place in Bihar, U P and Bengal

Opposing the League demand for its cancellation, he says "That would deprive the Provincial Government of its power to act in an emergency such as widespread rioting and leave the road wide open to communal strife

"Thus the present choice is between an ostensible demand for civil liberties and a potential license for communal strife

No impartial observer can doubt which is the greater risk "

Asserting that the Punjab's three communities are "so inextricably mixed that none can hope single-handed to rule the rest", he quotes figures of the Muslim population and of "others" in the various Punjab Divisions to support this contention and concludes with the observation "Similarly, in the Provincial Legislature the Muslims who have 86 seats out of a total of 175, cannot obtain a majority over the rest These figures show how futile and fraught with danger is the Muslim League's objection to a coalition or the Unionist Ministry "

The censorship of news in the Punjab, so much decried in the British press on principle, he considered as "justified in the light of the extraordinary conditions prevailing in the Punjab "

[1]*Dawn*, 10 February 1947

VII.42

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF TO COURT ARREST[1]

50,000 Pathans To Follow Suit 120 Lahore Arrests On Sunday Tiwana's Last-Ditch Stand We Shall Carry On Struggle Until We Achieve Freedom Of Speech

LAHORE, [Feb 9] The bureaucracy-sponsored Tiwana Ministry is making the last ditch-stand against the ever-swelling tide of people's struggle for restoration of their popular rights

Lahore, which is the nerve centre of the movement, was filled to the core on Sunday when Syed Mustafa Shah Gilani, an underground worker appeared dramatically on the stage before a lakh of people outside the Mochi Gate He declared that the Punjab Government with its unpopular Ministers would never succeed in breaking the movement

He revealed that Pir of Manki Sharif will court arrest in Lahore with 50,000 Pathans on the 19th day of the Punjab people's movement

Mr Gilani added "I have come to tell you that Muslims in the mofussil areas are as zealous and resolute in their struggle for the achievement of civil liberties as you are

"I assure you that we shall carry on the struggle and we [shall] succeed in achieving the freedom of speech and association in the Punjab "

There is every indication that the tempo is rising in spite of the 17 days' continuous defiance of ban on public meetings and on processions

In Lahore on Sunday vehicular traffic came to a standstill when wave after wave of processions swung forward from Mochi Gate towards The Mall carrying League flags, demanding restoration of civil liberties and release of leaders

A squad of over 50 helmeted League National Guards marched in a formation They were later arrested along with 70 other persons under the leadership of Mian Abdul Latif Kardar, Syed Abid Ali Shah, MLA and Mohd Arif, MLA (Punjab) were also arrested

While the processionists were returning back [*sic*] a brick came from a house on Beadon Road and hit a Muslim youth as a result of which he died later in the Mayo Hospital

Malik Shaukat Ali, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim League in an interview on this incident said, "I fervently hope that the action is of a misguided individual I praise the Muslims for their wonderful discipline and the self-control displayed by them in the face of pro-

vocative situation Let us remember that our fight is to achieve civil liberties for all Punjabis irrespective of their party affiliation

Tomorrow there shall be no courting of arrests but there shall be complete *hartal* of *tonga*-drivers, fruit and vegetable merchants

The Muslim League leaders have made an appeal to the Lahore Muslims to remain perfectly peaceful and calm

[1]*Dawn*, 11 February 1947

VII.43

LEAGUE DEPUTATION TO ISSUE STATEMENT ON PUNJAB SITUATION[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 10] The members of the Muslim League deputation—Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr Siddiq Ali Khan—who arrived in Lahore on Friday last to study the situation arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Punjab Muslim League, left for Delhi on Sunday They are expected to issue a statement from Delhi

This evening 120 Muslims were arrested here on the charge of taking out a procession in defiance of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

A huge public meeting was held on Sunday evening outside Mochi Gate

Sixty-four Muslim League workers including Chaudhry Abdul Karim, President of the Lahore Civil Lines Muslim League, Prof Inayatullah Khan and Moulana Ibrahim Ali Chishti, who were being detained in the Lahore Borstal Jail went on hunger-strike on Sunday morning as a protest against alleged ill-treatment by the jail authorities, according to information received in the office of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League

The Punjab Government issued the communique at 6 p m on Sunday —API

[1]*Dawn*, 11 February 1947

VII.44

MARTIAL LAW LIKELY TO BE CLAMPED ON PUNJAB[1]

Student Squatters Hold Up Lahore Traffic 100 Rounds Of Tear-Gas Bombs Fired To Break Blockade Women Demonstrate In Front Of Civil Secretariat

LAHORE, [Feb 10] In view of the apparent failure of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance as is proved by the daily defiance of the measure by lakhs of Muslims throughout the province it is believed in well-informed circles in Lahore that the Punjab is likely to be placed under Martial law in the immediate future

Vehicular traffic on The Mall, Lahore came to a complete standstill for three hours on Monday when thousands of students squatted on the road and blocked traffic Five times did the police fire one hundred rounds of tear-gas bombs but failed to make any visible impression on the squatters

The Union Jack on the High Court buildings was removed and in its place flew the crescent-spangled League flag for about two hours The statue of Lawrence was decorated with League buntings and its hand holding the pen was covered with League flags

Lahore Muslims observed complete *hartal* on Monday—*tonga*-drivers, *taxiwallas*, *coolies* and railway labourers joined in the grand general strike, *Dawn* reporter went round the city and found not a single Muslim shop open Even *tundurwallas*, bakers had drawn their shutters

The strike synchronized with the funeral of the third Muslim martyr who succumbed to injuries sustained from a brick-bat thrown from a house on Beadon Road yesterday

The great resentment and fortitude with which the Lahore Muslims behaved during and after this tragic incident have evoked all round [*sic*] admiration The funeral procession, in which participated the general public, *tonga*-drivers, college students, women and children, swelled in numbers as it proceeded towards Miani Sahib where the deceased was buried

About two lakh of persons joined in the funeral prayers This procession is believed to be bigger than the one that accompanied the body of Ghazi Ilm-ud-din *Shaheed* in 1920 The processionists marched back to Mochi Gate where a huge public meeting took place Various speakers addressed the meeting and enjoined strict discipline and restraint

News from Jhelum states that a Muslim youth, Mohammad Sharif, died as a result of injuries sustained during police *lathi*-charge

Reports from all over the Punjab Districts reaching Lahore Headquarters of the Muslim League show that Muslims observed peaceful *hartal* in all big towns and cities

In Lahore Muslim women took out a big procession and held demonstrations in front of the Punjab Civil Secretariat Later five of them were arrested and removed to police station

Ch Nazir Ahmed, member of the Provincial League Defence Committee, told me that a Committee consisting of Sh Mohammed Ali, MLA, Ch Nazir Ahmed (Montgomery), Mr Abdul Aziz Khan, Sh Faiz Mohammed, MLA, and Sh Shabbir Ahmed, has been appointed for the defence of the League prisoners

IN FEROZEPORE DISTRICT

The police had besieged all the Muslim localities and mosques of Ferozepore Cantonment on Sunday At about 1 p m the police made a raid on a house, in which Delhi National Guards volunteers were residing and arrested all of them

At Muktasar, a *tehsil*, the Muslim policemen are on hunger-strike, and it is believed that Muslim policemen, throughout the Punjab, can no more restrain themselves from joining in with their brethren in this fight for civil liberties

RAWALPINDI

Thirty-nine Musalmans arrested during the last week in Rawalpindi, were released unconditionally on Sunday Eight leaders are still behind the bars

All communities bitterly resent Government communiques, which try to give the present struggle a communal turn

An API report from Lahore adds the hoisting of the Muslim League flag over the Lahore High Court buildings during the hearing of the habeas corpus petition questioning the legality of the detention of the Principal of the local Islamia College under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance culminating in the use of the tear-gas by the police to disperse the crowd was the highlight of the Muslim League agitation in the Punjab today

Following the declaration of a complete Muslim *hartal* in Lahore numerous processions were organised in defiance of the Public Safety Ordinance These processions converged at mid-day at the Lahore High Court holding up the traffic on The Mall A large police force soon arrived on the spot and after watching the situation for over an hour resorted to the use of tear-gas to disperse the crowd but the crowd

reassembled Shortly after 2 p m , however, the crowd reformed itself into a procession which eventually reached the University grounds to join the funeral prayers held for the Muslim youth who sustained fatal injuries as a result of brick-throwing from a housetop in Beadon Road last night

The routine programme of courting arrests was not gone through today in view of the funeral of the Muslim youth

As the students of the local Islamia College form the vanguard of the Muslim League agitation, the Education Minister, Mian Mohammed Ibrahim Burq, has appealed to them to realise their responsibilities He has also appealed to their parents as well as the staff and authorities of the Islamia College to take all necessary steps to see that the students refrain from participating in active politics

[1]*Dawn* 12 February 1947

VII.45

DELHI MUSLIM WOMEN ARRESTED AND LET OFF[1]

Begum Husain Malik and Begum Nur-us-Sabah, President and Secretary respectively of the Delhi Women's Muslim League and Akhtar Malik and Shamim Malik, nieces of Mr Husain Malik who took part in the women's procession near the Civil Secretariat at Lahore on Monday were arrested and later dumped outside the city

Mr Nasim Husain, Advocate, was also arrested on Sunday last in Montgomery

[1]*Dawn* 12 February 1947

VII.46

FIVE DELHI MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS ARRESTED[1]

Lathi-charges by police on Muslim League processionists at Gujrat and Jhang on Friday and Saturday respectively are reported in the latest bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters

The bulletin also reports that a batch of five Muslim League volunteers

who arrived from Delhi was arrested at the Ferozepore Railway Station on Saturday —API

[1]*Dawn*, 12 February 1947

VII.47

SCHEDULED CASTES JOIN PUNJAB MOVEMENT[1]

Police Constable Courts Arrest In Lahore Divisional Commissioners And Police Chiefs To Advise Withdrawal Of Ban Muslim Women Demonstrate In Front Of Education Minister's House

LAHORE, [Feb 11] In full uniform Police Constable No 1751, Nasiruddin came forward on Tuesday to court arrest along with 50 others Among the total of 51 persons who marched into the police cordon on The Mall were five Scheduled Caste members

A Conference of the Divisional Commissioners and Zonal Deputy Inspectors-General of Police took place in Lahore Secretariat when the situation arising out of the Muslim League's movement was reviewed The probable effects of League demand for the restoration of civil liberties if conceded were discussed

The consensus of opinion [*sic*], I understand, was that the withdrawal of ban on public meetings and processions would not lead to deterioration in communal situation I also understand that a representation will be made to the Ministry for the piecemeal withdrawal of restrictions on holding of public meetings and carrying out of processions

Restrictions on public meetings have already been withdrawn in 12 districts The Government does not want to make public surrender on grounds of prestige

An impressive demonstration by Muslim women took place in front of the residence of the Education Minister who has made a derogatory statement against the students of Islamia College The women's procession then marched towards the Female Jail where Begum Shah Nawaz and Mumtaz Shah Nawaz are detained The processionists shouted League slogans in front of the jail Begum Shah Nawaz and Mumtaz Shah Nawaz responded from within

At the meeting outside the Mochi Gate when Nasiruddin declared that he was joining the popular movement for the restoration of civil liberties, people raised sky-rending slogans

Sardar Hazara Singh and Sardar Pritam Singh declared at the same meeting that the two million Achhuts of the Punjab stood solidly behind the League struggle to fight the anti-civil laws of the bureaucracy-sponsored Khizar Ministry

Chaudhri Salimullah led a huge procession on Tuesday Over 2,000 Muslim women in purdah also marched in a procession towards Government House No arrests were made

Keenly conscious of their responsibilities to the necessity of preserving communal harmony, the Muslim majority of the Punjab have taken every precautionary step to avoid the movement from deteriorating into an inter-communal fight

Following the tragic incident of Sunday in which an innocent Muslim was killed, the Lahore League papers came out on Tuesday with a bold-type appeal calling upon the Musalmans "to do their level best to maintain communal harmony and not to succumb to provocation from any corner They also called upon Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, a Congress Minister, to come forward and publicly condemn the cowardly attack on the life of an innocent Muslim "

On Monday and Tuesday the Muslim League Peace Brigade patrolled the city and particularly the Hindu area, carrying a goodwill message for all

The League agitation on its 19th day has given the lie to the propaganda in interested quarters that it was the Khizar-Congress Coalition that has kept the Punjab immune from communal disturbances The truth is that it is the good sense of the majority community that has saved the Punjab from a blood-bath

A report from Jhang said that a Muslim youth was beaten to death during a *lathi*-charge near the *Kotwali*

[1]*Dawn*, 13 February 1947

VII.48

DAUNTLESS SARGODHA DEFIES POLICE BATON[1]

Khizar Settles Old Score In His Home District Frequent Tiwana-Baldev Talks N G Chief's Tour Underground Ban Likely To Be Lifted In Rawalpindi District

SARGODHA, [Feb 12] Punjab Premier's home-district experienced a

severe *lathi*-charge on Wednesday when more than 20 persons were seriously injured The police baton failed to break the indomitable spirit of people of Sargodha

Authentic information reaching from that district shows that the Punjab Premier has utilised the Muslim League campaign to punish those who had opposed him during the last elections

Arrests of Kh Shamsher Ali, Mian Abdul Aziz, Ch Faiz Ahmed, Khan Mohammed Khan of Sahiwal, Mian Qadir Bakhsh, Quraishi Mohammed Abdullah, Ch Abdul Hameed and Fateh Mohammed Sial were made under Tiwana's revenge code rather than Ordinance rule

A batch of Aligarh students was arrested at Sargodha and they were taken 20 miles into the country, and dumped As a protest against this brutal treatment, students of Government College, Sargodha, went on strike They took out a large procession which was joined by thousands of villagers

Secret consultations are reported to have been going on between the Punjab Premier and Sardar Baldev Singh at the former's residence in Lahore Cantonment on Wednesday The reporters who got a scent of the Defence Member's arrival tried their level best to contact him but he eluded them like a slippery eel

TIWANA-BALDEV MEETINGS

One tangible result of the Defence Member's frequent confabulation with the Punjab Premier is the highly unreasonable and even provocative statement by Master Tara Singh on the Punjab campaign

It is not a mere coincidence that the arrival of Sardar Baldev Singh invariably almost always evoked the spiteful outbursts from the veteran *Akali* leader against the Muslim League

While on the one hand Punjab Government's repressive policy is in full swing against Muslims, on the other hand they are withdrawing ban piecemeal on public meetings and carrying out of processions in various districts "according to plan " I understand that the ban on public meetings and processions will be withdrawn in Rawalpindi District

Major Khurshid Anwer, *Naib Salar-i-Azam*, National Guards, who is "wanted" by the Punjab police, after successfully completing underground tour of Montgomery and Multan Districts, is now touring Lyallpur District

It will be interesting to recall that Major dodged entire Frontier police in October last when he successfully toured the province in spite of Khan Sahib's ban on his entry into the province

THE CONTRABAND VOICE

Punjab C I D have also brought out an underground *Voice of Islam*

The C I D edition of *Voice of Islam* is circulated in thousands in the rural areas to mislead the Muslim masses with regard to the aims and objects of the movement

From Lyallpur comes the news that Mian Mohammed Abdullah, MLA (Central), Mr Aziz-ud-Din, MLA (Punjab), have been taken to Ferozepore Jail in fetters and handcuffs They had to travel by third class

In spite of the lying campaign started by the Punjab Government in their communiques about the progress of the movement, it is going from strength to strength On the 20th day of the movement neither there is boredom nor tiredness in the League ranks

The movement has captured the imagination of the sturdy Punjab peasants who are inspired for the first time with true political ideal The vast manpower of the Muslims who had been in the past exploited by selfish politicians for British imperialistic purposes, has now been awakened to its own destiny They no longer are slaves in the camp of bureaucracy They argue in this way Why Mamdot and Noon have gone to jail? Why is it that the British officials are clapping them behind the bars? They then answer, because they refuse to play the British game in the interest of Muslims This confidence in the leaders has infused enthusiasm among them for the League struggle

Reports from all over the Punjab show the tremendous upsurge among the masses against the puppet Ministry's anti-civil laws Hundreds of thousands of them every day break the law of the land

There is absolutely no danger of any kind of communal riots in the Punjab merely because the Muslims are determined to avoid them at all costs They have proved during their glorious struggle for the last 20 days and will successfully vindicate this by their conduct in future

In this way the Punjab Muslims are winning the confidence of non-Muslims as never before Mr Indra, proprietor of the Pal Dairy, during an interview, said that they have nothing to be afraid of Pakistan The Beadon Road incident which, a year hence, might have been sufficient provocation for a communal disturbance, has now been gallantly faced by the Muslims

In Lahore 80 persons courted arrest on Wednesday following a huge procession Mr Muzzafar Husain, General Secretary, City Muslim League, was arrested from his office

In Jullundur one thousand Pathans from Basti paraded the streets in defiance of the Punjab [Public] Safety Ordinance

News from Multan, Muzaffargarh, Gurgaon, Gujranwala, Dera Ghazi Khan, Lyallpur, Ferozepore, Batala, Panipat, Narowal, Hissar,

Wazırabad, Sahıwal, Nurpur Tıwana, Bhalwal, Bhera, Khushab, Naushehra, show that processıons are regularly taken out daıly ın defiance of the ban

[1]*Dawn*, 14 February 1947

VII.49

PUNJAB LEAGUE ACTING PRESIDENT ARRESTED[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 13] Malık Shaukat Alı, Actıng Presıdent of the Punjab Provıncıal Muslım League, was arrested ın Lahore at mıdnıght under the Punjab Publıc Safety Ordınance

Mr Rahmatullah, a member of the Punjab Muslım League Councıl, was also arrested early thıs mornıng —API

[1]*Dawn*, 14 February 1947

VII.50

ARREST OF FRONTIER PIR RESENTED[1]

PESHAWAR, [Feb 12] "Great resentment prevaıls ın the provınce at the wholesale arrests of the Musalmans ın the Punjab, says the Secretary of the Anjuman Chıshtıya ın a telegram to *Dawn*

"The two lac followers of Khwaja Hafız Saıduddın, *Sajjada-Nashın* Taunsa Sharıf, are ındıgnant over hıs arrest and demand hıs uncondıtıonal release ımmedıately

"In case the Pır Sahıb ıs not released, the followers wıll joın the struggle and court arrest ın large numbers "

[1]*Dawn*, 14 February 1947

VII.51

PUNJAB GOVERNOR AND BRITISH OFFICIALS ASTIR[1]

Meetings in Government House And At Police Chief's Residence *Lathi*-Charge in Sargodha Tear-Gas used in Amritsar Members of Pakistan Medical Corps Arrested

LAHORE, [Feb 12] Long and hush-hush confabulations marked the 21st day of the Muslim League's movement in the Punjab At the time of sending the message, a meeting between the British officials and their ministerial satellites is in progress at the residence of Sir John Bennet, Inspector-General of Police The Premier and the Finance Minister have presented themselves and are discussing the latest situation in the province

Simultaneously a meeting is in progress at Government House between the Governor, the Home Secretary and Mr S E Abbot, the Governor's Private Secretary

One of the most reprehensible features of today's happenings is the arrest of 10 members of the Pakistan Medical Corps

It is surmised that the object behind these official and ministerial discussions is to put heart in Khizar Hayat not to capitulate at least for sometime more

Mr Slater, Deputy Commissioner, Dera Ghazi Khan has been summoned to Lahore to discuss the latest situation in that district *vis-a-vis* the tribal reaction to the League movement

A high central authority who happens to be in Lahore remarked that the information supplied to Home Department regarding the Punjab movement fully falsifies Punjab Government's communiques

I can definitely state that the Minister of Education is pressing the Premier not to play into the hands of the officials and the Congress Ministers

Two *lathi*-charges in a day on processions in Sargodha, use of tear-gas in Amritsar and the reluctant release of Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif highlighted the struggle on Thursday

In Sargodha the police are terrorising the people to break their indomitable courage But far from achieving its purpose police terrorism is bringing out the best among the people The Sargodha Muslims organised a big procession at the head of which were horsemen armed with spears and hatchets

The complaints about the treatment of League prisoners in jail are

growing Women prisoners, including the internationally reputed Begum Shah Nawaz and her daughter Miss Mumtaz are refused even ordinary amenities available to political prisoners in jail

Gujranwala Jail is reported to be packed to its normal capacity

Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, MLA, has been nominated Acting President

Report of the arrest of Pir of Makhad Sharif has also been received

In Lahore 80 persons were arrested today

Sheikh Nazir Ahmad of Gujranwala courted arrest on Thursday near Montgomery Road

According to an unconfirmed message a warrant of arrest has been issued against *Dawn*'s Lahore correspondent

The role of Muslim women in the movement constitutes a glorious record in the Punjab Muslims' popular struggle

Begum Habibullah, whose husband lost his life in Burma campaign during the war, is on hunger-strike in sympathy with League prisoners in jails

[1] *Dawn*, 15 February 1947

VII.52

SECTION 144 LIFTED IN LYALLPUR AND KASUR[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 13] *Lathi*-charges by the police on Muslim League processions at Sargodha, Ferozepore and Wazirabad are reported in a bulletin issued by the Punjab Muslim League Headquarters today Tear-gas was also used in Ferozepore

The bulletin also reports that the local authorities have withdrawn the orders issued under Section 144, Cr P C in Lyallpur and Kasur —API

[1] *Dawn*, 15 February 1947

VII.53

WOMEN'S APPEAL FOR COMMUNAL HARMONY[1]

"A devilish plan to stir up communal riots has been hatched by Khizar Hayat and we appeal to the Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims to

preserve communal harmony in the Punjab" says an appeal issued on behalf of the Muslim women of Lahore The appeal was approved of by the Muslim women at a mammoth meeting in Lahore on Tuesday

The appeal says "We have come to know that through its police the Khizar Ministry hurled stones on the peaceful Muslim procession which was passing through Beadon Road on Sunday and one young man lost his life But with feelings of great pride we congratulate the Muslims who faced this grave provocation with fortitude and defeated the nefarious plan of the Khizar Ministry of starting communal riots in the Punjab

"We reliably learn that Khizar Hayat has called Sardar Baldev Singh to help him in his designs We request our Hindu, Sikh and Muslim brethren to realise the gravity of the situation and not to play into the hands of the Punjab bureaucracy

"For Muslims this is an hour of trial Our fight is not against any community but against the Khizar regime which is stifling the civil liberties of the people "

[1]*Dawn*, 15 February 1947

VII.54

PUNJAB CAMPAIGN IS AN INDICATION OF WHAT LEAGUE CAN DO ON AN ALL-INDIA SCALE[1]

—LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister in India's Interim Government said on Thursday that the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Campaign against Punjab Provincial Ministry and its ban on meetings and processions—the first of its kind ever launched by the Muslim League—"show that our people are ready to make any sacrifice come what may "

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, who is also the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, said in an interview that the Muslim League's Punjab campaign was unplanned and unprepared although the Coalition Ministry had "harassed people who voted against it" in many ways including distribution of rationed goods

Hundreds upon hundreds of Muslims have defied the Ministry's ban for 20 consecutive days since the Muslim League National Guards was declared illegal—an order later rescinded—and seven top-ranking leaders were arrested for obstructing the police during their raid on the offices of the Muslim League National Guards

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan said that Punjab demonstrations which spread

rapidly throughout the province were an indication of what the Muslim League could do on an all-India scale if it became necessary although "I couldn't guarantee that it would remain always non-violent "

He also pointed out that League leaders of the Punjab, many of whom renounced British titles last year, were the first to rush out and offer themselves for arrest and said he expected that it would be generally true if a general movement began

The Finance Minister praised Punjab Muslims for maintaining discipline and avoiding involvement in communal or Hindu-Muslim disturbance and said that the Punjab Government was at present "paralysed"

"This is something new in India", he added, "Muslim League has never done anything before by unconstitutional means "

Muslim Leaguers were at present excluded from the Punjab Coalition Ministry although Mr Liaquat Ali Khan pointed out that they represent the largest community in the province and form the largest single party in the Legislature Congress, Sikhs and few non-League Muslims form Ministry

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan concluded that he expected the Provincial Ministry to fall as a result of League's campaign, adding "how long the Government will go on and how long the people will go on, I cannot say But I have confidence in the people "—APA

[1] *Dawn*, 15 February 1947

VII.55

POLICE OPENS FIRE ON AMRITSAR PROCESSION[1]

Lathi-Charge on Women Inside Lahore Jail Picketing of Courts Rapidly Spreading Throughout the Province Punjab Governor Coming to Delhi For Urgent Consultations

LAHORE, [Feb 14] Police firing on a procession of nearly hundred thousand strong, at Amritsar, preceded and followed by an extensive use of *lathi* and tear-gas was the highlight of police repression on Friday

The huge procession proceeded towards the Civil Lines when it was obstructed by a police force The procession surged forward in

spite of the police Muslim League flags were planted on the Deputy Commissioner's Court room and the General Post Office The police opened fire and three persons were wounded

It is reliably understood that the Punjab Governor is going to Delhi on the 17th to hold urgent consultations with the Viceroy

Inside the Lahore Jail today women prisoners including Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz are reported to have been *lathi*-charged by some warders It is understood they were trying to hoist the League flag inside the jail

The Muslim League Movement in the Punjab is quickly assuming gigantic and formidable proportion all over the province

NEW TENDENCIES

An over-all picture of the Punjab Movement cannot be complete without a reference to new tendencies visible in the movement which, if developed, will throw out of grab the entire administrative machinery in province

Picketing of courts is quickly spreading to various districts On Friday in Wazirabad the Sub-Judge had to suspend his work for whole of the day following an invasion of the court precincts by a large crowd Similarly the Sind Express and the Frontier Mail were delayed for more than two hours between Wazirabad and Gujranwala The engine was decorated with League flags

In Gujrat on Friday, the police administration was practically paralysed A Hindu gentleman, Sohan Lal, was injured in the *lathi*-charge along with Muslims

Fearing large-scale tribal retaliatory measures, the Pir of Taunsa Sharif was released Similarly Nawab Mumtaz Tiwana, Punjab Premier's 70-year-old uncle has been released

In Lahore 120 Muslims were arrested this evening on The Mall

Earlier a huge meeting was held outside Mochi Gate, Mr Ghulam Ahmad, a prominent Muslim League worker of Gujranwala presiding At the termination of the meeting a procession was taken out which was stopped by a large police force on The Mall near the Charing Cross Police Station After the arrest of the leaders, the procession dispersed peacefully

Mr I I Chundrigar, Member for Commerce in the Interim Government watched the procession while it was passing through Nila Gumbad Mr Lebb, D I G , Punjab Police, who was opposed to these repressive measures has been sent on 4 months' leave

An API message from Amritsar reports today's incidents as follows

The police resorted to a *lathi*-charge to disperse a crowd of Muslims which had collected in the compound of the District Board Earlier the police tear-gassed the crowd Five persons are reported to have been

injured as a result of the *lathi*-charge

In the District Court some demonstrators damaged some of the petition writers' tables, burning one of them The fire was soon brought under control

Earlier in the day a huge public meeting was held in the Anjuman Park from where a procession started which paraded principal streets of the town —API

[1]*Dawn*, 16 February 1947

VII.56

STRUGGLE TO BE CONTINUED TO SUCCESSFUL END[1]

Punjab Leaders Take Stock of the Situation Plans Finally Approved Condition in 5 Districts Officially Described as Serious *Lathi*-charge On Jullundur And Sargodha Processionists One Killed

LAHORE, [Feb 15] On the 23rd day of the Muslim League Movement in the Punjab, the League leaders took stock of the situation at a meeting at the Provincial League office, Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi presiding

"There was a full and frank discussion when the whole situation was reviewed", the Maulana said in an interview with the *Dawn* representative

The Maulana revealed that plans for carrying on the struggle to a successful end were finally approved He said that the League Movement at present was centred round a limited front namely restoration of civil liberties for the people of the Punjab to enable them to carry on their political activities

There should be no misunderstanding of the fact, he emphasised that the battle for breaking the Ministry can only be fought on the floor of the House

He said that the movement had won the admiration and respect of all because we have never lost sight of our goal and we have not allowed issues to be mixed up But, he said, there are certain extremist elements, who wanted to broaden the front and consequently to enlarge the scope of the movement which he added was not in his power to do

"We therefore emphasise the necessity of carrying on the struggle on strict principle of non-communal and non-violence", the Maulana added

Concluding, he said "We must win the hearts of the non-Muslims

By our behaviour we must prove to them that being the majority community, we know our obligations to them and can fulfil these obligations"

COMPLETE *HARTAL*

In Lahore a complete *hartal* was observed and no arrests were courted today as mark of respect to the memory of Sir Mohammad Amin, who suddenly died of heart failure this morning He was a martyr in the cause for which the Punjab Muslims have launched a struggle

One man is reported to have been beaten to death at Sargodha when police *lathi*-charged a peaceful procession today

The "Punjab Press Gag Order" to suppress the League news has been extended for another ten days This is a frank admission that in spite of MacDonaldian lies dished out to the press every day in the form of Government communiques, the movement has not fizzled out

An APA report said

The possibility of a compromise to end the Muslim League's 22-day Civil Disobedience Campaign against the Punjab Ministry and the Provincial Ordinance forbidding processions and meetings developed tonight although it was reliably indicated that the move still was in a tentative state

The nature of the compromise under consideration was not indicated although it was considered likely that it would involve removal of the meetings and processions' ban at least in some areas and release of 1,500 persons officially reported today to be under arrest or detention in jail throughout the Punjab

Meanwhile the official Government communique reported the situation quiet in Lahore Although there was the usual meeting at Mochi Gate no procession was held [*sic*] presumably because of the death of a Muslim League member of the Punjab Assembly, Sh Mohammad Amin He suffered a heart attack today

An authoritative official source described the situation as "serious" in five of the Punjab's 25 districts—these were Amritsar, Gujrat, Ferozepore, Sargodha and Gujranwala Demonstrations were described as "milder in about ten districts, including Lahore"

"A communal turn is the very last thing anybody wants in the Punjab", the official said The danger is from riff-raff who enjoy looting

The official estimate of the number arrested—most of them were released after detention or taken some miles from their homes—was

between 4,000 and 5,000 in the entire Punjab Province Independent sources however placed the figure as high as 8,000

An APA correspondent reported from Jullundur, 80 miles south-east of Lahore, that police resorted to a mild *lathi*-charge to disperse Muslim League demonstrators They had taken out a procession consisting mainly of villagers and students They marched to a *Tehsil* building, removed the Union Jack flying over it, tore it up and installed the League flag This was later removed by the officers Two students and one teacher of the local Islamia High School were arrested

Other demonstrations were reported yesterday in Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Ambala City, Multan and Rawalpindi, along with a number of small towns —APA

[1]*Dawn*, 17 February 1947

VII.57

PUNJAB PRESS BAN EXTENDED[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 15] The Punjab Government has extended for another 10 days the order prohibiting the newspapers in the Punjab to publish any comment (including headlines), any statement or report which is not official, any correspondence or article concerned with or bearing on the agitation against the provisions of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance without its previous submission for scrutiny to the Assistant Provincial Press Adviser, Punjab —API

[1]*Dawn*, 17 February 1947

VII.58

ONLY HONOURABLE COURSE IS TO WITHDRAW BAN[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 15] Referring to the Muslim League agitation in the Punjab, Mr Chundrigar in an interview to API said "The province-wide demonstrations which are daily being staged by the Muslims in the Punjab in defiance of the ban on meetings and processions have

made it plain to the Government as well as the non-Muslims in the Punjab that the only honourable and wide course open to the Punjab Government is to withdraw the restrictive measures on the civil liberties of the people "

He added that plea of the Government that the measure is called for to avoid communal conflict in the province has been fully defeated during the last three weeks, since the inception of the League movement, as in spite of the huge gatherings and high tempers of Muslims, the movement has been astonishingly non-communal and non-violent

Mr Chundrigar reiterated that the All India Muslim League Working Committee in their Karachi Resolution on the Punjab situation had made it clear that although it demanded the removal of restrictions on the freedom of speech and association it did not demand the repeal of the [Punjab] Public Safety Ordinance but only an assurance against its misuse in the province —API

[1]*Dawn* 17 February 1947

VII.59

NO WOMAN PRISONER DEAD OFFICIAL DENIAL[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 15] The Punjab Government's attention has been drawn to a rumour current in Lahore that some women prisoners have died and others received injuries in the Women's Jail, Lahore, as a result of maltreatment by the jail staff This is entirely baseless and unfounded The fact is some of the girl prisoners climbed on the roof of the jail and planted a Muslim League flag there

They also raised slogans Those responsible for planting the League flag were brought down by the jail staff and were lodged in their rooms as their action was against the jail rules —API

[1]*Dawn* 17 February 1947

VII.60

ARMY TO TAKE OVER PUNJAB TODAY[1]

Government Plan to Dump 50,000 People in Yeol Jail
Sind Leader in Lahore Discusses Reinforcement Scheme
Manki Sharif to Organise Muslim Divines For Active Participation 10 More Sikhs Court Arrest

LAHORE, [Feb 16] At 10 a m tomorrow (Monday) the police will hand over charge of the Punjab situation to the Army all over the Province, it is reliably understood

This comes as an anti-climax to the repeated Government assurances through their communiques that the Punjab situation was improving and the movement was "fizzling out"

Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Acting President of the Punjab League, has appealed to the Muslims to remain calm, non-violent and non-communal in the face of all provocation that is bound to be offered to them under the extraordinary circumstances

Two members of the Muslim League High Command, Mr Ghazanfar Ali and Kh Nazimuddin who are in Lahore held several meetings with local leaders There seems to be no optimism in League circles for an early settlement of the Punjab dispute

The Member for Public Health, Government of India, who was to leave Lahore for Delhi tonight postponed his departure for another day

What would have appeared as a miracle to the people a few months back is now being daily performed in Punjab as a matter of routine by hundreds of thousands of people in their defiance of the Government ban on civil liberties by holding public meetings and carrying out processions in a perfectly peaceful manner

The non-Muslims of the Punjab, may it be said to their burning [sic] credit, have refused to play into the hands of the enemies of communal peace in the province

They appreciate that the Punjab League is fighting that battle as well for the restoration of civil liberties

Ten Sikhs and 120 other persons courted arrest in Lahore on the 24th day of Punjab Civil Disobedience Movement

Earlier, a crowd that filled two adjoining plots outside the Mochi Gate listened to the leaders who exhorted them "not to be misled into believing that settlement of the present controversy was within sight"

Mr Aftab Qarshi said that the struggle would be continued till a final victory is won He added, "none of us outside the jail can deliver the goods "

The Sikh leader, Sardar Gurbanta Singh declared that Sikhs look with admiration at the present League Movement for the restoration of the civil liberties, and they feel that Sikh religion, culture and all that is dear to a nation is absolutely safe in the hands of Muslims

Shouting the slogans "we shall fill the Yeol Jail", a huge gathering not less than hundred thousand strong converted itself into a procession and marching through various localities reached The Mall where under elaborate police precautions 130 offered themselves for arrest

GOVERNMENT FEELERS

The Government have started through feelers by inspiring Press messages of an early withdrawal of instruction but at the same time are busy making preparations to arrest 50,000 persons for whom accommodation is being arranged at Yeol—an ex-Italian prisoners of war camp—through the good offices of the Defence Member

Anyway the Punjab Muslims are prepared for any or every situation

Messages of good cheer from Sind and Frontier Provinces have reached the Provincial League leaders

Mr Mahmoud Haroon, MLA (Sind), younger brother of Mr Yousuf Haroon, visited Lahore and discussed plans with local leaders, for the reinforcement of the struggle by Sind Muslims

Pir of Manki Sharif is also reported to be on his way to Lahore to hold a conference of *Mashaikh* (Muslim Divines) for chalking out the programme to enable their full participation in the Punjab struggle

The clique of British officials who are *de facto* rulers of the Punjab are contemplating to crush the movement to keep Punjab "safe for their bureaucratic rule"

Mr Hamilton Harding, D I G , popularly known as Himmler of Punjab Police, has been placed in charge of the measures for crushing the movement in the Lahore range

Without making any invidious distinction between the various districts regarding the glorious role in the present movement, it is only fair to say that the record established by Gujrat in discipline, tenacity and courage shall be the envy of all the remaining districts There the 6-foot *Gujratis* in their thousands have set up a record in non-violent resistance to the police aggression

News from Ferozepore speak that Sh Zafar Haq, A D M, has sentenced two leading members of the Punjab League to a term of one year's rigorous imprisonment He has further ordered them as "C" class prisoners

EVENTS REACH CLIMAX

The following is an APA version of the Punjab Movement

"Events in the Punjab are apparently moving towards a climax as a result of the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement which continued today, the reasons are three-fold

(1) The Sikh Panthic Board Working Committee met today and afterwards Sikh leaders said that the Working Committee disapproved of the Muslim League Movement

He said that the Sikhs are "certainly apprehensive that this movement may be turned against them"

He also said that "we feel that the Government are not handling this situation as firmly as they should"

(2) The second factor is that Government officials, especially in British quarters, have talked of a compromise with the Muslim League, but as an alternative said, "Gun action" is in prospect

(3) The third reason is that the Muslim League leaders themselves say that there has been talk of a compromise, "but with people who cannot deliver the goods" This came from Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, the seventh President of the Punjab Muslim League and a former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, which he quitted a year ago

Maulana Ghaznavi said "If the Government ceased to ban processions and meetings, the movement would stop, I hope", but he did not seem sure He said that the sole aim of the movement is to make the Government lift the ban and the League was not trying to depose the Ministry, although demonstrators on the Lahore Mall tonight again shouted anti-Ministry slogans However, the Maulana said that he had issued orders today that slogans were "not to be shouted against any person"

This evening in Lahore more than 100 League demonstrators offered themselves for arrest on The Mall Amongst those arrested were 11 Sikhs —APA

[1] *Dawn* 18 February 1947

VII.61

POLICE OPEN FIRE ON GUJRAT DEMONSTRATORS[1]

One Dead, 60 Persons Injured Tense Situation Reported Police Reinforcements to Meet Mass Picketing At Central Jail 292 Arrests in Lahore Alone League Leaders Chalk Out Future Plan Troops And Extra Police Posted on Railways

LAHORE, [Feb 17] Police repression in Gujrat was in full swing on Monday Hundreds of tear-gas bombs were thrown on crowds of men and women who were later subjected to a serious *lathi*-charge Afterwards the police fired gunshots All these measures failed to produce any visible effect excepting that casualties have been steadily mounting

According to Fateh Mohammad Azim, President, Gujrat District Muslim League, 60 people have received serious injuries and one of the injured succumbed to his injuries later The Commissioner of Rawalpindi Division, Mr King, and the D I G of Police, Mr Scott, were among those who led the *lathi*-charge

The Central Jail where leaders are at present being detained, is under constant picketing for the last two days Police from neighbouring 16 districts have been concentrated at Gujrat

Authorities, it is reported, are planning to remove the leaders at midnight tonight At the time of telephoning, thousands of people including a large number of women had collected in the Court compound of Gujrat The situation, says Mr Fateh Mohammad Azim, is very tense

Messages from League leaders to the people that "the delaying of railway trains or interference with railway traffic in any way has not so far been sanctioned by the Provincial Muslim League or any higher authority", have produced the desired effect

It is learned that, accordingly, there was no delaying of trains on Gujrat line

In Lahore, the day's programme started with a bang when the police arrested 200 students in front of the Civil Secretariat where they had collected in large numbers to offer their *Ishraq* prayers

The I G of Police, Sir John Bennet was among those who kicked students who had refused to go into the lorries Eventually they were bodily lifted and thrown into the police vans Women also took out processions and entered the precincts of the Lahore District Court, holding up proceedings of the Court for several hours

[1]*Dawn* 19 February 1947

VII.62

ACT ACCORDING TO PLAN, URGE LEAGUE CHIEFS[1]

LAHORE, [Feb 17] An earnest appeal to the Muslims not to let their movement assume forms which have not yet been authorised or sanctioned by their leaders is made by Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member in the Interim Government, and Khwaja Nazimuddin, in a joint statement to the press this evening

They say "It appears that in certain parts of the Punjab, particularly in Gujrat, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Sargodha Districts, large numbers of people have started a campaign of delaying railway trains This, it is said, is being done under the impression that the authorities of the Provincial Muslim League have sanctioned this form of activity, as a part of their Civil Disobedience Movement in this province

INSTRUCTIONS

"We have ascertained from people now in charge of Punjab Muslim League Organisation and wish to make it clear that the delaying of railway trains or interference with the railway traffic in any way, has not so far been sanctioned by the Provincial Muslim League or any higher authority

"Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, the Acting President of the Muslim League has issued circular letters to the above effect The Muslims of the Punjab should remember that they are carrying on a moral fight for a noble cause Their success depends on their maintaining perfect discipline They have so far given a splendid demonstration of their sense of discipline, self-restraint and spirit of sacrifice In these qualities lies their strength and the secret of their success

"A false step during this grim struggle of life and death for the Muslim nation in the Punjab, may jeopardize their success We, therefore, earnestly appeal to them not to let their movement assume forms which have not yet been authorised or sanctioned by their leaders" —API

[1] *Dawn*, 19 February 1947

VII.63

PUNJAB MOVEMENT IS BOUND TO SUCCEED SUHRAWARDY'S SPEECH AT DELHI STUDENTS' MEETING[1]

"The Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Punjab Muslim League is bound to succeed for it expresses the revolting spirit of the Musalmans of the Punjab against an aggressive Government," declared Mr H S Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal, at a mammoth public meeting held in the Urdu Park on Monday under the auspices of the Delhi Muslim Students League in observance of "Punjab Day" in Delhi Mr Mohd Rafiq, a student, was in the chair

The Students' League organised a huge procession of students which marched through all the main streets of Delhi with mock funeral of the Premier and the Governor of the Punjab All local Muslim educational institutions were closed and the Muslim girl students of the Anglo-Arabic Higher Secondary School abstained from attending their classes

"Long live the leaders of the Punjab who have upheld the banner of Islam to restore civil liberties, and long live the Muslims of the Punjab who have produced such great leaders", the Bengal Premier continued "The Muslim National Guards from all over the country are flooding the Punjab to assure their Muslim brethren that the whole sub-continent is with them in their fight for civil liberties," he went on to say

Mr Suhrawardy in the course of his speech further pointed out that the restrictions imposed by the Punjab Government were wrongly compared by certain people with Section 144 promulgated by the Bengal Government Section 144 was promulgated in Bengal, he explained, after fierce communal disturbances and furthermore it was not against a certain political or national organisation or a section of people The restrictions in Bengal applied as much to Muslims as they applied to Hindus and at least in that province there was a popular Ministry representing the largest single block of the population, he added

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT'S AIM

"On the contrary," the Bengal Premier continued, "the Punjab Ministry has been formed against the wishes of the Musalmans which is the major community in the province It cannot be gainsaid that the restrictions imposed upon civil liberties by the Punjab Government are primarily aimed at suppressing the Muslim National Organisation, the All India Muslim League "

"In no other province of the country are people held back from expressing their opinion at the time of elections But in the Punjab, Section

144 was promulgated, particularly when a Muslim League candidate was contesting the election in Dera Ghazi Khan The only excuse for imposing such restrictions which the Punjab Ministry gave was that it was in the interest of communal harmony in the province But events in the Punjab proved that since the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by the Muslim League nowhere in India have communal riots broken out

"All this, therefore, goes to prove", the Bengal Premier observed, "that the Punjab Ministry was in the wrong That it was a lame excuse that they gave to deceive the people and hence it is incumbent upon them to admit their mistake, and retrace the wrong steps that they have taken so far There is every likelihood that if the restrictions in the Punjab are not withdrawn immediately the fire that has been kindled by the Punjab people may spread far and wide in the country "

FUTILE RESTRICTIONS

Mr Suhrawardy also pointed out that the Musalmans in rest of India were alive to the fact that the more the restrictions were imposed upon the Punjab by the Khizar Ministry the greater would be the momentum gained by the Civil Disobedience Movement "The Punjab Ministry cannot arrest the rising spirit of the Musalmans", he added, "for even the Muslim women have displayed a gallantry which is almost unprecedented in history"

Referring to Malik Khizar Hayat, the Premier of the Punjab, Mr Suhrawardy said that it was time the former admitted that he had made a blunder and that he should realise that though he might have captured a few seats in the Assembly he could not cut off his relations from the Muslim nation Every Muslim in India today looked down upon the Premier of the Punjab with contempt for his behaviour towards the Muslim National Organisations in his province, he said

In conclusion the Bengal Premier declared that he was very much pleased to find that the Sikhs in the Punjab were also fighting with the Musalmans for civil liberties He paid a glowing tribute to the spirit of tolerance and gallantry shown by the Sikhs and said that he expected them to support the Musalmans in the Punjab in forming a popular Ministry

GANDHI'S STAY IN BENGAL

Asked by the audience why was Mr Gandhi allowed to stay in Bengal so long, the Bengal Premier said that Mr Gandhi's presence in Bengal was bound to incur the displeasure of the Musalmans, but he expected that within a few days "the inner voice" of Mr Gandhi would bid him to go to Bihar and see what his own nation had done to the members of the minority community in that province Mr Suhrawardy also

disclosed that he had several times requested Mr Gandhi to go to Bihar and the latter had always evaded the issue But if and when Mr Gandhi visited Bihar, said the Bengal Premier, he would be ashamed of the atrocities perpetrated on Muslims there

A resolution supporting the heroic struggle of the Punjab Muslims was also passed in the meeting and demanding the British Cabinet to restore civil liberties in the province and to release all the Muslim leaders arrested in connection with the movement

Mr Anis Hashmi, former General Secretary of Delhi Provincial Muslim League, while supporting the resolution gave a background of the Punjab Muslim League's Civil Disobedience Movement He thought that the restrictions were imposed upon civil liberties in the Punjab under a well-thought-out plan of the British Government

[1]*Dawn*, 19 February 1947

VII.64

LAHORE MUSLIM EDITORS ON GOVERNMENT'S GAGGING ORDERS[1]

The Editors of the Muslim papers of Lahore on Monday issued the following joint statement

"The Punjab Government issued its first gag Order on Jan 28, directing newspapers not to publish any material except that supplied by the Government regarding the progress of the movement After 10 days, a fresh Order was issued directing us not to print or publish any comment (including headlines), any statement or report which was not official, any correspondence, articles, photograph, cartoon or drawing concerned with or bearing on the agitation This was to lapse on Feb 16, but on the evening of Feb 15 a fresh Order was served with the result that the gag Order which was originally intended to remain in force for 10 days only will now be effective for a full month

"The allegation made in the latest Order that we have continued to publish matter connected with the agitation is entirely false Since the serving of the original Order, we have not published a single line in our columns regarding the movement On the other hand, as a mark of protest, we have not carried the communiques in our columns

OFFICIAL CLAIMS

"We fail to understand the urgency of renewing the gag, in view of

the Government version regarding the progress of the movement The communique of Jan 31 said that reports received from all parts of the province indicated that the policy of the Government had proved useful, and that the situation had taken a definite turn towards improvement On Feb 1, the communique said the situation throughout the province was showing definite signs of improvement The communique on the following day claimed that the situation throughout the province had improved Similarly, on Feb 3 it was claimed that the situation was steadily improving, on Feb 4 it was stated that the agitation, though intensive in one or two towns, was definitely not extensive and lacked cohesion

"We hope the Government expects the people to believe their version of events In view of their assurances that the situation began improving from Jan 31, and continued to do so, we fail to understand the justification for the continued extension of gag Orders by the Punjab Government

COMMUNAL PEACE

"The Government cannot deny that the Muslim press has played its full role in protecting communal peace in the province in difficult times In spite of all this, if the Government is bent upon gagging the press by imposing insulting restrictions, we cannot refrain from concluding that an unrepresentative and unpopular Government is out to punish the press under the pretext of preserving communal harmony

"In these circumstances, there is only one honourable course open to us, and that is to stick to our previous decision not to submit to the humiliating and insulting Order of the Governrment regarding precensorship of material bearing on the movement We also stand by our previous decision not to publish the Government communiques to continue our boycott of Government Press Conferences, and to blackout from our columns all activities of the Provincial Government The entire responsibility for this decision of ours lies with the unreasonable attitude of the Government"

Akhtarali Khan (*Zamindar*), Noor Ilahi (*Ehsan*), Abdul Hamid (*Eastern Times*), Faiz Ahmed Faiz (*Pakistan Times*), Hamid Nizami (*Nawa-i-Waqt*)

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 19 February 1947

VII.65

PUNJAB SAFETY ORDINANCE AMENDED[1]

The Governor of the Punjab issued an Ordinance today to amend the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, so as to empower the Provincial Government to detain any person arrested by or on its direction

It will be recalled that during the hearing of the habeas corpus petition against the detention of Dr Omar Hayat Malik, Principal of the Lahore Islamia College, at the Lahore High Court, the petitioner's counsel questioned the validity of the detention of Dr Malik on the ground that the Governor had no power to detain a person arrested on warrants issued by the Governor Judgement in that case is still pending

The amending Ordinance has been issued in order to validate the detention of Dr Malik and other League leaders arrested under Section 3 of the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance and to remove the lacuna from the original Ordinance

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 February 1947

VII.66

JINNAH'S ADVICE SOUGHT IN PUNJAB COMPROMISE TALKS [1]
Maulana Ghaznavi Flies To Karachi

"Wait till I return to Lahore from Karachi," said Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi to a representative of the *Pakistan Times*, as he stepped into the Karachi plane on Sunday morning

Maulana Ghaznavi left for Karachi to meet Mr Jinnah He is expected in Lahore on Monday evening

In reply to a question regarding the prospects of a settlement, Maulana Ghaznavi added "Rest assured, the peace if it comes will be honourable "

The Acting President's trip to the Quaid-i-Azam was the sequel to the two days deliberations of the League Committee of Action in Kasur Jail regarding the terms of the peace offer made by the Punjab Government Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi is the only non-*detenu* in the Committee

[1]*Pakistan Times* 25 February 1947

VII.67

JINNAH'S LETTER TO JAILED LEAGUE LEADERS[1]
Maulana Ghaznavi As Courier

"Our demands are just and democratic No Government worth anything can turn them down I do hope the Punjab Government will make it possible for all parties to carry on their normal political activities"

This brief comment was given to a *Pakistan Times* reporter by Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi on his return to Lahore from Kasur on Monday afternoon

The Maulana who had flown to Karachi on Sunday reached Lahore at 3 p m on Monday, carrying with him a three-paged typed letter from the Quaid-i-Azam addressed to the Khan of Mamdot

He immediately left for Kasur and, at 5 p m , was admitted to the sub-jail where the members of the Committee of Action now under detention awaited him

The Maulana left the jail at 6-15 p m , and motored back to Lahore

An official of the Punjab Government will visit Kasur on Tuesday, when the League leaders are expected to inform him of their decision

According to well-informed circles, there is a 50-50 chance of a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the Government and the League which completed its 31st day on Monday

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

VII.68

JINNAH OUTLINES JUST SETTLEMENT IN PUNJAB DISPUTE[1]
Only Point at Issue is Submission of Ordinance to Assembly
Government's Duty

KARACHI, Feb 24 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, who had discussions to-day with Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim League, on the Punjab situation, last night outlined the scope of a settlement "honourable to both sides—the Punjab Government and the Muslim League," in an interview to the Associated Press of India

Mr Jinnah said he wanted to make it clear that the League had no

intention or motive of scoring any point in the matter of the settlement

Asked whether the Maulana came to consult him on behalf of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League, with whom the Punjab Government are negotiating a settlement, Mr Jinnah said "Yes, he reported to me fully what the position was, and I gather that there were four points—(a) the ban on public meetings should be removed, (b) the ban on processions should be removed, (c) the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance should be placed before the Punjab Legislative Assembly at its next session, with modifications, if any, for the Assembly to consider and take such decisions as it should determine, and (d) all those who, since the movement started, were arrested, imprisoned, convicted, or detained should be released

"I understand that the Punjab League leaders are not insisting on the ban on processions being removed immediately, as a compromise, although they are of the opinion that this is the right of the people which should not be interfered with, and I agree with this view

"There remain therefore the other three points and I understand the Punjab Government are willing to remove the ban on meetings and release all those referred to in point (d), namely all those arrested, imprisoned, convicted or detained since this movement started should be released

"The only question that now remains is the placing of the Public Safety Ordinance before the Legislative Assembly This has been done by other provinces, and it is therefore in consonance with constitutional precedents and the duty of any popular constitutional Government, because the Ordinance was enacted as an emergency measure, as the Legislature was not in session

"It is the duty of any Government that is based on democracy and constitutional precedents that it should place an Ordinance enacted as an emergency measure at the first and earliest moment before the Legislature I hope that the Governor of the Punjab and the Ministry will realize that the Muslim League cannot acquiesce in or agree to the Ordinance continuing, ignoring the Legislature, which is going to meet shortly

"I hope that they will appreciate our insistence on the course suggested by us to be adopted, and not to be affected by any question of prestige or any other consideration, but agree to act as a constitutional, popular, democratic Government This will, in my judgement, enhance their prestige"

In conclusion Mr Jinnah said he wanted to make it clear that the

League had no intention or motive of scoring any point in the settlement What we had said, he felt, was nothing but absolutely just, fair and honourable for both the parties to accept —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

VII.69

FIRST ROUND[1]

We have not yet received the details of the settlement between the Punjab Government and Muslim leaders in the Punjab We understand, however, that the Punjab Government has yielded all along the line and all the demands contained in the statement issued by the Quaid-i-Azam from Karachi have been accepted As we write, the grimy jails of Punjab are probably yielding up their precious hoard, public meetings are no longer banned and the obnoxious Public Safety Ordinance will now have to go through its ordeal of fire in the Punjab Assembly Since we are not in possession of the final terms of settlement and their aftermath, we are not yet in a position to analyse and review the happenings of the last few days in any detail Three things, however, stand out The first thing is that Muslims in the Punjab have fought a great fight and won a magnificent victory During this struggle they have given proof of complete solidarity, unflinching loyalty to their leaders, uniform courage, steady moral and unfailing good humour, in short, of all the qualities that win great battles They have laid to rest for ever slander, sedulously fostered by some quarters, that the spirit of sacrifice resides in homespun *khadi* alone and the flag of freedom has been indelibly dyed in a fixed trinity of colours The slander could only be repudiated by action and it has been repudiated, we hope, for good The second thing is that the present movement in spite of its magnitude and intensity has remained perfectly peaceful and has not been tainted at any stage with communal bitterness Muslim masses in the Punjab have never been aroused to the same pitch of emotional fervour ever before and no political agitation has ever affected the number and classes of Muslims comparable to those who participated in this movement In spite of it all and in spite of the attempts made to bedevil communal relations the Muslims have conducted themselves not only with restraint but with obvious cordiality towards the members of other communities There could be

no better guarantee of Muslim goodwill towards the minorities in Muslim areas The Quaid-i-Azam said the other day that the Muslims "will be generous to all whatever the Hindus do" Muslims in the Punjab have demonstrated the truth of these words The third thing is that we have fought and won, however valuable the victory, the first, not the last round We have won back the elementary civil liberties which every citizen of a civilized state is entitled to We have still to win for the Muslims in our land the right to live as free men in a free land We have still to procure for them, that is for ourselves, the rightful share of laughter and sunlight and joyous living after untold years of misery and unhappiness and degradation Let us lift up our hearts for the goal is near at hand

Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947

VII.70

IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF JAILED LEADERS[1]

On the 33rd day of the Muslim League's movement for the restoration of civil liberties in the province, the Punjab Government on Tuesday yielded to the League's demands as adumbrated in the statement issued by Mr M A Jinnah from Karachi, and reported in yesterday's *Pakistan Times*

This development followed a meeting at the Government House, Lahore, between the Punjab Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins, the Inspector-General of Police, Sir John Bennet, the Home Secretary, Mr A A MacDonald and the Deputy Inspector-General of Police (C I D), Mr Jenkin

The Home Secretary, in an interview at midnight with a representative of the *Pakistan Times*, said "It will be some little time before all the League leaders and workers are released from jail The essential procedure in this connection will have to be gone through, but will be put in hand immediately "

There was a heavy load on the telephone lines between Kasur and Lahore till long after midnight The Home Secretary sat at his dinner-table with the telephone at his elbow When the reporters were ushered in after 11 p m , they saw him still eating his cold fish, with one eye on the telephone

Answering questions Mr MacDonald said that the settlement had

been arrived at, but that it would be some time before he would be able to release the Government communique to the press

Inquiries made at Kasur after midnight revealed that the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, who acted as the Government's emissary to the League leaders left Kasur Jail at 11-45 p m At 1 a m Mr MacDonald in Lahore, in reply to a query, said that he was still looking forward to the arrival of the intermediary

In the meantime scores of people visited the office of the *Pakistan Times*, or made anxious inquiries on the telephone

The following four points formed the basis of League demands to the Punjab Government (a) The ban on public meetings should be removed, (b) the ban on processions should be removed, (c) the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance should be placed before the Punjab Legislative Assembly at its next session, with modifications, if any, for the Assembly to consider and take such decisions as it should determine, and (d) all those who, since the movement started, were arrested, imprisoned, convicted, or detained, should be released

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947

VII.71

GOVERNMENT STATEMENT LEAGUE CALLS OFF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE[1]

The Punjab Premier, Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, has released the following statement to the press

"The Punjab Government have been accused of restricting the political activities of their opponents, and of using the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, in order to keep their opponents out of the way during the Budget Session

"It has never been the intention of my colleagues and myself to restrict political activities to an extent not justified by the communal situation, and we are particularly anxious that the opposition should be given the fullest opportunity of taking part in the deliberations of the House in a week's time Moreover, the announcement made by His Majesty's Government on February 20,[2] creates an entirely new situation, in which the leaders of all parties and communities must be in a position to confer with one another and to decide how the Punjab should face the future

"Keeping in view these objects, and also our responsibility to members of all communities for the maintenance of public order, we have decided to go as far as we can to make it possible for the Opposition to resume constitutional methods

"We cannot safely remove all measures which might be interpreted as restrictive For example, we cannot relax the existing restrictions on military drill or on the carrying of arms We have carefully considered permitting processions where they are now prohibited, and have come to the conclusion that for the present the prohibition must be maintained unless the District Magistrate considers it no longer necessary

"But we decided to permit meetings in all places where they are now prohibited It will be open to District Magistrates immediately or at any time to impose or reimpose restrictions on meetings whenever and wherever the public safety so demands Persons who make speeches likely to inflame communal feelings will be proceeded against

"The Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, was promulgated in view of the acute communal situation of last November, after the disturbances in Calcutta, Eastern Bengal, Bihar and the Western United Provinces, and during the disturbances in the Rohtak District of the Punjab We intend at the Budget Session of the Assembly to consult party leaders, and to bring forward such legislation as may be considered necessary to preserve peace and public order, in place of the present Ordinance

We must remind the members of all communities that the main object of our policy since we took office has been to maintain communal peace We trust that the leaders of all communities will impress upon their followers the need for restraint now that the restrictions on meeting have been removed "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947
No 1 Vol I, Part I

VII.72

LEAGUE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES—A REVIEW[1]

At mid-night on January 28, the Punjab Police swooped upon 12 top-ranking Muslim League leaders in Lahore, herded them together in a police van, brought them to the Lahore Civil Lines Police Station and eventually distributed them at various jails in the Punjab

This dramatic and swift action, reinforced by wholesale application of press gag orders was, in the opinion of the Punjab authorities, sure to "nip the mischief in the bud" and thus enable the bureaucracy-sponsored, Punjab Ministry to face the Budget Session without the disconcerting prospect of weathering the storms of Opposition

For the first few days, at any rate, the Government communiques kept the Punjab Ministers in high spirits, by repeatedly referring to what they said was bound to happen, namely, the "sure fizzling out" of the sporadic movement The steel curtain of censorship made the normal functioning of news agencies an impossibility The special correspondents of the mofussil press were completely paralysed The entry of *Dawn* was banned in the province The Punjab movement was thus knocked out of the news map of India and the world The authorities fondly cherished the hope that the movement thus isolated would inevitably die its natural death, leaving the leaders to languish in the jails till such time as it pleased the bureaucracy and their ministerial satellites to grant them amnesty

MASS DISCONTENT

But the official plans did not take into consideration two fundamental points of the situation, namely the issues for which the leaders courted arrest and the deep discontent of the Muslim masses against the present Ministry As to the issues involved in the struggle, the Committee of Action's statement (which, incidentally, was banned in the press) had thus emphatically stated "The Muslim League as the major party in the province is the proper guardian and protector of the rights and privileges of all the citizens of the Punjab," and as such had decided to "challenge effectively the methods and motives of the present unpopular Ministry "

This gave new confidence to an average Muslim youth who thought and rightly so that he was not only fighting his own battle but was doing so in the interest of the minorities as well The result was therefore, that Muslim Leaguers took extra care not to provoke the minorities as well On the other hand they tried to win the support of the non-Muslims for "our non-violent and non-communal struggle against our common oppressor "

As days passed by, Muslim masses began to realise as to what had happened The district leaders and such universally respected leaders, as the Hazrat Pir Sahib Sial Sharif, stirred The Government got nervous and quickly brought them under arrest In a few days time the entire leadership of the Punjab Muslims was thrown behind bars

CHALLENGE TAKEN UP

The Muslim masses took up the challenge The students bestirred themselves The exigencies of the situation threw up new leadership of which the underground wing worked miracles The Muslim women joined the battle front in their thousands From high class aristocratic Muslim women down to the unsophisticated village peasant women all responded to the call of their *Millat* in a manner that formed a glorious chapter in the book of the people's struggle under difficult circumstances

The mass Civil Disobedience Movement spread to all parts of the province Peaceful processions and huge meetings in defiance of the Ordinance became the order of the day in every nook and corner of the Punjab

The authorities quickly reacted to the upsurge by resorting to *lathi*-charges, tear-gassing and even firing on orderly but resolute crowds Simla was the first to give the first martyr of the movement Gujrat, Jullundur, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, Ambala and Ludhiana later were added to the honours list In Lahore a Muslim youth fell a victim to ill-conceived communal madness But all these tragic incidents failed to deflect the Punjab Muslims from the path of non-violent and non-communal struggle for winning all the people of the province their cherished civil liberties

The result was that the movement began to grow from strength to strength Never before in the history of the political Punjab did a mass movement create such impression on the popular mind as the recent League movement did The traditions of Hijrat and Khilafat Movements of 1921 were revived with this vital difference that Muslims then were fighting against the British Imperialism for the continued existence of Caliphate outside their own country, this time they were fighting against an unpopular Ministry for the people's right and privileges in their own province

FINALE

With the rising tempo of the League movement, the Government began to realise that their plans had misfired Force did not avail Oppression failed to create any visible impression on the dauntless people This left the Ministry with the only choice of winning its objective by negotiating peace with those whom they had hoped to bring down on their knees

On February 24 as a procession of over two lakh strong marched towards the Mall from Mochi Gate the officials shared with each other their anxiety to "patch up with the Leaguers" The peace negotiations,

which had opened in Lahore between Khwaja Nazimuddin and the Punjab Governor at the latter's invitation, and at one stage seemed to be dying, received new fillip The Deputy Inspector-General of Police (C I D) established contact with the League leaders at the Kasur Jail and after hard consultations produced a peace formula which constitutes a great triumph for the League's popular stand in the interest of the civil liberties of all the people of the Punjab

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VII.73

KHIZAR EXPLAINS[1]

The Punjab Premier, the Hon'ble Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, K C S I , has at last condescended to explain to a benighted world the reasons which led him and his Ministry to plunge this peaceful province into ferment and turmoil We are referring to the Punjab Government's apologia regarding the Public Safety Ordinance and the recent happenings in the Punjab Even Unionist brains would be hard put to it to invent a feebler and more inept document The statement makes no reference to the League struggle just concluded, or to the immense force of mass resentment which rocked the province from day-to-day for over a month The statement seems to imply that the Ministry, all of a sudden, and quite independently of external stresses, chose to call off the restrictions on political activity The Government's decision, we are asked to believe, followed from purely abstract principles like the parliamentary rights of the Opposition, etc , it was in the nature of the unpredictable light which afflicts Mr Gandhi at convenient intervals, it was not the wave of popular opinion which swept these repressive restrictions overboard, but a brain wave in some empty Unionist skull We shall not insult the intelligence of our readers by trying to refute this manifest absurdity Let us examine the rest of the statement The burden of Sir Khizar's song is that the Ordinance is, or was, justified and necessary to ensure communal peace and maintain public order Recent events have given the lie to both these claims The Ordinance has been in operation, in theory, throughout the last month, yet it has not enabled the Government to maintain public order in the Government sense The Ordinance has been inoperative, in practice, throughout the month, yet communal

peace has been maintained in spite of frayed tempers and numerous provocations It has been conclusively proved that the Ordinance was not of much help to the Government in maintaining order and the people managed to ensure communal peace not only without the help of the Ordinance but in direct opposition to it Both the Government and the people, therefore, could have done just as well or better if the Ordinance did not exist It should be hardly necessary to remind "a popular democratic and representative" Government that both public order and communal peace are preserved over any long period of time not through repressive legislation and *lathi-raj*, but through the will of the people and their accredited leaders The Punjab has been spared from the horrors of Bihar and Calcutta, not because of the doings of the present Ministry (the very existence of which is a standing provocation to the majority community) but because of the vigilance and restraint of the majority in the province—the Muslims The credit for maintaining communal peace goes indisputably to the Punjab Muslim League, the Muslim National Guards and the Muslim leaders of the province—the very forces which the Ministry attempted to eliminate from public life in the Punjab What the Government hoped to achieve by this folly we do not know Surely they maintain an intelligence organization which is as extensive as it is costly They feed and clothe a collection of individuals under all sorts of fancy names, in their Propaganda Headquarters Did no one acquaint them with the temper of the Muslim people in the province or did they really think that a few stuffed men with a little police "stiffening" could eliminate and entire live community? What the Khizar Ministry intended to achieve, however, is not our concern We know what they actually managed to achieve They have achieved more unpopularity and earned greater ridicule than any Provincial Ministry that we know of They have managed to give the Punjab Muslims greater confidence in themselves, greater unity, and greater loyalty to their cause than they ever had before If the way to heaven were paved with evil intentions, Sir Khizar can be assured of eternal bliss

[1] Editorial *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VII.74

RELEASED MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERS ADDRESSED A MAMMOTH GATHERING AT KASUR[1]

The League's victory in its battle for the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab was due not so much to the leaders as to the masses, said the Khan of Mamdot at a meeting in Kasur after his release from jail

"It was a victory for the common man and the common woman, who have displayed marvellous discipline, courage and solidarity during the last month, when their leaders were behind bars," he said

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan also paid a high tribute both to Muslims and non-Muslims for remaining peaceful and non-communal during the fight and made particular mention of the heroic part played by Muslim women

Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot addressed a public meeting at Kasur after his release from jail The *Maidan* where the meeting took place was packed with a vast number of enthusiastic spectators

Eight members of the League Committee of Action, released in the afternoon, were given a tremendous ovation as they emerged out from the jail gates

Sir Shahab-ud-Din, former Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, was among those who received the League leaders

Addressing the mammoth gathering, the Khan of Mamdot traced the events leading to the Muslim League decision to launch a struggle for the civic rights of the people of the Punjab, and said, "The noble and splendid role of our women and students in this non-communal struggle fills our hearts with pride "

The Punjab Muslims had established that they could keep their heads cool in even the most provocative situation They realised their duty towards the minorities and were capable of discharging them Without any direction from the leaders who were thrown into jail, the magnificent mass movement of the Muslims did not deflect for a moment from the path of non-violence and non-communalism

He revealed, amidst thunderous shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar* that the Quaid-i-Azam, in a three-paged sealed letter to him, had said that he was proud of the Punjab

Concluding, the Khan of Mamdot appealed to every able-bodied Muslim youth to enroll himself as a Muslim National Guard for the final national struggle and the protection of the minorities

Speaking next, Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din congratulated the

Muslims on preserving an atmosphere of communal harmony during the difficult days of their struggle He specially thanked the Scheduled Caste Sikhs for their active support

The citizens of Kasur presented the Khan of Mamdot with a garland of currency notes which he donated to the city's League branch

Haji Rab Nawaz Khan presided over the meeting

Later in the afternoon, a monster [sic] public meeting held outside the Mochi Gate, was addressed by several League MLAs, including Begum Shah Nawaz and Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain, who drove straight to the meeting after their release from the Lahore Central Jail

Begum Shah Nawaz, who preferred to be called Apa Jahan Ara, said, " We have won the first round in our fight for the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab, but it is no occasion to feel self-complacent or relax our efforts The few months that are ahead are fateful months for the 100 million Muslims of India who will decide whether they will live in India as a free and proud Muslims, who have inherited the noble traditions of Islam, or as serfs of another sister-nation "

Congratulating the Muslim Punjab on its victory, Begum Salma Tasadduque Hussain said, "Our fight was not on any sectarian issue Rather it was a fight on an issue that affected the fundamental liberties of Muslims and non-Muslims alike "

Major Khurshid Anwer, Chief Organiser of the All India Muslim League National Guards, appealed to the Muslim to enlist themselves as National Guards in even greater numbers

Among those present were Major Ashiq Hussain, MLA, Malik Wazir Mohammad, MLA, Mian Bashir Ahmed, MLA, Ch Mohammad Hussain, MLA, Raja Akbar, MLA, Pir Buddan Shah, MLA, Mian Allah Yar Daultana, MLA (Chief Whip of the Muslim League Assembly party), Sufi Abdul Hamid, MLA, Ch Zafar Ullah Khan, MLA, Rana Nasar Ullah Khan, MLA, Mir Mohammad Abdullah Khan, MLA, Mian Mohammad Hussain Chattha, MLA, Mian Nur Ullah, MLA, Prof Inayat Ullah, Ch Abdul Karim, Sardar Latif Afghani (Chief Officer, All India National Guards), Abu Said Anwer (Editor, *Pakistan Weekly*), Agha Mohammad Salim, ex-Inspector of Police, Ch Jalal Din (a Lahore Councillor), Begum Fatima (a Councillor), Mian Mohammad Sharif (Councillor and Honorary Magistrate), and Sardar Zafar Ullah

[1]*Pakistan Times* 28 February 1947

VII.75

GHAZANFAR GREETS PUNJAB PROVINCE[1]

NEW DELHI, Feb 26 "I heartily congratulate the Punjab on its heroic success in wresting their civil rights and liberties from unwilling hands I extend this congratulation not only to the Punjab Muslims, who have formed the vanguard of the fight for popular rights, but also to all the other communities who will all benefit from the democratic rights which have been secured for the people," says Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Member, Interim Government in a statement

Mr Ghazanfar Ali says

"That a mass movement of such magnitude as the Punjab has witnessed for more than a month past remained peaceful, disciplined and non-communal to this extent, is most creditable both to Muslims and non-Muslims Although the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab refused to join the conflict, yet a number of Sikhs and representatives of the Scheduled Castes actually joined the movement, and courted arrests along with their Muslim fellow-citizens

"Nobody who has watched the progress of this movement during the past month can overlook the heroic part played in it by Muslim women, who in accordance with the early tradition of Islam, fought the battle of liberty alongside their menfolk and willingly faced *lathis* and tear-gas

"Muslim students have for several years been in the vanguard of the Muslim nationalist movement, which is represented by the Muslim League They played their part most creditably in this movement and organised themselves into a disciplined and efficient unofficial volunteer corps of the Muslim League

"That the entire Muslim nation in the Punjab rose as a politically conscious and disciplined force to carry to a successful end the movement started by the Muslim League leaders is quite apparent, even from the gross understatements, which the Punjab Government attempted to make in its daily official bulletins

"For the first time in the history of the Punjab or perhaps India, the rural population has taken a conscious and positive part in a political movement on such vast scale"

"I have no doubt that a responsible Organisation like the Punjab Muslim League will continue its efforts to maintain inter-communal peace Members and supporters of the League should celebrate their victory in a spirit of humility and thankfulness to God"—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VII.76

HOME SECRETARY ORDERS RELEASE OF 2,000 LEAGUERS[1]

Following the League-Government settlement in Lahore on Wednesday, the Home Secretary, Mr A A MacDonald, issued orders the same day for the release of about 2,000 League prisoners under detention in various jails The orders were telegraphically conveyed to all the District Magistrates in the Punjab

The following were released on Wednesday afternoon

Female Jail Lahore Begum Shah Nawaz, MLA, Fatima Raja Abdul Aziz Khan of Mamdot, Begum Tasadduque Hussain, MLA, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Begum Karim Dad, Miss Nasira Siddique, Professor Miss Zainab Siddiqui, Miss Iqbal Rathore, Miss Nusrat, Miss Mahmooda Niaz, Miss Mukhtar Majid, Miss Salma Jan and Miss Husan Ara Hafizullah

Kasur Jail Nawab Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, MLA, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, MLA, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, MLA, Sheikh Karamat Ali, MLA, Mian Abdul Bari, Maulvi Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din and Mian Iftikharuddin, MLA

Central Jail Lahore Major Ashiq Hussain, MLA, Mian Allah Yar Khan Daultana, MLA, Chaudhary Akram Ali, MLA, Chaudhary Mohammad Hasan, MLA, Sardar Mohammad Hussain, MLA, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, MLA, Amir Mohammad Abdullah Khan Piplanwala, MLA, Sufi Abdul Hamid, MLA, Mian Mohammad Sharif of Ichhra and Mian Bashir Ahmed, MLA Twelve Scheduled Caste Sikhs (list incomplete)

Ferozpore Jail As many as 275 prisoners were released, amongst them were Sheikh Fazal Haq Piracha, MLA, Maulana Abdussattar Khan Niazy, MLA, Dr Abdul Waheed, Chaudhary Aziz-ud-din, MLA, Allama Allaudin Siddiqui and Mr Yasub-ul-Hasan (list incomplete)

[1] *Pakistan Times* 28 February 1947

VII.77

THANKS-GIVING DAY TO-DAY[1]

The Khan of Mamdot, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League,

announces that Friday, Feb 28, will be observed as Thanks-giving Day Musalmans are requested to assemble in mosques and offer thanks-giving prayers in humble gratitude to the Almighty for crowning our efforts with success

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VII.78

LEAGUE VICTORY DAY[1]

The Muslim League Victory Day will be celebrated throughout the Punjab on Sunday, March 2

The Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League, has sent instructions to all the League Committees in the province to celebrate the day by holding mass meetings and by illuminating Muslim houses and Muslim national institutions

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VII.79

LIAQUAT ALI CONGRATULATES PUNJAB MUSALMANS[1]

NEW DELHI, Feb 28 Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League, sent the following telegram to Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan, President, Punjab Provincial Muslim League, on the successful termination of the struggle of the Punjab

"I congratulate the Musalmans of the Punjab on their courage, fortitude, discipline and sacrifice in their successful struggle for the restoration of civil liberties Muslim India is proud of the heroic and noble part which Muslim women have played in the struggle The Muslim youth acquitted themselves with honour and proved that the future of Muslim Punjab will be safe in their hands Pakistan *Zindabad* "—OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VII.80

ROUSING RECEPTION FOR RELEASED MUSLIM WOMEN LEADERS[1]

A tumultuous reception was accorded to Begum Shah Nawaz, MLA, Begum Tasadduque Hussain, MLA, Begum Fatima, Miss Zainab Siddiqui and other women released from jail, at a big public meeting of Muslim women in the Circular Gardens outside Town Hall, Lahore on Thursday

Begum Shah Nawaz, in the course of a forceful speech, reiterated the determination to "fight shoulder to shoulder with our men for a just and democratic settlement of the Indian problem " She said the month-old League movement in the Punjab had proved that Muslim women were capable of facing all kinds of ordeals for the sake of their cherished ideals

She paid a warm tribute to the purdah-women who cheerfully faced *lathi*-charges and tear-gas operations She condemned the "brutal and unprovoked" police firing on a mixed procession in Ambala in which two women were killed besides a large number of men She called upon the Punjab Government to institute an independent and judicial inquiry into the conduct of those who ordered the police to open fire on a peaceful procession

Begum Tasadduque Hussain and Begum Fatima also spoke

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VII.81

LEAGUE LEADERS SALUTE THE MUSLIMS OF THE PUNJAB[1]

LAHORE, Feb 27 The first meeting of the Committee of Action of the Punjab Muslim League, after the release of its members, was held this evening at Mamdot Villa, with the Khan of Mamdot presiding

The Committee passed the following resolution on their 34-days agitation in the Punjab

"The Committee of Action of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League congratulates the Muslims of Punjab, at the magnificent and heroic manner in which, for over a month, they have continued a historic struggle against the forces of repression and darkness, and on their

achievement of victory, which has shattered tyranny to its roots and added a golden page to the record of our national history

"The wonderful enthusiasm, the undaunted spirit of sacrifice, the unmatched discipline and restraint in the face of the provocation and savage bureaucratic repression, the clearest perception of the issue involved and the fullest consciousness of their role as natural guardians of the civil liberties and well-being of every citizen of the Punjab displayed by our people during the days of this struggle have outshone anything in India's long history of struggle, and proved once for all the vigour, determination and ripeness of the Muslims of the Punjab for the task imposed upon them by history to vindicate and achieve their goal of Pakistan

GLORIOUS PAST

"In the name of our glorious past, we salute the Muslims of the Punjab who , by their sweat and blood, have opened the vistas of the future and have given final proof to their Quaid-i-Azam of their consecration to Pakistan, and of their complete and confident preparedness for all sacrifices that lie along the march to victory

"Our people have led this movement They have produced a new leadership faster than their enemies could hustle and clap their leaders into jail They have shown how God will guide those who place their final and only trust in Him and how He will show the way to victory when none seems left to lead His people

"Above all, we are proud of Muslim womanhood of the Punjab who have led the vanguard of our movement and whose heroism and courage will remain an abiding inspiration to all the Muslims of India Cowardice cannot breed in, and defeat cannot darken the hearts over which such heroines preside

"To the students and the youth, we must once again turn with pride and thankfulness for another battle won, for another bastion taken

"Finally, in reverence and with the deepest emotion, we pay homage to those great souls who have laid down their lives in the cause of Islam They are the beacons that light the path of Pakistan, for they have died that we may live Their debt the nation shall never forget

"Today the Muslims of the Punjab face their future with assurance Much has been achieved, much remains to be done, but a new courage inspires our hearts, and a new confidence points to us the heritage that is ours to win "

The Committee also passed a condolence resolution on the death of Shaikh Mohd Ameen

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VII.82

42 LEAGUERS FREED AT AMRITSAR[1]

AMRITSAR, Feb 27 Forty-two Muslim League workers, including Maulvi Siraj Din Paul, Senior Vice-President of the local League, his brother, Chaudri Zahur Din Paul, his son Mr Zakiud Din Paul, Mian Allah Ditta, hides merchant, Mir Anwar Saeed Mahmood, General Secretary of the local Muslim League, Malik Ghulam Nabi and others, who were lodged in the local sub-jail, were released last evening at 6 p m

The local leaders were welcomed at the jail-gate and were taken to the city in a huge procession

They were accorded a reception at a public meeting in Bazaar Tokarian, presided over by Hakim Nazir Ahmed The speakers, including Mir Anwar Saeed Mahmood and Malik Ghulam Nabi, exhorted the Muslims to remain united in order to achieve Pakistan They also paid a tribute to the disciplined manner in which Muslim masses had remained during their struggle for civil liberties

All the released leaders will be formally welcomed in a public meeting to be held in Khair Din's Mosque tomorrow (Friday)

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VII.83

LEAGUE *DETENUS* IN GUJRAT JAIL RELEASED[1]

GUJRAT, Feb 27 From the Gujrat Jail, 303 Muslim League prisoners were released on Wednesday night The authorities at first refused to release 29 people convicted under the Railways Act But other League prisoners refused to move out until they were released Eventually the authorities agreed to release them

Among those released were Mian Amiruddin, Mayor of Lahore, Syed Amir Hussain Shah, Sardar Rashid Ahmed, Sardar Abdul Ghafoor, Sheikh Chiragh Ali, Haji Mohammad Din, Jehan Khan, MLA, Bahawal Bakhsh, MLA, Mian Ghulam Rasul, MLA, Chaudhry Fazal Ilahi, MLA, Chaudhry Mehdi Ali Khan and Sheikh Mohammad Hussain

[1]*Pakistan Times* 1 March 1947

VII.84

LEAGUE *DETENUS* RELEASED IN MULTAN[1]

MULTAN, Feb 28 A number of Muslim League leaders who were arrested in connection with the Muslim League agitation in the province, were released on Wednesday evening from the new Central Jail Notable among them are Makhdum *Alhaj* Syed Sher Shah Gilani, MLA (Central), Syed Ali Hussain Gardezi, Wilayat Hussain Gilani, MLA, Maulvi Mahbub Ahmed, Editor of *Hamdard* —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1947

VII.85

MAMDOT'S APPEAL TO MUSLIMS OF THE PUNJAB[1]
10 Lakh War-Chest to be Raised

The Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, has issued the following appeal to the Muslims of the Punjab

"By the grace and will of Almighty God, the struggle of the Punjab League for civil liberties has been crowned with success The part which every Muslim, man and woman, has played in this movement is unparalleled in the political annals of the province The spirit of the Punjabi Muslims proves beyond all doubt that if they maintain their activities with the same fervour, discipline and sacrifice, the attainment of Pakistan becomes an absolute certainty

"Let it be remembered, however, that this was only the first step towards our goal We have yet far to go, and a mighty struggle awaits us We must therefore continue our activities with even greater devotion Continued struggle, patience and determination are necessary for the achievement of any great objective, so they are for the success of our great cause

"It is hardly necessary to mention that, to organise the Muslim nation properly, to enable ourselves to march forward in every phase of our national life, to carry on the struggle for Pakistan, funds are needed on a large scale

"Therefore, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League appeals to every Muslim, man, woman and child to help in building up a fund of at least 10 lakh within a month

"Detailed instructions in regard to this matter are being sent to all District and City Leagues People wishing to send their donations direct will please send them to the Australasia Bank, Masjid Shah Charagh, Lahore, and at the same time inform the Financial Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, Mcleod Road, Lahore "

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1947

VII.86

LEAGUE MUST HAVE CLEAR FIELD[1]

Resignation of Punjab Ministry Follows From H M G 's Announcement

Announcing the resignation of his Government, the Premier of the Punjab said "His Majesty's Government has made it imperative that parties in the province must be brought face to face with stark realities and must come to grips direct with the problems of the country

"It is now incumbent on me to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to such arrangement, *vis-a-vis* the other parties, as it might consider best in the interests of the Muslims and the province

"If I were now to continue to lead a coalition in which the Muslim League is not represented, this might put in serious jeopardy such chances as might otherwise exist of a settlement being arrived at between the communities in the province "

FACED WITH REALITY

The Premier added "The basic fact in the situation is that the province has been suddenly confronted with the main constitutional problem, and in conformity with the policy to which I have throughout adhered, the responsibility for dealing with this problem on behalf of the Muslims must continue to vest in the Muslim majority party

"In the course of my statement issued on February 26, I said that His Majesty's Government's announcement of February 20,[2] had created an entirely new situation in which the leaders of all parties in the Punjab must decide how the province should face the future I have since given most anxious consideration to the situation with which the country is now faced and, after mature deliberation, have arrived at certain conclusions which I take this opportunity of making public

"Last year when, on the invitation of His Excellency the Governor, I took upon myself the responsibility of forming a Coalition Government, I

was convinced that the best interest of the province and of all parties would be served by the administration being run by a non-communal party or coalition

"As regards the constitutional evolution of the country, each party in the coalition was left free to pursue its own line On my part, I made it clear that my Muslim colleagues in the Legislature and myself fully supported the Muslim demands I am as thoroughly convinced to-day as I was then that for the purpose of securing a sound provincial administration the best arrangement is a non-communal party or coalition The risks attendant upon the adoption of any other course are too obvious to be stressed

"On this basis, I have endeavoured to maintain a distinction between the provincial and administrative problems and those that were central and constitutional So long as this line could be maintained, I had hoped that the coalition, in addition to running the provincial administration on a satisfactory basis, might also serve as a bridge to make a communal settlement possible Arrangements in the Punjab might have served as an example elsewhere

"It must, however, be confessed with sorrow that the gulf that, unfortunately divides the communities is as wide today as it was last year It might, nevertheless have been possible for the coalition to continue to bridge it and to function satisfactorily on the basis on which it was formed, but H M G's latest pronouncement has obliterated the boundaries between the provincial and central spheres and constitutional and administrative problems and has thereby destroyed that very basis itself

"H M G have declared their solemn resolve to start immediately the process of transferring the balance of political power into Indian hands and to complete it by June, 1948 To meet the contingency of H M G finding [*sic*] it necessary in the case of the Punjab to transfer responsibility to a provincial administration, it is only fair that all political parties in the province should have a chance of evolving between them an administration which should be ready to receive sovereign power from H M G as soon as the process of transfer commences

"If I were now to continue to lead a coalition in which the Muslim League is not represented, this might put in serious jeopardy such chances as might otherwise exist of a settlement being arrived at between the communities in the province

"The basic fact in the situation is that the province has been suddenly confronted with the main constitutional problem and, in conformity with the policy to which I have throughout adhered, the responsibility for dealing with this problem on behalf of the Muslims must continue to vest in the Muslim majority party

"H M G 's announcement has made it imperative that parties in the province must be brought face to face with stark realities and must come to grips direct with the problems that confront the country It is now incumbent on me to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to such arrangement, *vis-a-vis* the other parties as it might consider best in the interests of the Muslims and the province

"I have, therefore, submitted to His Excellency the Governor, the resignation of my Government It is needless to add that I and my Muslim colleagues will continue to support the Muslim demand for self-determination In view of the step that I have taken, it is needless for me to stress that I shall be ever ready to promote the cause of communal harmony and the chances of communal settlement in the province as far as it might be within my power, and shall not grudge any sacrifice that might help to achieve this much-to-be-desired consummation "

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947
[2] No 1, Vol I, Part I

VII.87

MAMDOT ELECTED LEADER OF LEAGUE PARTY[1]

At a meeting of the Punjab Muslim League Assembly party held in the Committee Room of the Punjab Assembly Chamber on Monday, the Khan of Mamdot was unanimously elected Leader of the party His name was proposed by Malik Firoz Khan Noon

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mian Mohammad Noorullah were elected Deputy Leader and Secretary of the party, respectively Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member, Government of India, addressed the meeting

[1] *Pakistan Times* 4 March 1947

VII.88

PUNJAB CABINET RESIGNS DRAMATIC CULMINATION OF LEAGUE'S STRUGGLE[1]

The Punjab Muslim League's 34-day Civil Disobedience Movement,

which was called off last Thursday, following the League-Government settlement, culminated shortly before midnight on Sunday in the resignation of the Punjab Coalition Ministry, headed by Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana

In a statement Sir Khizar said that the situation had been changed by the action of the British Government and that it was now incumbent on him to leave the field clear to the Muslim League to come to such arrangements with the other parties as it might consider best in the interests of the Punjab

The Khan of Mamdot, who has been unanimously re-elected Leader of the Muslim League Assembly party, with Sardar Shaukat Hayat as Deputy Leader, saw the Governor at noon to discuss the formation of a new Ministry The present Ministers will carry on meanwhile

MAMDOT MEETS GOVERNOR

The telephone at Mamdot Villa, Lahore, rang at 11-50 p m on Sunday The Khan of Mamdot, who had not long returned from a dinner at Mian Allah Yar Daultana's residence, took up the receiver The Punjab Premier, who was at the other end, asked the Punjab League leader to come and see him at his residence in Lahore Cantonment The Khan of Mamdot was on his way to the Premier's residence by midnight

On his return from Sir Khizar's house, the Leader of the League party declined to disclose anything to a *Pakistan Times* reporter, beyond saying that it was for the Premier to take the press and the public into his confidence

It appears that after long and careful deliberation on the issues inherent in the situation following the British Government's statement of February 20,[2] the Premier came to the conclusion that it was now incumbent on him to leave the field clear for the Muslim League to come to some arrangement *vis-a-vis* the other parties

In the meantime, an eminent Muslim of independent views also invited the attention of the Premier to the implication of the situation, and advised him to resign from the Premiership

In the background of the recent League agitation, this letter, followed by personal consultations, led the Premier to make up his mind to make room for the Muslim League The Punjab Premier's closest friend and relation, Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Tiwana, was also in Lahore and the other two Muslim Ministers, Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash and Mian Mohammad Ibrahim Barque, were also consulted

Following these developments, the Budget Session of the Punjab Assembly, which was due to commence in Lahore on Monday, has been postponed until the new Ministry is formed

His Excellency the Governor, it is understood, has asked the Ministers to carry on meanwhile

Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, it is understood, will ask his Muslim followers to support the League Ministry when it is formed

After his interview with the Governor, the Khan of Mamdot said that he intimated to the Governor that he was in a position to form a Ministry and that he would submit the names of his colleagues later on, says an API report

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947
No I, Vol I, Part I

VII.89

QIZILBASH SUPPORTS LEAGUE STAND[1]

Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash, Revenue Minister in the Khizar Cabinet, has issued the following statement to the press

"I and my Muslim colleagues in the Unionist party have consistently maintained that, so far as the constitutional field and the future of the Muslims is concerned, we are in full support of the policy of the majority of the Muslims Our participation in the Coalition has never been suffered to reflect any doubt on that position It was in pursuance of this policy that I refrained from taking part in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly

"H M G 's latest announcement[2] has now suddenly confronted the province with the whole of the constitutional problem, in comparison with which provincial considerations fall into insignificance It is essential that steps must be taken immediately to prepare the province for taking over full power from H M G during the course of the next 15 months It is imperative that in the stages that lie ahead Muslims must work together so that they can make their full contribution towards the solution of the problems with which the province is now faced

"My Unionist Muslim colleagues and I are convinced that the only course open to us at this stage, which can be of real assistance not only to the Muslims but to the whole of the province, is for us to give our full support to the Muslim demand for self-determination "—API

Pakistan Times, 4 March 1947
No I Vol I Part I

VII.90

RECORD LAHORE CROWDS CELEBRATE LEAGUE'S VICTORY DAY[1]

Scheduled Caste Sikh Leaders Pledge to Fight for Pakistan

Sardar Hari Singh Nirbhay, a Scheduled Caste Sikh leader, and Chaudhury Sukh Lal, Deputy Mayor of Lahore, were among those who addressed an unprecedentedly large public meeting outside Mochi Gate, Lahore, on Sunday, in celebration of the Muslim League Victory Day The Khan of Mamdot presided

Sardar Hari Singh, amidst shouts of *Allah-o-Akbar, Sat Siri Akal*, declared that 20 lakh of *Mazhabi* Sikhs would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims for the attainment of Pakistan

Chaudhury Sukh Lal said that *Akhand* Hindustan would prove a graveyard of the minorities, particularly the Untouchables He assured the League leaders of every support in their struggle for the attainment of Pakistan

Mian Iftikharuddin, in a forceful speech, repeated his challenge— originally delivered at Amritsar on Friday—that the Punjab Premier should resign, along with his Unionist colleagues, and let the voters decide the League-Unionist controversy Failing that, the Premier and his two Muslim colleagues in the Cabinet should resign, or, as a third alternative, the Governor should dissolve the Assembly and order fresh elections

"Failing all this," the Mian declared "We shall be left with no alternative but to launch another struggle "

Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member, Government of India, said that the Punjab Muslims were now wide awake, disciplined and ready for action As far as the Muslims were concerned, they would like the British to quit in June 1947 rather than in June 1948

Malik Firoz Khan Noon said that the present League struggle had conclusively proved what the Muslims could do if faced with a national crisis It would be impossible for anybody in the world to force a constitution on the Muslims against their will He paid a warm tribute to the Muslim women of the Punjab for the heroic struggle which they waged, side by side with their menfolk

Begum Shah Nawaz declared that the minorities in the Punjab need have no fear of the Muslims

She said "Our history, our religion and our traditions are the surest guarantee for the protection of the cultural, religious and political rights of the minorities "

Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Sheikh Karamat Ali stressed the need for discipline and solidarity in the League ranks to face the future with confidence

Lahore City wore a gala appearance on Sunday when Muslim localities, bazaars and educational institutions were decorated Muslim League flags fluttered on every shop and house-top Every lane and by-lane was beautifully decorated with green flags and arches were erected at important centres

Over 200,000 enthusiastic spectators filled the spacious *maidan* at Mochi Gate, and overflowed into the lanes, hundreds of them crowding on the balconies and terraces of surrounding buildings

The representatives of the Scheduled Caste Sikhs, who had joined the League movement for the restoration of civil liberties, were enthusiastically received and garlanded as they entered the *pandal*

Earlier in the day, public meetings had been held in many parts of the city The Muslim students held two consecutive meetings, at both of which the Health Member, Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan spoke

There was such terrific congestion on the roads leading to the Mochi Gate that traffic constables were relieved when uniformed National Guards took over from them and began regulating the traffic The *tonga*-drivers who, in their thousands, had decorated their horses and hackneys with League flags, responded cheerfully to the National Guards directions

As the League leaders arrived, the surging crowds gave them a rousing reception Among those who sat on the dais were Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Sardar Haji Jamal Khan Leghari, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Iftikharuddin, Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr Rashid Ali Khan, Chaudhury Abdul Karim and many other MLAs

In the evening Muslim houses, shops and institutions were brilliantly illuminated in honour of the Muslim League Victory Day

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947

VII.91

BAN ON PUBLIC MEETINGS IN LAHORE LIFTED[1]

The District Magistrate, Lahore, in an Order issued on March 1, has lifted the ban on public meetings imposed under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance

The Order says "The ban on public meetings, demonstrations and processions and carrying of arms in public, promulgated on Nov 21, 1946, under Section 12 of the Public Safety Ordinance and further extended till March 15, 1947, shall be relaxed to the extent that it shall no longer concern the holding of public meetings"

The other prohibitions mentioned in the Order shall remain in force — API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947

VII.92

MAKE OVER THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT TO REAL REPRESENTATIVES[1]

Ghazanfar Ali's Advice to Khan Sahib

"I congratulate Malik Khizar Hayat Khan on the step that he has taken and earnestly draw the attention of Dr Khan Sahib, Premier of the N W F P, to his statement", says Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member, Government of India, in a statement

He adds "The two major nations of India are now confronted with the urgent problem of deciding the future shape of India At a juncture like the present, Dr Khan Sahib will be doing a great harm to the Muslim nation if he does not make over the reins of Provincial Government to those who really represent the Muslims In a predominantly Muslim province like the N W F P the present set-up of Provincial Government is all the more incongruous and calls for immediate changes

"Since the last general election in the Frontier Province, Muslim opinion there has become much more emphatic in its support of the Muslim League and its ideals Dr Khan Sahib should not disregard this Division on party lines among Muslims was not so harmful in the Frontier Province in the past, but the British Prime Minister's statement has created a new situation to which every Muslim, irrespective of his party affiliation in the past, should adjust himself in the interests not only of Muslim nation but also in the interest of the peace of India as a whole"

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VII.93

LEAGUE'S VICTORY IN PUNJAB ENCOURAGES STRUGGLE IN FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, March 4 Reports of processions, demonstrations and meetings arranged by the Muslim League, together with the arrests of League leaders and workers, are coming from all over the province

In Peshawar, League volunteers have started picketing the District Courts They hoisted the League flag on the District Magistrate's Court amid League slogans Twenty picketers were arrested

The picketing of courts in Kohat continues, and 53 arrests are reported to have been made

It is learned in Muslim League circles that the resignation of the Punjab Ministry has given a great impetus to the movement in the Frontier, and that the Muslim League will redouble its efforts to dislodge the Frontier Congress Ministry or else force the Khan brothers to join the Muslim League

A Lahore message says that a big meeting of the Muslim students of the Punjab was held there yesterday, and passed the following resolution

"The meeting records its strong abhorrence of the repressive policy of the Frontier Ministry, and congratulates the Frontier Muslim League on its fight for the restoration of civil liberties

"The meeting assures the Frontier Muslims of the whole-hearted support of the Punjab Muslim students "—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VII.94

11 HOUR CURFEW IN LAHORE[1]

League Peace Efforts in the City

Within a week of the conclusion of the Muslim League's non-violent and non-communal struggle for the restoration of civil liberties in the Punjab, a new chapter of communal violence opened in Lahore on Tuesday—at a cost of nine dead and 70 injured

Several times during the course of the day, the police had to open fire on demonstrations staged by the so-called "anti-League Front," brought

into being by a number of Sikh and Hindu leaders In the evening, with troops called out and standing by, the care-taker Punjab Government ordered an 8 p m to 7 a m curfew throughout the Lahore Corporation area

Shortly before midnight, the care-taker Government themselves, headed by Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan, tendered their resignations to His Excellency the Governor The three non-Muslim Ministers, Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, Sardar Swarn Singh and Choudhri Lahri Singh, had resigned earlier in the evening

While the Muslim League leader, Khan of Mamdot, was immersed in negotiations for the formation of a Coalition Government, large crowds of Hindu and Sikh students—led by adult personalities of their respective communities—paraded the streets of Lahore shouting communal and anti-League slogans

The police opened fire for the first time at noon in the Gol Bagh area, after a pitched battle in which the Sikh and Hindu students attacked the police with brick-bats

Later, a communal clash developed at Chowk Matti, in the interior of the walled city, where at 4 p m the police fired to disperse the rioters

SACHAR LEADS

The morning's procession of students was led in person by Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, who at that time was still Finance Minister He told the demonstrators, "you have every right to take out procession, but you must be strictly non-violent in carrying on your political activities"

The *Pakistan Times*, understands that, during the afternoon, the local Congress leaders received urgent instructions from Mr J B Kripalani, forbidding them to continue their programme of organising procession

While these events were proceeding, Allama Ala-ud-Din Siddiqi was deputed by the Punjab Muslim League High Command to make a round of the city on their behalf to appeal to the Musalmans to remain peaceful and calm and not allow themselves to be provoked The Allama made an extensive tour of the city, and everywhere made a fervent appeal to the Muslims to carry out the instructions of their leaders

The Allama's visit and speeches had a very good effect The Muslims inside the Mochi Gate formed squads to protect Hindu and Sikh women and children, and sent them to areas of safety Many such groups, led and guarded by Muslims, were taken from Machhi Hatta

to Hazuri Bagh, Rang Mahal, Railway Station, Misri Shah and other areas

It is understood that Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member, Government of India, visited Lahore on Tuesday, and met Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan and Sardar Swarn Singh

Immediately after his resignation, Malik Sir Khizar Hayat Khan issued the following statement to the Associated Press

"When I tendered the resignation of my Cabinet on March 2, I informed the Governor that my colleagues and I would be prepared to remain in office pending the formation of a new Ministry I have now been informed by my non-Muslim colleagues that they can no longer be responsible for the administration I have therefore been obliged to inform the Governor that the resignation of my Cabinet takes effect forthwith

DEEP GRATITUDE

"Now that I have tendered to His Excellency the resignation of the care-taker Ministry, I wish to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues in the Ministry, to our supporters in the Legislature, and to all those members of the public who supported the Government, for their wholehearted co-operation and unstinted support

"I also wish to express publicly my grateful thanks to the Public Services, all sections of which have given me their loyal co-operation during my 10 years in office in this province The Province can well be proud of its public servants, and I have no doubt they will continue to do their best for the welfare of the Punjab"

A joint statement issued earlier by Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, Sardar Swarn Singh and Choudhri Lahri Singh, reads as follows

"We had agreed to continue with the Premier in his care-taker Government according to the usual convention but the firings and disturbances which occurred in Lahore today, resulting in many casualties have compelled us to tender our resignations to the Premier since we feel that we are no longer in a position to take complete responsibility for the situation"

The Governor of the Punjab issued an order on Tuesday evening under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance imposing pre-censorship on the publication of news and photographs of the communal agitation following the resignation tendered by the Punjab Coalition Ministry The Order will remain in force for a fortnight

DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S REMINDER

The District Magistrate, Lahore, issued an order the same evening, reminding the public that the order prohibiting the carrying of arms in public, issued on November 1946, under the Punjab Public Safety

Ordinance, still remains in force within the Lahore Corporation and Cantonment area

The prohibition, besides arms as defined in the Arms Act, includes the wearing of any arms or other type of steel helmets and the carrying of pick axes, *lathis*, or anything else capable of being used for the purpose of conflict —API

A batch of some thirty Muslim students of the K E Medical College, Lahore rendered medical aid to the people injured in the police firing and *lathi*-charge near Anarkali and Gol Bagh on Tuesday morning

Certain Lahore vernacular newspapers including the *Zamindar*, *Nawa-i-Waqt* and *Ehsan* will not appear on Wednesday, owing to forced suspension of work in their respective presses The printing presses in the area are affected by the communal troubles, and have consequently been closed

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VII.95

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ISMAIL RESIGNS FROM CONGRESS[1]

GUJRANWALA, March 20 Maulana Mohd Ismail, a former member of the Punjab Congress Committee and President, Gujranwala City Congress Committee, has resigned from the Congress

In a letter to the Congress President, the Maulana says, "It is with a clear conscience that I am parting ways with those comrades who have suffered with me in a common cause In view of the steadily growing communal tendencies of the Congress, as evident from the recent resolutions of the Working Committee, it is no longer possible for me to continue as a Congressman

"It is the avowedly communal leadership of Sardar Patel that now has the dominant vote in the counsels of the Congress The nationalist Muslims have hitherto braved all the attacks of their co-religionists, but it is beyond their endurance now to see their organisation being used for the furtherance of communal ends I appeal to all nationalist Muslims and *'Ulama* to ponder over the latest developments, and to follow the course I have adopted "

The Maulana has not yet decided his future action —OPI

Pakistan Times, 22 March 1947

APPENDIX VIII

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

The transformation of the Muslim League in the North West Frontier Province from a virtual nonentity in the 1930s into an active body in the 1940s was the result of the Pakistan Movement which had caught the imagination of a large number of Muslims in the Province. In the general elections of 1945-46, the League had won nearly fifty per cent of the Muslim seats as compared with its dismal showing in 1936. An invigorated League launched a Civil Disobedience Movement against the Congress Ministry of Dr Khan in February 1947. Public meetings and demonstrations organised by the League to dislodge the Ministry became a daily feature of its activities.

The Khan Ministry banned the public meetings and processions and unleashed what the League regarded as a policy of repression and curbing of civil liberties. Undaunted by the restrictions imposed by the Government, the League challenged governmental authority. A wave of resentment swept across the province and the League volunteers defied the ban by courting arrests in large numbers. In the Punjab, the Khizar Ministry had already been toppled on 2 March 1947, as a result of the Civil Disobedience Movement carried out by the Provincial League. The fall of that Ministry gave an impetus to the campaign in the NWFP which snowballed, drawing in the Muslim Students Federation, the Muslim League National Guards, tribesmen and even the women. The arrests of leaders like the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Samin Jan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan added to the popularity and strength of the Movement. So effective and sustained was the defiance of governmental authority, spurring League volunteers to court arrest, that jails across the province had to be emptied of a large number of prisoners to accommodate the volunteers. Even the Governor was on "tenterhooks" wondering how to cope with the burgeoning "jail population". It was only after the announcement of 3 June 1947, envisaging the creation of Pakistan and the holding of a referendum in the province, that the campaign was called off.

The Appendix depicts day-to-day development of the Civil Disobedience Movement and covers the long-drawn struggle from 20 February to 2 June 1947.

VIII.1

LEAGUE LEADERS DISCUSS CIVIL LIBERTIES[1]

An important meeting of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League will be held here on Feb 20 to discuss the present political situation in the Hazara District The Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif will preside The restoration of civil liberties in the Province is likely to figure prominently in the discussions

The Hazrat Sahib of Taunsa Sharif arrived here on Saturday, and was given an enthusiastic welcome by a large number of his followers He met the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and other League leaders, and discussed the Punjab situation with them From Peshawar he will go to Bannu

It is learnt that leading *Pirs* of the Punjab and N W F P will shortly meet to discuss the next steps to be taken for the restoration of civil liberties

TO VISIT BIHAR

The Pir Sahib of Zakori, Mian Musharaf Shah Kakakhel, and prominent Afridi, Mohmand and Waziri tribal elders are leaving for Bihar on Feb 29 [*sic*], to study at first hand the present situation in that Congress Province and the condition of the Muslim survivors of the Bihar killing

RURAL KAMALZAI

"A I R [All India Radio]'s recent description of Kamalzai as an 'urban constituency' is an under-hand attempt to minimise the importance of the League victory", said Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, a leading member of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League (and once a member of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's Red Shirt Organisation), in an interview with me last night

"Kamalzai is a rural constituency Hoti-Mardan is the centre of the Yusafzai Pathans This League victory belies Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's pet assertion that only the Punjabi speaking people of urban areas are against the Frontier Congress The Congress defeat in a purely rural constituency has clearly shown where the sympathies of the Pathans are now", the Arbab Sahib added

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 21 February 1947

VIII.2

ABDUL QAIYUM ARRESTED AT MARDAN[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 20 Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, and 16 other Muslim League leaders were arrested at Mardan today

The circumstances leading to the arrest of the League leaders were that a League procession marched to the residence of the Deputy Commissioner, demanding that Basanti, a Sikh girl of Hazara, alleged to have embraced Islam and married a Muslim, should be immediately handed over to them A day earlier a Muslim League protest meeting was held at Peshawar where a resolution was passed on the same subject A Muslim League deputation headed by Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition, also waited upon the Frontier Premier, Dr Khan the same evening

According to a communique issued by the Frontier Government, when the procession was returning from the Deputy Commissioner's office, Khan Abdul Qaiyum arrived from Peshawar He asked the District Magistrate for permission to address the crowd, so that he might ask it to disperse When he began to speak to the crowd, however, he declared he had come with the intention of defying the District Magistrate's order Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Muhammad Akbar Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan were arrested Tear-gas was used to disperse the crowd

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 22 February 1947

VIII.3

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF'S APPEAL[1]

"I strongly condemn the action of the Frontier Government and will hold them responsible for any eventuality that may arise I can say this much that an indignant wave of resentment is sweeping the whole of the Frontier Province", says Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, a prominent leader of the Frontier Muslim League

The Pir Sahib appeals to the Muslims of the Frontier Province as well as those of the Tribal Areas to remain peaceful and "take every

care not to give a communal strife to the incident, because we are fighting against the Government and not against any community "

[1]Pakistan Times, 22 February 1947

VIII.4

N W F P LEAGUE CONDEMNS FRONTIER GOVERNMENT'S AGGRESSION AT MARDAN[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 20 A meeting of the N W F P Provincial Muslim League was held here today which lasted eight hours Pir Sahib Manki Sharif was present by special invitation The Secretary, Provincial League, informed pressmen that the political situation in the Frontier and the Punjab was discussed, and the following resolution was adopted

"Whereas the Congress Government have deliberately embarked on a policy of crushing the Muslim League Organisation and its legitimate constitutional activities, whereas in pursuance of that policy the Congress Government have been deliberately suppressing civil liberties in every possible manner as evidenced by the unnecessary and uncalled-for promulgation in Hazara of the medieval and black laws, and whereas the Government have intentionally been encroaching on the Muslim religious rights as has been evidenced by the recent high-handed and unjustified action of the Ministry in enforcing apostasy on a Muslim convert under duress which has led to a province-wide resentment amongst Muslims of the N W F P and the Tribal Areas, the Council feels that it can no longer allow matters to pass unchallenged It condemns, in strongest terms, the unprovoked interference by authorities in the peaceful mass protest meeting held at Mardan in this connection, by the arrest of leaders, use of tear-gas and indiscriminate *lathi*-charge

"The Council is of the opinion that the situation is highly grave and will lead to disaster, the entire responsibility for which would rest on the shoulders of the Government unless this policy is immediately reversed We, therefore, emphatically urge upon the Government to call an immediate halt to this unjustified policy and urge that they should instantly restore civil liberties in the Province, withdraw all black laws, and remove all checks on the Muslim convert

"The Council has, in view of the above, appointed a War Council to

watch the developments and carry on the struggle which has been forced upon them by the Government, in a strictly non-communal manner The Council also urges upon the Muslim public to hold themselves in readiness for all eventualities "

The N W F P Government communique has stated that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan arrived from Peshawar and asked for permission to address a small crowd which had gathered near the Hoti-Mardan Police Station, so that he might ask it to disperse "The permission was given on the condition that he would not say anything else But when he began to speak, he declared that he had come with the intention of defying the Section 144 order "

The Muslim Leaguers alleged that when the processionists were returning from the D C 's bungalow and were passing through the streets, some non-Muslim[s] used filthy language for the Muslim League and Pakistan Consequently some processionists got provoked and a little disturbance followed The Muslim National Guards did their best to control the situation

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 22 February 1947

VIII.5

LEAGUE MOVEMENT IS NON-VIOLENT AND NON-COMMUNAL[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 23 Sh Arbab Dur Khan, General Secretary, Muslim League War Council, issued the following statement to the Press yesterday

"The Frontier Government communique, relating to the procession organised by the Muslim League yesterday gave out that processionists were in possession of guns, revolvers and other weapons The Government fabricated this malicious lie in order to arm themselves with an excuse to crush merely a non-violent and strictly non-communal movement launched for the restoration of civil liberties

'We welcome what might be in store for us, but thousands of people, who accompanied the procession and many more who witnessed it, must have been amused to hear Dr Khan Sahib proclaim to the world with an air of injured innocence what he knows to be manifest untruth

"There is no doubt that some irresponsible persons did not behave properly at the Premier's residence But the Muslim League National

Guards and workers throughout behaved like a disciplined army "
Mr Dost Muhammad Khan, Advocate, was arrested yesterday OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 25 February 1947

VIII.6

WIDESPREAD ARRESTS IN FRONTIER MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS BANNED[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 23 An order under Section 144 Cr P C [Criminal Procedure Code] prohibiting public meetings and processions, has been promulgated for two months within the limits of Peshawar Cantonment and City

Military is guarding the Premier's residence and has also taken charge of the perimeter barbed wire gates The military is also patrolling the outskirts of Peshawar City, and the situation is under control

Apart from the arrests already reported, about 15 more Muslim Leaguers have been arrested, prominent among them being Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, ex-President of the Provincial Muslim League, Mr Muhammad Ashraf, Secretary of the Peshawar City Muslim League, Mr Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil, Khan Mir Halali, Mr Allah Bukhsh Yusafi and Mr Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi, Editor of the local daily *Sarhad*

Five students of the Islamia College, including the President and the Secretary of the Frontier Muslim Students Federation, who were arrested yesterday, were released this morning

MORE ARRESTS

Twenty-four arrests in Mardan and eight in Peshawar District have been so far reported today—the third day of the Muslim League Civil Disobedience campaign in Frontier In Mardan, 20 Muslim National Guards, who formed a procession, were taken into custody

Khan Ibrahim Khan Jhaggra, a prominent Muslim League leader, has also been arrested

ARBAB NOOR MUHAMMAD KHAN ARRESTED

Arbab Noor Muhammad Khan, a prominent Muslim League worker of Landhi village, was arrested on Sunday morning Later a batch of Muslim League National Guards was also arrested

The entrance to Peshawar City via Kohat Road is being guarded by a combined force of military and police as a Muslim League procession was seen on Kohat Road coming towards Peshawar City this morning

TEAR-GAS USED

The Director of Information has issued the following communique tonight "Muslim League processions in Peshawar and Mardan today were broken up by police without use of force Only in one case in Peshawar, tear-gas was used to disperse a crowd which had followed League volunteers to Namak Mandi About 30 persons were placed under temporary arrest in Peshawar Some of them, when released, attempted to organise a procession again and were re-arrested In Mardan only one procession was taken out

"Twenty Muslim League National Guards and four others were arrested in that district, including Mr Ghulam Muhammad Khan of Lund Khawar, a member of the Committee of Action of the Provincial Muslim League On Kohat Road, some volunteers from the Matanni area set out for Peshawar, but were held up by police at Dadhadher"

MUSLIM LEAGUE PROCESSION

A Muslim League procession was taken out in Peshawar City this afternoon from Reshamgarh Bazaar in defiance of the ban under Section 144 Cr P C When it reached Qissakhwani Bazaar, it divided into two parts One procession came straight towards Kabuli Gate where it dispersed and about seven persons were arrested The second part of the procession went to Namak Mandi and was dispersed by police by using tear-gas About 14 persons were placed under arrest A small procession was also taken out near Dubgari Gate, which ultimately dispersed after some of the processionists have been arrested —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 25 February 1947

VIII.7

MORE LEAGUE LEADERS ARRESTED IN FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

Pir of Manki Sharif Believed to Have Gone Underground

PESHAWAR, Feb 24 A number of prominent Muslim League leaders and workers from the Peshawar and Mardan Districts were arrested

today, the fourth day of the League agitation in the province

Those arrested include Mr Muhammad Ali Khan, General Secretary of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League, Mr Attaullah Khan of Gulbela, and Mr Muhammad Yusuf son of Haji Sadal Khan of Umarzai

About 16 Muslim landlords of Tehsil Charsadda, in the Peshawar District are reported to have been arrested yesterday Among them are Mir Alam Khan of Tanbi, Khan Obeidullah Khan and Hidayatullah Khan of Umarzai

The situation in Peshawar was comparatively quiet this morning The police are patrolling the City and guarding the main entrances The southern gates of the City are being kept closed

A procession of Muslim National Guards went out this morning in Mardan and 10 volunteers were put under temporary arrest near Chowk Toru where the procession dispersed peacefully

POSTERS IN PESHAWAR

Posters alleged to have been issued by the underground Muslim League Headquarters, giving instructions about conduct of the League campaign in the Province, were seen in Peshawar City today

A second procession was organised this afternoon by Muslim League National Guards, says a report from Mardan Marching through the Shankar Bazaar, the procession went up to Kalpani and then returned to Chowk Toru, where 10 people were arrested and the crowd again dispersed

During a small procession in Peshawar Cantonment this afternoon 18 people were placed under arrest Two processions were also organised in Peshawar City this afternoon One starting from Chirvekoban was dispersed by a *lathi*-charge when it reached the Qissakhwani Bazaar One person was injured and was removed by a Muslim National Guard Six people were taken into temporary custody and later released

Another procession which started from the Jahangirpura Bazaar went towards the Kohati Gate where it dispersed

FRIDAY'S DEMONSTRATION

The Government have registered cases under Sections 148, 149, 395 and 397 for alleged dacoity and rioting against a number of people who took part in the procession which marched to the Premier's house on Friday

The Pir of Manki Sharif, a prominent Muslim League leader, whose whereabouts are not known, is stated to have addressed a number of public meetings last evening in the Pabbi area

According to another report, he addressed a public meeting near the village of Matanni, on the Kohat Road, this morning

Mr Sher Bahadur Khan, General Secretary, Peshawar District League, in a rejoinder to the communique issued by the Frontier Government charging Muslim demonstrators in a recent procession here with unruly conduct says "Investigations made by the League office indicate that a large number of Red Shirts had been told to accompany the procession in plain clothes, to act as agents provocateurs and sully the good name of the Muslim organisation by their unruly conduct

"I appeal to the public to keep an eye on such miscreants in future"—API and OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

VIII.8

THREE SCHOOL BOYS INJURED WHEN POLICE CHARGED LEAGUE PROCESSION IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 25 The police resorted to a *lathi*-charge here today, to disperse a procession of students which was taken out in defiance of the Government ban Three boys and a Police Constable were injured

A number of students from the local schools organised a procession this morning, which started from the Islamia High School, and winding its way through the Qissakhwani Bazaar, reached the Government High School The procession, which had by this time increased in size, marched towards the Mission High School On the way, the police resorted to a *lathi*-charge, resulting in injuries to three boys and one Constable, all of whom were removed to the police station

On the persistent demand of the students, the police returned the three injured boys, who were later carried in procession on *charpais* upto Chowk Yadgar, amidst vociferous Muslim League slogans Most of the shops were closed, for fear of trouble

Twelve people, including nine volunteers of the Muslim National Guards, were arrested in Mardan today, for leading a procession in defiance of the Government ban

The procession, which went out this morning, was dispersed by the police after it had marched a few furlongs

A second Muslim League procession went out this afternoon in Peshawar City. Marching through the Qissakhwani Bazaar, it diverted towards Namak Mandi, where it was partially dispersed by a police *lathi*-charge. Ten people received injuries three of whom were removed by the demonstrators themselves. The procession then returned via Gulabkhana.—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947

VIII.9

ISMAIL AND NISHTAR MEET FRONTIER LEAGUE LEADERS[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb. 26. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and [Nawab] Muhammad Ismail Khan who arrived here yesterday by air, in an interview said: "We are studying the situation and are meeting officials and non-officials. We do not think it useful to give any statement at this time, or to express any opinion."

Both the leaders met a number of Frontier Muslim League leaders last evening and they will meet Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif today. They will also try to see the League leaders and workers now in the judicial lock-up.

[Nawab] Muhammad Ismail [Khan] addressing a huge crowd which had gathered outside the hospital where the two leaders had gone to see the injured Muslim National Guards, said: "Only four days ago I learnt of the ill-treatment meted out to leaders and workers of the Muslim League in this Province by the Congress Government. I feel equally injured and fully participate in your grief."

He added: "Be patient and steadfast in your efforts to achieve your ideal, and I assure you that we will win in the long run. If our opponents think that they will run us down and make us give up our demand for Pakistan, they are living in a paradise of their own."

[Nawab Muhammad] Ismail [Khan] concluded: "We will, by the grace of God, achieve our goal and nothing on earth can stop us or make us give up this ideal."—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 February 1947

VIII.10

SETTLEMENT BETWEEN N W F P LEAGUE AND GOVERNMENT LIKELY[1]

Lathi-Charges Continuing Unabated
Three League MLAs Among the Arrested

PESHAWAR, Feb 26 A settlement between the Frontier Government and the Provincial Muslim League is likely, following a conference of the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member for Communications in the Government of India, and Premier, Dr Khan Sahib, at Government House, this afternoon

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar told the waiting Pressmen "We discussed the terms for a friendly settlement"

Earlier, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, and [Nawab] Muhammad Ismail Khan, President of the League Committee of Action, met a number of Muslim League leaders in the Peshawar Central Prison They also had a meeting with Pir of Manki Sharif, a prominent Frontier League leader

In the meanwhile, arrests and *lathi*-charges were continuing all over the Frontier

Three Muslim League MLAs, including the ex-Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, Sardar Bahadur Khan, were among the 35 persons arrested at Mansehra and Abbottabad last night, under the Frontier Crimes Regulations The other two MLAs arrested are Khan Jalaluddin Khan and Captain Zain Mohd Khan

The police took into custody 29 Muslims today, for leading a procession in Peshawar City The procession which paraded the important centres of the City was later dispersed by the police

PROCESSION *LATHI*-CHARGED

According to reports received here, a small procession carrying mock funeral of the Frontier Premier was taken out in Hangu in Kohat District

A second procession by Muslim League workers was taken out in Peshawar City this evening The procession was dispersed by the police and some persons were put under arrest

In Abbottabad, a procession was dispersed by the police with a *lathi*-charge today About 21 persons, including Sultan Hasar Ali Khan of Boi, were arrested

Fourteen Muslim League National Guards were detained in Kabuli Gate Police Station

In Mardan, eight volunteers came from Yar Hussain village and were arrested

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

VIII.11

LEAGUE LEADERS ADVISE FRONTIER STUDENTS TO REMAIN QUIET[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 27 [Nawab] Mohammad Ismail Khan, President, Committee of Action, All India Muslim League, addressed a meeting of the Islamia College students in the Roos-Keppel Hall this morning, and advised them to maintain perfect discipline

"I respect", he continued, "your feelings of resentment at the Provincial Government's anti-League attitude, and your offer to share in the achievement of civil liberties, but you should avoid a call from local Muslim League leaders I am pleased to see that there is enough material and manpower in the province for any fight with the Government for the achievement of your objectives—the restoration of civil liberties "

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communications Member, Government of India, who was offered honorary life membership of the Khyber Union, told the students that he happened to be visiting Peshawar in connection with some departmental business, but that when he learnt that [Nawab] Muhammad Ismail Khan was going to the Frontier, he thought it advisable to join him in studying the situation

Referring to his interview with the Governor, the Premier and the Muslim leaders, both inside as well as outside jail, Sardar Nishtar said "I hope that the Provincial Government will in its own interest accept the terms offered by the Muslim League " He held that there was nothing unreasonable in the demand, and failing a settlement, the Government would be at an impasse

He also advised the students not to participate actively in the agitation, as the local Muslim League leaders did not consider it necessary at this stage to call for any sacrifice from the students, who were to take their annual examinations shortly

[Nawab] Muhammad Ismail Khan and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar left by air for New Delhi at 12-20 p m —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 March 1947

VIII.12

N W F P GOVERNMENT'S LACK OF SAGACITY[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 27 Khan Sultan Mohd Khan, President of the Provincial Muslim League Defence Committee, has issued the following statement on the present political crisis in the N W F P

"I thought the result of the Mardan by-election[2] would be an eye-opener to those responsible people who throw out irresponsible challenges to the Muslim League

"The Premier who professedly is a votary of freedom made a violent digression from his much advertised faith and the present political crisis is thus the result of an act of interference with the social and religious liberties of a Muslim convert The use of tear-gas on peaceful processions is an example of the present executive measures taken by the Government It is unfortunate that the present crisis should be the result of a complete absence of political sagacity and reasonable outlook in the people responsible for the administration of this province"

Sher Bahadur Khan, Secretary, War Council, Frontier Muslim League, said he was shocked by the news that there was some interference with the railways on the Mardan line by the Muslim League sympathisers

He said "The War Council wishes to emphasise that activities like that are not only authorised by them but completely fall out of their programme We appeal to the League workers and sympathisers that they should maintain discipline and not indulge in acts of violence of any kind"—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times* 1 March 1947
[2]This seat was won by the ML candidate *Pakistan Times*, 16 February 1947

VIII.13

SCORES OF LEAGUERS ARRESTED AS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE SPREADS IN FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, Feb 28 Forty people were arrested in Peshawar today

for leading a Muslim League procession in defiance of the Government ban At the same time, 15 arrests were made in Mardan on a similar charge

Three processions were organised in Abbottabad, including one which came from the village of Salhad Ten people, including three Abbottabad pleaders, were arrested

According to an unofficial estimate, the total number of those arrested in the Frontier Province since the beginning of the League agitation is at least 400

A message from Kohat says that Muslim League volunteers picketed the courts there today The District Magistrate promulgated an order under Sec[tion] 144, forbidding interference with public servants in the discharge of their duties

Mr Ch Mumik-ur-Rahman Qiani, Haji Saeed Shah and Pir Masoom Shah were arrested

The Pir of Manki Sharif has arrived at Kohat

Thirty-six Muslim League workers were arrested in Abbottabad yesterday for defying Sec[tion] 144 Maulana Abdul Ghani and Qazi Mohd Zaman have resumed charge of the League Movement there in place of Mr Mohd Jalaluddin, President, Muslim League, Hazara, and other office-bearers who are in jail —API and OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1947

VIII.14

PIR SAHIB OF ZAKORI ARRESTED[1]

D I KHAN, March 1 The leading Muslim divine of Waziristan, Pir Abdul Latif Sahib, MLA, *Sajjada Nasheen* of Zakori, who has several lakhs of disciples in Derajat and Waziristan has been arrested with 10 other leaders offering Civil Disobedience The arrest has caused a sensation Thousands of Muslims are pouring in to court arrest, and the Governor who is on a tour, has been informed

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 March 1947

VIII.15

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S FIGHT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES NOW IN FULL SWING ALL OVER FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

PESHAWAR, March 1 The Muslim League's fight for civil liberties is now in full swing in most districts of the Frontier Province, including Peshawar, Mardan, Hazara, Kohat, Bannu, Abbottabad and D I Khan

In Peshawar, two processions were taken out today Thirty-five uniformed National Guards were arrested at the Kabuli Gate and 16 more at the Jail Gate

In Mardan, a procession marched through the main streets of the City in a disciplined manner Fifteen arrests were made

In Hazara, 142 arrests were made during the last few days, and those arrested for leading the processions were convicted to three months R I [Rigorous Imprisonment] each, in summary trials In addition, 250 temporary arrests have been made

PIR MANKI'S ADDRESS

After addressing 24 public meetings in the District of Peshawar, the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif rushed to Bannu where he is now touring extensively

The Secretary of the Bannu League reports that a huge procession of Muslims, led by 2,000 uniformed Muslim National Guards, marched through the city amidst vociferous League slogans Later a public meeting was held under the presidentship of the Pir of Manki Sharif attended by over 15,000 Muslims

The Pir Sahib explained the position of the Muslims in detail, in view of the latest British Government announcement[2] He said that if the traitors did not give up the part they were playing, or if the nation did not get rid of them, the future prospects of Muslims in India would be gloomy indeed He appealed to non-League Muslims to think of the interest of the *Millat*

Earlier, the Pir stressed the importance of their present struggle for civil liberties and the stand taken by the Provincial Muslim League He condemned the Frontier Congress Government for pursuing a policy dictated by the Hindu Congress from Delhi

A procession of schoolboys went out this morning in Peshawar No arrests were made

All those arrested in Peshawar yesterday were set free last night after being taken to distant places by the police They were brought back by the City League lorries to the League office

Two other processions were taken out in Peshawar today One of them held a demonstration at Government House, and the other paraded the streets of the city Several people were arrested

N W F P GOVERNMENT SUED

In Abbottabad, Mr Sajjad Ahmad Jan, Advocate, has served a notice on the Provincial Government asking for damages to the amount of Rs 2 lakhs collectively "for the illegal, unwarranted and uncalled-for arrests" of himself, Khan Jalaluddin Khan, MLA, President, District Muslim League, Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, Member of the Constituent Assembly and several other Muslim workers who were arrested on the night of Feb 25, under Sec[tion] 40

The notice contends that these arrests constituted "a flagrant and malicious misuse of Sec[tion] 40 as no preliminary enquiry was made on the notice given prior to the arrests, though required by the terms of the Section"

It is said that this case will be the most sensational of its kind in the political and legal history of the province —OPI

PREMIER S STATEMENT

Dr Khan Sahib, the Premier, says in the course of a statement "After having attempted to spread lawlessness in the Province, irresponsible elements are now trying to assail the Ministry with the charge of denying civil liberties to the people

"There has been no greater champion of civil liberties in this Province than the party of which I am the elected leader in the Legislative Assembly This party has always stood for the rights of the people indeed, to secure these rights for the common man, we have made many sacrifices

"Everyone knows that the Frontier Ministry have never interfered with speeches, slogans and demonstrations, and have even withheld action when abusive and provocative language was used

"No Government worth the name can tolerate such deplorable incidents as happened in Peshawar on Feb 20 or in Mardan on Feb 18 I am sure the public will understand why firm action is necessary on the part of the Government to punish those who have taken the law into their own hands"

About 300 Muslim League leaders and workers were arrested yesterday in Kohat while picketing the civil courts

It is reported that the Congress leaders have warned the lorry drivers of Kohat that they will forfeit their licences if they offer any help to the Muslim League

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 March 1947
[2]No 1

VIII.16

MALAKAND POLITICAL AGENT'S SUSPENSION H M G INQUIRE[1]

LONDON, March 3 Mr Arthur Henderson, Under Secretary for India, said in the House of Commons today that he was asking the Government of India for the reasons for the suspension of Khan Bahadur Nawab Sheikh Mahbub Ali Khan, Political Agent in Malakand, N W F P , India

He was replying to a question by Brig Low (Cons), who asked if Mr Henderson did not think he should have this information by now because the suspension took place some time ago

Mr Henderson replied "No official information had reached in regard to this particular officer, prior to the question being placed on the order paper Following that, communication has been sent to the Government of India asking for a report "

Lt Col Sir Walter Smiles (Cons), asked what was the estimated number of men, women and children killed in communal riots in India during 1946

Mr Henderson replied "The best available estimate of persons killed in communal riots during 1946 is 12,400 This figure is admittedly only approximate and separate figures for men, women and children are not available" —Reuter

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VIII.17

41 MUSLIMS ARRESTED IN D I KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, March 4 On the third day of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Dera Ismail Khan, a procession of about 20,000 Muslims led by Nawabzada Mohd Zulfiqar Ali, paraded through the bazaars Near the Post Office, a batch of 41 Muslims led by Mohd Rustam Khan, Advocate, was arrested

Later, a large meeting of Muslims was addressed by Nawabzada Mohd Zulfiqar and others The speeches condemned the anti-Muslim policy of Dr Khan Sahib, the Premier, and later on a mock funeral of the Premier was taken out

So far 61 persons have been arrested in D I Khan

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 5 March 1947

VIII.18

FRONTIER LEAGUE CALLS FOR *HARTAL* ON MONDAY[1]

PESHAWAR, March 8 The Provincial Muslim League War Council has decided to observe complete *hartal* throughout the Frontier Province on March 10, to protest against the continued suppression of the civil liberties of the people by the Congress Ministry

Announcing this, Mr Sher Bahadur Khan, Secretary of the War Council, Provincial Muslim League, has appealed to the Frontier Muslims to observe this day by a complete cessation of all activities, and by arranging processions and holding mass meetings

It is imperative, he said, that all demonstrations on this day should be non-communal and peaceful —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 March 1947

VIII.19

2,500 MUSLIMS ARRESTED TO DATE IN LEAGUE'S CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN N W F PROVINCE[1]

PESHAWAR, March 8 The Civil Disobedience Movement in the Frontier Province continues unabated, with reports of processions, demonstrations and meetings, together with arrests, coming from the remotest parts of the Province

In defiance of Section 144, the Peshawar City Muslim League took out a huge procession after the *Juma* prayers After overcoming all police obstacles, it marched through the main streets of the town, shouting League slogans Twenty-three Muslim National Guards were arrested

A procession of 15,000 people, with 1,000 National Guards, was taken out at Bannu

After the procession, a meeting was held, which was addressed by the local League leaders They condemned the high-handedness of the Congress Ministry, and exhorted the audience to be prepared for the coming struggle

A mammoth meeting of Marwat, Wazir and Bhittani tribes was held at Surdag, District Bannu, near the border-line, under the presidentship of Nawabzada Sher Afzal Khan

The president and other speakers explained the present situation and appealed to the people to join the Muslim League in its non-violent and non-communal struggle against the Congress Government. The gathering pledged its full support to the Muslim League.

Processions were also taken out at Abbottabad, Dera Ismail Khan, Kulachi (District Bannu), Kohat, Mardan and several villages. Picketing of the courts by Muslim League volunteers continues, and number of arrests have been made on this account.

It is learnt that the number of people so far arrested throughout the Province is 2,500.

The Frontier Government issued the following communique last night: "The Muslim League demonstrators came to picket the courts in Peshawar, Abbottabad, Mardan, Kohat and Hangu yesterday. The police cleared the courts, and placed a number of people under arrest. The majority of these, however, were later released. In Dera Ismail Khan, routine processions were taken out in the afternoon. Forty-two people were sent to jail."—OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 March 1947

VIII.20

ULAMA DECLARE N.W.F.P. MINISTRY IS ANTI-ISLAMIC[1]

Relentless Repression in Dera Ismail Khan, Kohat and Bannu

PESHAWAR, March 9: The Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement continues with unabated enthusiasm, despite relentless repression all over the Province. A procession was taken out last Friday in Dera Ismail Khan, led by National Guards, when 34 arrests were made, bringing the total in that centre to 325.

The *'Ulama*, in their *Juma* prayers, declared Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry a "Ministry of infidels", and urged all Muslims to court arrest, as the Congress was cutting at the roots of Islam by prohibiting conversion.

BANNU AGITATION GROWS

The agitation is now in full swing in Bannu, a strongly fortified and predominantly Hindu town. A procession of 15,000 Muslims, including 1,000 National Guards, was taken through the town, culminating in a public meeting under the chairmanship of Malik

Damsaz Khan The speakers protested against the high-handedness of the Government and exhorted the Muslims to prepare for the coming struggle Afterwards, Malik Damsaz Khan and Khan Habibullah Khan, MLA, were arrested while picketing a liquor shop The liquor shop is still being picketed by National Guards, and more arrests are in progress A *hartal* is being observed in sympathy with the arrested leaders, and 40 people have so far been arrested

PIR OF MANKI'S ADDRESS

In Kohat, picketing of courts by Muslim League volunteers completely paralysed the court work last Friday A meeting of 20,000 Muslims was held under the presidentship of Pir of Manki Sharif, and a procession of women Leaguers joined the meeting The Pir vehemently condemned the Frontier Ministry as anti-Islamic He characterised the Government's action in handing back a Muslim girl to the Sikh parents against her will, and snatching her away from her lawful husband after she had embraced Islam of her own accord, as a direct interference with the religion of the Muslims The Pir warned the Ministry against the policy of temporary arrests, and he disclosed that the arrested League leaders were kept in unhealthy places, which endangered their lives

PICKETING OF COURTS

There was usual picketing of courts in Peshawar About 33 people were put under temporary arrest on Saturday, when three batches of League volunteers came to picket the courts A procession was taken out in Peshawar City The police made a *lathi*-charge when the processionists attempted to break the police cordon

Processions have been taken out and meetings held in Abbottabad, Mardan, Kohat and several other places Arrests were also made In Abbottabad the Muslim League volunteers picketed police posts, and the police made repeated *lathi*-charges to disperse crowds at various places

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 March 1947

VIII.21

FRONTIER MUSLIMS TO FIGHT TO SUCCESSFUL END[1]

PESHAWAR, March 11 "The Muslim League policy in the N W F P is to carry on the present political campaign for the restoration of civil

liberties, to a successful end," said Mr Fida Mohammad Khan, Vice-President, Mardan Muslim League and Convener of the League Defence Committee in a Press statement

Mr Khan added "The League will not rest until they have wrested their own rights from the hands of the Congress imperialists who are now holding the reins of the Government"—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1947

VIII.22

FRONTIER PREMIER'S APOLOGIA FOR ORDINANCE *RAJ*[1]

PESHAWAR, March 10 The Frontier Premier, Dr Khan Sahib, has issued the following statement "It is incumbent on the majority community to see to it that minorities are able to live safely in this Province, but the dissemination, in certain quarters, of communal doctrines has led to a number of unfortunate occurrences in the Hazara District, which caused grave loss of life Consequently, the Provincial Government were obliged to take proper measures, with the result that, in spite of the exposed position of Hazara District, the loss of life there has been less than in other parts of India where discord has raised its head

"A very satisfactory settlement has now been reached with the border tribes It has therefore been possible for the Governor to release the hostages which were willingly given by the tribes as a guarantee of their agreement to meet the demands made on them

"It was necessary for the Governor to promulgate the special Ordinance, to deal with the Hazara situation The Provincial Government had at first thought of replacing it with a bill, but on further consideration they have decided it is unnecessary to continue the Ordinance They would have advised the Governor to withdraw it forthwith, but the unfortunate happenings in the Punjab render it necessary to retain the Ordinance for some time

"The Government have always been conscious that every party should have full opportunity to express its views in a constitutional manner But no democratically elected majority Government can tolerate unconstitutional activities resulting in violence and all those who have defied the law, individually or collectively, will be dealt with in accordance with the law"—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1947

VIII.23

FRONTIER AGITATION NOT COMMUNAL, SAYS BANNU LEADER[1]

BANNU, March 10 The Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement is gaining momentum here. Pir Ferozshah, the "Dictator"[2] of the Movement has ordered that no acts of violence should be committed, and says that the agitation is strictly non-communal and will end only when the demands of the Provincial League are acceded to

A long procession of 10,000 people paraded the city and stopped near the liquor shop which is being picketed

The people of Mardan offered themselves for arrest *en masse*

There was complete *hartal* in Bannu City today, and 200 people were arrested The total number of people arrested since yesterday is 200

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 March 1947
[2]The Chief Organisers of the Civil Disobedience Movement were designated "Dictators"

VIII.24

PIR MANKI SHARIF DEMANDS DISMISSAL OF MINISTRY[1]

KOHAT, March 13 Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who is touring the Kohat District, has addressed a number of meetings in various villages in the past few days

At Hangu, addressing a large gathering, Pir Sahib condemned the Frontier Quisling Ministry as being anti-Islamic and unrepresentative in character and demanded its dismissal

As a result of Pir Sahib's spirited speeches, two prominent Ahrar leaders, Hafiz Pir Mir Alam Shah and Pir Ayub Shah, have joined the Muslim League and have pledged to sacrifice their lives in the cause of Pakistan —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

VIII.25

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN BANNU INTENSIFIES[1]

BANNU, March 12 The Civil Disobedience Movement here

was intensified this morning, when a procession of nearly 15,000 people, mostly from Mitkhel, paraded the streets and the bazaars of the city The procession stopped at a liquor shop and offered themselves for arrest

Only 100 arrests were made, prominent among them being Risaldar Khan, K B Sher Jan Khan, Nawabzada Sher Afzal Khan, Pir Mirakber Shah and Pir Chinar Shah

Pir Feroz Shah has issued orders that the Movement must remain non-communal and non-violent

In a meeting at Torka, Dr Nasrullah Jan, Habibullah Khan and Nawabzada Faiz Dil Khan exhorted the people to maintain peace and order

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

VIII.26

ABDUL QAIYUM SENTENCED TO 3 MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT[1]

PESHAWAR, March 14 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Opposition Leader, Frontier Assembly, Khan Mohd Samin Jan Khan and Mohd Ali Khan, President and Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, respectively, and 48 other Muslim League workers of Mardan were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment each under Section 188 Cr P C yesterday

Twenty-three persons including Khan Mohd Ayub Khan, *Salar*, Provincial Muslim National Guards were sentenced to 6 months' rigorous imprisonment Two minors were admonished and let off —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 15 March 1947

VIII.27

KHAN SAHIB CHALLENGED TO RESIGN AND STAND AGAIN[1]

PESHAWAR, March 18 Referring to the recent statement by Dr Khan Sahib that the majority of the Pathans were with him, Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, Deputy Leader, Muslim League Assembly Party, in an interview said, "I challenge Dr Khan Sahib to choose one Muslim

constituency in each district, and let us thus have six by-elections

"We are ready to vacate six seats in the Assembly Let him do the same I am confident that the Muslim League will win all the seats, and that the Congress candidates will forfeit their securities "

He added, "If Dr Khan Sahib has the courage, let him come forward and contest the election on the straight Pakistan issue "—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.28

KHAN SAHIB ATTACKS LEAGUE STRUGGLE IN FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, March 18 Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, addressing a gathering of Red Shirts in the village of Khudadad, in the Mardan District, compared the Civil Disobedience Movement of the Congress with the present agitation by the Muslim League in the Province

Dr Khan Sahib said "The Congress Civil Disobedience Movement was launched against the bureaucratic rule of an irresponsible and irremovable foreign Government, while the Muslim League's present Movement is an unconstitutional agitation against the popular Government of the Frontier people We are not going to yield to their unconstitutional methods "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.29

MUSLIM CONGRESS MLAS' ASK KHAN SAHIB TO RESIGN[1]

PESHAWAR, March 18 Some Muslim Congress MLAs, it is learnt from a reliable source, had asked Dr Khan Sahib to resign from the Premiership, as the Pathans had lost confidence in him It is said that they had threatened to resign if Dr Khan Sahib refused to quit

When his attention was drawn to Mr Khan's declaration yesterday that his Government were in a strong position, the source said "Well, this is politics Dr Khan Sahib knows that he may lose his position any moment How long can the present Muslim Congress MLAs ignore the wishes of their electorates?"

On the other hand, it is reported that the Muslim League MLAs are pressing the Frontier Governor to dissolve the present Assembly and hold new elections so that the world should know that the Pathans are against the Congress —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.30

N W F P MINISTER ON LEAGUE AGITATION[1]

PESHAWAR, March 17 "The Frontier Province will be always with the Congress," Qazi Atta Ullah Khan, Frontier Revenue Minister, said in an interview today

"We gave the Muslim League full liberty of speech and action till their followers actually looted shops and assaulted Hindus in Mardan," said the Revenue Minister

Replying to a question whether the allegation that the trouble in the Frontier is economic and not communal, he said, "This is absolutely false The trouble in the Frontier is communal"

Qazi Atta Ullah Khan reiterated his firm belief that N W F P will always remain with the Congress —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 March 1947

VIII.31

MUSLIM WOMAN LEADS PROCESSION IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, March 19 There were no processions, public meetings in Abbottabad yesterday owing to rain, which confined people indoors, according to reports received here Muslim Leaguers, however, picketed courts

In Mansehra (Hazara District), Leaguers picketed courts yesterday and hoisted the Muslim League flag on the Government Treasury A large procession was organised in Havelian (Hazara District) yesterday

In Mardan the Leaguers picketed the basic education school for

teachers, but were dispersed by the police with a mild *lathi*-charge

Instead of picketing liquor shops which the Leaguers were carrying on for the past few days, they only picketed courts yesterday and there were over 40 temporary arrests In Bannu picketing of liquor shops again took place yesterday by a procession organised by Leaguers

A League procession was also organised in Dera Ismail Khan

In Peshawar, unofficial reports stated that there were three processions organised, of which one was [led] by a woman Peshawar, however, remains quiet and more shops have opened —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 21 March 1947

VIII.32

N W F P MINISTER BRINGS 2,000 RED SHIRTS TO PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, March 19 About 2,000 Red Shirt volunteers have arrived here from Charsadda Tehsil (18 miles north of Peshawar) to "check violence non-violently and to restore confidence among Hindus and Sikhs in Peshawar," said Mr Mohammad Yahya Jan, Minister for Local Self Government at a press conference on Tuesday

Mr Yahya, who had dressed himself in the red uniform of Khudai Khidmatgars, revealed that the only reason for their coming was, to assist the 30,000 Hindus and Sikhs of Peshawar to regain their confidence

This is the first experiment of its kind being tried in the Frontier

The Red Shirts have camped in the southern part of the city in two groups —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 21 March 1947

VIII.33

FRONTIER LEAGUER'S CALL TO PATHANS[1]

Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan, MLA, a prominent Frontier Leaguer and a former Congress Minister, interviewed in Lahore by a *Pakistan Times* reporter said that the latest Statement of the British Government[2] had opened the eyes of the Pathans

The Khan, who is in the Mayo Hospital for a serious operation, said from his sick-bed, "I have appealed to Dr. Khan Sahib to resign from the Congress party, as his present policy is contrary to the interests of the *Millat* If he does not do so, I hope that the Muslim members of the Congress party will leave him"

"It is my duty to advise my Pathan brethren to continue their struggle against the present Congress Ministry, but they should make sure that, even under great provocation, they do not allow their struggle to assume a communal colour"

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 21 March 1947
[2]No 1, Vol I, Part I

VIII.34

229 ARRESTED AT BANNU[1]

BANNU, March 22 A procession of about 15,000 people paraded the streets of the town as usual and stopped at a liquor shop for picketing The police arrested 229 persons

The people have pledged to continue the Movement till their demands are acceded to —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 March 1947

VIII.35

RED SHIRTS JOIN MUSLIM LEAGUE, BURN THEIR CONGRESS UNIFORMS IN PUBLIC[1]

PESHAWAR, March 22 Mian Burhan-ud-Din, President of the Peshawar City Muslim League was arrested here yesterday

Before his arrest he issued the following statement to the Orient Press "Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, who pretends to stand for *Akhand* Hindustan, is trying to create a schism between two sections of the Muslim community by saying that the present political agitation is in the hands of the fanatic Shias

"This idea is in direct contrast to his professions of a united India Dr Khan Sahib is following a divide and rule policy in his own

interests, as well as in the interests of his Hindu masters

"He seems to be unaware, or feigns to be unaware of the demands of the Frontier Muslims Pakistan is our goal, and we shall go on striving till we have achieved it"

The Mian concluded by appealing to the Muslims to remain peaceful

RED SHIRTS CONVERTED

A huge procession was taken out here yesterday There was a considerable excitement among the demonstrators because of the presence of the imported Red Shirts, and at one moment a clash seemed likely

Three of the Red Shirts, however, declared their intention of joining the Muslim League, and burnt their red uniforms in the presence of the enthusiastic crowd

The demonstrators were constantly warned by the Muslim National Guards to ignore the hostile behaviour of the Congress volunteers

A complete *hartal* was observed by the Muslims in the city The courts were closed, and almost all business was at a standstill —OPI

HAZARA SITUATION HAS DEFINITELY DETERIORATED

The situation in Hazara, in the Frontier Province, seems to have been definitely deteriorated It was officially announced in Lahore on Saturday evening

Troops have been asked for to guard certain centres, the announcement adds —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 March 1947

VIII.36

ARMED RED SHIRTS ROAM CITY DURING CURFEW HOURS[1]

PESHAWAR, March 23 Mr Yahya Jan, Education Minister, in the Frontier Government, in a recent statement said that the Red Shirts had come to Peshawar to maintain peace and that they were unarmed It is not true that they are unarmed, as a large number of them have been seen carrying arms, some of which without licences

The Red Shirts are making no efforts to get the shops of Hindus and Sikhs open as efforts in this direction have borne no fruit The Hindus and Sikhs are saying that they will not open their shops unless told to do so by the Muslim League National Guards The *hartal* continues The Red Shirts are generally making a nuisance of themselves by

roaming about the streets after curfew hours and consequently embarrassing the police authorities, which matter, it is understood, has been a point of discussion between the Governor and the Ministry

RED SHIRTS DON GREEN SHIRTS

On Saturday, the last day of the Assembly session, the Muslim League procession went to the Assembly Chamber, and in spite of a large police force, a party of National Guards succeeded in reaching the Chamber itself and planted the League flag on the flag-pole Forty-five National Guards were arrested Later a procession was taken out and more arrests were made in the city A number of Red Shirts threw away their red uniforms and donned the green shirts of the League volunteers

The continued hunger-strike of top-ranking League leaders, Mian Musharraf Shah, Arbab Ata Ullah Shah, Sarfraz Khan, Khan Yusaf Khattak, Bakht Jamal and Syed Nasrullah, is causing grave anxiety among the Muslims of the Frontier The hunger-strike was started on March 22, as a protest against the unjust and inhuman treatment meted out by the jail authorities to League prisoners Obviously under the instructions of Dr Khan Sahib, who thinks that by using harsh mediaeval methods he will succeed in crushing the spirit of the Frontier Muslims

NEWS BLACKED OUT

The writing on the wall for the Congress Ministry is there for all to see The Movement is gaining strength In the Hazara District the civil administration is completely paralysed and for over a week now, no court has been able to function Courts in D I Khan and Kohat have also been forced to stop work The Khan Ministry are trying to blackout all news of happenings in the Frontier Province and the tribal areas The position is that they are sitting on a volcano and the volcano has gradually started bubbling If they continue their forced regime an eruption is likely and big things will begin to happen

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 27 March 1947

VIII.37

FRONTIER LEAGUE MOVEMENT ENTERS SECOND MONTH TRIBUTE TO GALLANT MUSLIM MASSES[1]

PESHAWAR, March 25 "A full month of trials and tribulations for the Muslims of N W F P has passed and they have entered the second

month of their brave fight with the Congress Government who have killed civil liberties in the Province and let loose a reign of terror in an all-out bid to crush the Muslim League," says Mr Sher Bahadur Khan, Secretary, War Council, Provincial Muslim League, in a statement

He adds "The struggle has been perfectly peaceful and non-communal throughout the Province except at Peshawar and some parts of Hazara, where it was marred by outbursts of violence as a result of firing by the military on the opening day of the Budget Session of the Frontier Legislative Assembly While the War Council strongly disapproved the conduct of those who have indulged in acts of violence against their neighbours, it has nothing but admiration for the willing and ready response made to their (War Council's) appeals by the Muslim masses and the brave and courageous fight put up by them in every nook and corner of the Province "

Mr Sher Bahadur continues "As we look back we find the path we have trodden strewn with corpses of gallant people who have fallen for the sacred cause of Islam and civil liberties Let us pay our homage to the departed heroes by stepping into the breach ourselves and pledge not to retreat our steps until the goal is reached "

MORE ARRESTS

Pakistan Day was observed throughout the Province with great enthusiasm Reports of the meetings and the processions culminating in the arrests of a large number of Muslim Leaguers have been received from several places Khan Mohd Ishaq Khan, the newly elected MLA, was arrested along with two volunteers for organising a procession in Mardan

At Abbottabad the Muslim League volunteers picketed the police station and police posts peacefully No arrest was made

A big procession was taken out at D I Khan and 56 persons offered themselves for arrest

Meetings and processions were also organised at Bannu and Kohat One hundred and thirty-eight Muslim workers were arrested temporarily at Bannu while no arrest was made at Kohat —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 March 1947

VIII.38

PAKISTAN DAY IN D I KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, March 25 A procession was organised by Muslim League in connection with Pakistan Day Sixty arrests were made

Later, a public meeting was held under the auspices of the Muslim Students Federation M Nasarullah Khan presided Haji M Ramzan Khan explained the aim and nature of the Muslim League Movement

A mile-long procession, consisting of 60,000 people unprecedented in the history of D I Khan—was led by Pir Alam Shah Mulazai who courted arrest with 84 volunteers

The trial of Pir Zakori and other nine leaders began yesterday

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 28 March 1947

VIII.39

D I KHAN AHRARS JOIN LEAGUE CITY *HARTAL* AGAINST PIR ZAKORI'S ARREST[1]

D I KHAN, March 28 The Ahrars of D I Khan have joined the Muslim League Ahrar volunteers helped the Muslim League National Guards in the organisation of the *hartal*, which followed the sentencing of the Pir of Zakori and other League leaders The *hartal* was the most successful known in this city, not a single shop being open A procession was also taken out in protest against the sentences, led by Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan About 33 persons courted arrest The total arrests in the district now number 1,800

Later, a public meeting was held Col Shah Pasand Khan, who presided, revealed that a joint *Jirga* of the leading Mahsud and Waziri Tribes had declared themselves in favour of Pakistan The *Jirga* had also sent a protest to the Afghan Government as some of their employees were playing into the hands of the Hindus

On Thursday, a procession of women in *burqas* was taken out, in defiance of Se[ction] 144 The procession, led by Miss Mumtaz Nuruddin, Miss Parveen and Miss Imtiaz after making a round of the town passed through the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow, where the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, was holding consultations with the district officials The police and military authorities who had strong dispositions in the area did not interfere with the procession

Mian Zahurddin, Maulana Abdul Ghani, Qazi Mohammad Azim and Shaikh Sajjad Ahmad Jan had an interview with the Governor

[1]*Pakistan Times* 29 March 1947

VIII.40

ANTI-MINISTRY SLOGANS GREET FRONTIER GOVERNOR[1]

ABBOTTABAD, March 29 Thousands of Pathans carrying crescent-spangled League flag lined up on both sides of the road from Abbottabad to Mansehra to apprise the Frontier Governor of the depth of Pathan feelings against the Khan-Khanna Ministry The occasion was the Governor's tour of the interior of the Frontier Province As the Governor's car passed by the crowds, they raised sky-rending anti-Ministry slogans Hundreds of them waved flags with inscription demanding the dismissal of the Ministry and ordering of fresh elections

This demonstration had a tremendous impression on the Governor, who has been kept by the district authorities in utter darkness about the true import and extent of the League Movement

As the crowds began collecting, the district authorities got nervous and tried to side-track them by spreading the rumour that the Governor had changed his tour programme at the eleventh hour But the people, who by now have come to know the district officials too well, refused to leave the post of duty and stuck on to their places till the Governor's arrival

The total arrests made up to date from the district are 4,000

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 March 1947

VIII.41

QAIYUM TRANSFERRED TO D I KHAN JAIL[1]

PESHAWAR, March 28 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, Mr Mohd Ali Khan, Secretary, Provincial Muslim League and some other leaders, mostly from Mardan were transferred to Dera Ismail Khan Jail from the Central Jail, Peshawar yesterday —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 March 1947

VIII.42

FRONTIER PREMIER PLAYING IN THE HANDS OF PATHANS' ENEMIES[1]

Commenting on the arrest of Hazrat Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, in Peshawar, by the Congress Government, Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan, a former Congress Minister in the Khan Cabinet, in an interview with a reporter of *Pakistan Times*, said "I am extremely shocked at the way the Frontier Premier is playing into the hands of the enemies of the Pathans

"The arrest of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who performed the miracle of successfully persuading the tribesmen to join the League processions without arms, is an act of utter bankruptcy on the part of the Congress Premier He ought to have known that the arrest of Pir Sahib, who is held in great esteem by tribesmen, is bound to have serious repercussion on the trans-border "

The ex-Minister, however, hoped that the appeal addressed by the Pir Sahib on the eve of his arrest to his followers to remain non-violent and to keep the League Movement free from communal influences, would be respected by his followers and to spare the Province from an outbreak of violent conflict with the machinery of law and order

Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan strongly condemned the tactics of the Frontier Premier by "inviting an invasion" of the capital by the Red Shirt volunteers This, he added, was a sinister move on the part of Dr Khan Sahib to precipitate a fratricidal bloody war between the Red Shirts and the Green Shirts But, he said, the Frontier League leaders deserve to be congratulated on not playing Mr Khanna's game

Concluding, he reiterated the view that fresh elections to the Provincial Legislature would result in complete liquidation of the Congress party as far as the Muslims were concerned

Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan who underwent a minor operation at the Mayo Hospital is nearing recovery

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 30 March 1947

VIII.43

TROOPS CALLED OUT AT MARDAN[1]

PESHAWAR, March 28 "All parts of the Province, except Kohat, remained quiet yesterday," says a Government communique

"At Kohat there was a clash between men of rival political factions, and among those who have been admitted into hospital is Khan Sahib Gul, a Congress member of the Frontier Assembly In all, three persons are reported to have been injured

"At Mardan today a mob tried to force its way into Municipal limits to hold a meeting in defiance of the ban under Section 144 Cr P C The demonstrators indulged in stone-throwing, and the police resorted to tear-gas and *lathi*-charge twice Fourteen policemen are stated to have been injured The military have been called out as a precautionary measure"

A meeting was held at Kohat last evening by Muslim League members to welcome Malik-ur-Rehman, a Muslim League leader who was released from prison earlier in the day

At Abbottabad and Havelian (Hazara District) batches of Leaguers defied the Se[ction] 144 order, but they were dispersed by the police

Routine picketing of liquor shops by Muslim Leaguers took place in Bannu yesterday They also took out a procession there

In Dera Ismail Khan, Leaguers organised a procession as usual, but it was dispersed by the police —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 March 1947

VIII.44

MARTYRS' DAY OBSERVED IN PESHAWAR COMPLETE *HARTAL* IN CITY[1]

PESHAWAR, March 30 There was complete *hartal* in the city on Friday, which was celebrated as Martyrs' Day Not a single shop was open The police and the Red Shirts were in the city in large numbers It is learnt that the Muslim clerks in most of the Government offices did not attend office

The day opened with the arrest of the League "Dictator" Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who was staying at the residence of Khan Kuli Khan The Deputy Commissioner called there early in the morning and served the Pir Sahib with the warrants of arrest The *Sahib-e-Mubarik* as the Pir of Manki Sharif is called by his lakhs of followers, said that he would prefer to be arrested in the Muslim League office Accordingly Pir Sahib left for the League office, which is situated in Kabuli Gate, followed by the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of

Police He was arrested there at about 9-30 a m and taken to the Peshawar Jail in the Deputy Commissioner's car

According to the Martyrs' Day programme, the Pir Sahib was to lay the foundation-stone of the Martyrs' Memorial, which is to be built on the spot between Cunningham Park and the Railway line, where a large number of Leaguers were killed by police firing on March 10

STUDENTS' DEMONSTRATION

Following the news of the Pir Manki's arrest, the students of the Edward College which is situated near Khan Kuli Khan's residence, came out on the streets and started a procession to join the main League procession which was to be taken out after the *Juma* prayers A large force of police arrived on the scene and cordoned off the students The students with their bicycles and books were taken to the Central Jail, where, it is learnt, they are being interrogated individually

It is learnt that the League leaders have given up their hunger-strike, following the acceptance of their demands regarding the treatment of political prisoners The authorities have removed Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition, Mr Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Mr Mohammad Ayub Khan, *Salar-e-Ala*, Frontier National Guards, and a number of other Leaguers to the Dera Ismail Khan Jail

It is also learnt that about 50 League volunteers have been released owing to congestion in the jails

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.45

PESHAWAR POLICE YIELD TO WOMEN PROCESSIONISTS[1]

PESHAWAR, March 30 Over 2,000 Muslim women in *burqa* carrying placards with inscriptions demanding the release of League prisoners marched through the main streets of Peshawar Passing through Hashtnagri Gate, the procession reached the mosque outside the Frontier Assembly without any incident

Arriving at the Martyrs' Memorial, the women processionists laid wreaths on the tombs of the *Shohada* After this ceremony they tried to proceed further, but the district and police authorities pushed them back The processionists then squatted on the ground and challenged the authorities to *lathi*-charge them Eventually the police gave in and allowed the processionists to move forward They then dispersed

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.46

PATHANS DETERMINED TO OVERTHROW KHAN-KHANNA REGIME[1]

D I KHAN, March 30 "The North West Frontier Province, the homeland of the proud self-respecting and martial Pathans, is now under the thumb of a selfish clique that looks to Wardha for guidance We are determined to overthrow the present regime which has lost touch with the vibrating public opinion in the Province following the League Civil Disobedience Movement launched for the restoration of civil liberties in the Province," said Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan, Advocate, "Dictator" of the League Movement in the district, on the occasion of the celebration of the Martyrs' Day at a largely attended public meeting Pir Habibullah Jan of Zakori Sharif presided

He said that the whole Congress administrative and political machinery in the Province had now degenerated into corruption The Khan-Khanna Government was more like a joint stock company which divided among the share-holders fat dividends earned through corrupt practices

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.47

106 FRONTIER LEAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED[1]

D I KHAN, March 30 Khan Matiullah Khan, Assistant Commissioner, has sentenced 43 League volunteers to one year's rigorous imprisonment each under Se[ction] 40 of the Frontier Criminal [*sic* for Crimes] Regulations

Khan Matiullah Khan, Assistant Commissioner, has convicted and sentenced 63 League leaders, including Nawabzada Haibat Khan, son of the Nawab of Tank, Shah Din Khan, a local Chief and Malik Maqsood each to one year's R I under Section 40 of the Frontier Criminal [*sic* for Crimes] Regulations

Mohammad Rashid Khan, *Salar*, District National Guards, with 19 volunteers has been transferred from the Peshawar Jail

A message from Abbottabad says Mr G C S Curtis, I C S , who has

been appointed Special Magistrate by the Provincial Government to hold enquiry into the recent communal riots in Mansehra commenced examining witnesses in camera yesterday Major Sajjad Ahmed, an advocate with Peer Zamanshah, represented the Muslim community Mr J A Narrol, pleader, appeared for the Hindus and Sikhs The enquiry is expected to last for a week

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.48

RED SHIRTS WITHDRAWN FROM KOHAT [1]
Peace Mission Fails

PESHAWAR, March 31 All the Red Shirts in Kohat, have been withdrawn from the town following a clash with the Green Shirts, it is learnt today The Red Shirts who "raided" the town to restore confidence among the two communities have failed in their experiment

Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, who visited Kohat this weekend to straighten up things there, was greeted by a huge crowd outside the city shouting slogans of "Resign from Ministry"

The Red Shirts' presence whose activities in Kohat have increased the communal tension in this area, brought serious clashes at many places

On Thursday, a party of Red Shirts clashed with a League procession shouting anti-Ministry slogans in village Chakarkot on the outskirts of Kohat Cantt and is reported to have torn the League flag into pieces and attacked the processionists

The villagers rushed to the spot and a clash followed in which two Red Shirts were injured The Deputy Commissioner reached the spot and brought the situation under control

At village Tappi, another party of Red Shirts heading for Kohat is reported to have fired from the lorry roof on a League procession injuring three persons

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.49

CONVICTS TO MAKE ROOM FOR LEAGUE *DETENUS* IN JAILS[1]

D I KHAN, March 30 Due to a large influx of League political prisoners in the Central Jail, the authorities have got an added headache regarding the accommodation of the new and old prisoners They have now decided to remit the sentences of certain criminal prisoners to make room for the League prisoners

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.50

BANNU PROCESSION 150 ARRESTED[1]

BANNU, March 31 A procession of 10,000 Muslims paraded the streets of Bannu yesterday and picketed the liquor shop One hundred and fifty arrests were made including some prominent local personalities Dr Nasrulla Khan, the "Dictator" explained to the processionists the present political situation in the Province and exhorted them to make every sacrifice for Pakistan —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.51

SHOCK TACTICS BY ANTI-LEAGUE ELEMENTS[1]
Crackers Thrown on Procession

PESHAWAR, March 30 The anti-League elements in the North West Frontier Province are now resorting to "shock" tactics against the non-communal and non-violent League Movement Crackers were thrown at a peaceful League procession composed mainly of the spiritual followers of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif while it was passing through the Dabgari Bazaar Later some miscreant fired a pistol shot which hit a non-Muslim shopkeeper in the main bazaar Over 164 Leaguers were arrested

Following the arrest of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, the Pathans generally and his followers particularly have been deeply agitated On Sunday a colourful procession of several thousand strong drawn from the spiritual followers of the Pir Sahib paraded the main streets of Peshawar City, in defiance of the Government ban on processions As the procession passed through Kabuli Gate, the police threw a cordon around them On their refusal to disperse, 160 persons amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, were arrested The procession then quietly dispersed

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.52

GOVERNOR DISCUSSES FRONTIER PROBLEM WITH MINISTRY, RISING UNREST AMONG PATHANS[1]

Five Lakhs Spent Daily To Keep Order

D I KHAN, March 30 At a Cabinet meeting which took place in Peshawar two days back, the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, is reported to have discussed with the Premier the advisability of Congress Ministry's resignation in view of rising unrest and discontent among the Pathans It is stated that the present League Civil Disobedience [Movement] is causing the Government an expenditure of Rs 5 lakhs a day for maintaining law and order

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, Deputy Leader of the Frontier Assembly Party, addressing a huge gathering of Pathans at Marwat, called upon the Frontier Governor to realise that the only solution to the existing problem was dismissal of the present corrupt Ministry and to assume to himself all powers of law and order under Section 93, which must be followed by general elections

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din, MLA, has started an extensive tour of Bannu and D I Khan Districts Addressing public meetings of stalwart Pathans at Kulachi, Tank, Tajori, Aman Khel, Maula Zai, the Nawab asked the Pathans to get ready for the final struggle for the attainment of complete independence in their homeland He said the present League Movement was started to restore to the Pathans their inherent right to carry on their normal civic and political activities without any hindrance from an oppressive and unrepresentative Government The Pathans all along promised unstinted co-operation in the League's present anti-Congress Ministry struggle

He said no amount of oppression would crush the spirits of the fearless Pathans who were now fully aroused He further added that the blood of martyrs would not go in vain Dr Khan Sahib, he said, wanted to keep the Frontier Pathans under the thumb of the Hindu Congress with the British bayonets now placed at his disposal through the unceasing and unfailing courtesy of the Sikh Defence Member, Sardar Baldev Singh He said if Dr Khan Sahib was so sure of the Pathans why was he avoiding general elections? It may be that corrupt MLAs were on his side but the entire Pathans of the Province have now turned against him

JINNAH AS GUIDE

Maula Dad Khan, Mohsin Ali, Maulana Abdul Manan, Mian Walishah Jahan Khan exhorted Muslims to follow the Quaid-i-Azam in provincial as well as central spheres Prayers were then offered for the souls of the *Shohada* who had laid down their lives in the present struggle against the Khan-Khanna Ministry

When the Nawab reached Marwat, he was received by the Chief of Pathans who fired pistol shots in the air in his honour In reply the Nawab, as leader of 2 lakhs of Marwat Pathans, invited them to follow the Pir of Zakori's example, who by courting arrest in support of the League struggle had set an example for his followers

He said Dr Khan Sahib had lost the confidence of the Pathans and must quit his office, but being an agent of the Hindu Congress he was not prepared He stuck to his post as a quisling although his own people had completely repudiated his stand as was borne out by the Province-wide Movement that was becoming more and more popular and gaining momentum

Rabnawaz Khan Kokah, Sheikh Ghulam Qadir, Malik Khuda Bakhsh and Muslim League workers also addressed the meeting

AHRARS TO JOIN MOVEMENT

The local Ahrars met at the Chadgalya Mosque after *Juma* prayers and decided to join and help the Civil Disobedience Movement Sheikh Mohd Sharif, Secretary, declared that the Congress was a Hindu organisation which was fighting against the political integrity of Indian Muslims He called upon all Muslims to give up their past differences and line up with the Muslim League in its struggle against internal and external enemies of the freedom of Islam

IPI FAQIR'S COUSIN RETURNS TO BANNU

The cousin of the Faqir of Ipi, Habib Ullah Khan, Tori Khel Wazir after watching the progress of League Movement in the D I Khan has now returned to Bannu

FRONTIER SPEAKER HECKLED

K B Allah Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the Frontier Assembly, was heckled at a public meeting when he tried to do [*sic*] Congress propaganda to the Pathans Some stones were also hurled at him

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.53

FRONTIER REPRESSION[1]

What transpired between Dr Khan Sahib and Pandit Nehru before the arrest of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif is not known, but popular opinion has it that Dr Khan Sahib must have obtained some assurance of support from the Central Government if things got too hot for him They are hot enough as it is and the temperature is bound to shoot up as a result of Dr Khan's latest indiscretion The indefatigable Pir Sahib of Manki is reputed to be one of the most influential personalities in the land of the Pathans and his arrest will doubtless extend the arena of conflict between the Khan clique and the Frontier people The conflict has been confined so far to the towns and villages of "settled districts" It might easily extend now to the crags and gorges of the tribal belt There is no doubt that the present League Movement in the Frontier Province owes a good deal of its dynamics to the personality of the Pir Sahib, and the Khanna-Khan combine must have staked heavily on the hope that his arrest will be something in the nature of a *coup de grace* It will not be the first time that a tyrannical administration banking on ruthlessness and repression, to crush the will of the people, had failed For what Khan Sahib and his colleagues are up against are not a few individuals but a whole people, and the arrest of popular leaders does not pacify but provokes them further This very commonplace truth has been demonstrated so often in the last few years that no sane person will desire to contest it We are yet a long way, however, from the age of reason and every administration, unless it is willing to abdicate when the people demand its abdication, continues to try out for itself the same weapons which they know have failed their sturdier predecessors To add impertinence to injustice, Dr Khan Sahib continues to claim that he enjoys the confidence of the Pathans because he is still backed by a parliamentary majority It is true that the weightage enjoyed by the Frontier minorities and the confusion and muddled

thinking engendered by Congress propaganda and Congress friends at the time of elections did manage to beguile the Frontier people into putting the Khan clique into power but the confusion has since been laid to rest and the issues have become clearer When the Pathans put Khan Sahib's Ministry into power, they obviously made no allowance for the fact that the Ministry would be changed into a joint stock company and govern only for the benefit of its own share holders, that people's food will be bartered for political support and the dictates of Wardha will have precedence over the wishes of the Pathans Now that all these facts are before the people, they have challenged Khan Sahib to submit his Ministry to their revised verdict, and Dr Khan Sahib's answer has been arrests, *lathi*-charges, bullets and tear-gas bombs Even craven hearted and cowardly sections of the Indian people have stood up to these weapons with courage and it is inconceivable that the brave and freedom-loving Pathans will give in to them The result, therefore, has been an unprecedented political upsurge among all sections of the Pathan people and purdah, have forsaken their age-old immobility to lead political processions The tempo of the Movement is daily on the rise and as the arrest of the Pir Sahib of Manki shows, the Khan Government intends to match this by a corresponding increase in terror The conversations with the Central Government might obtain for them a greater amount of powder and steel but nothing can procure for them Pathans' goodwill or buy off the popular indignation against their corrupt and inept regime The only wise and democratic course open to them is to submit to the will of the people and if they are not satisfied that the happenings of the last few weeks are a sufficient indication of this will, they can test its strength in fresh elections At first sight the uphill path of reason may appear more unpleasant than the downward slope of folly but on second thought even the most headstrong adventurer can see that even though it is easier to slide down a slope it is also easier to break your neck

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

VIII.54

N W F P NEWS CAUSES ANXIETY IN DELHI LEAGUE CIRCLES[1]

DELHI, April 1 High League circles are seriously disturbed at the

news received from the Frontier, where the Government are alleged to be releasing all types of criminals to make room for the League prisoners Grave anxiety has been caused by factual information received of the treatment being meted out to the thousands of people arrested in the League Movement

A special messenger to the League High Command narrated the details of what was happening there In spite of the brutal and repressive measures of the Khan regime, the masses are coming forward in ever greater numbers to put an end to the present Ministry It is difficult to understand how long Dr Khan Sahib can stand in face of the rising deluge of the people's discontent The administration in the Province is already completely paralysed

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.55

PATHANS ARE ANTI-CONGRESS, SAYS NAWAB OF TANK[1]

D I KHAN, April 1 "The Pathans of 1947 have undergone a great transformation and now totally dissociate from the corrupt and dishonest administration of Dr Khan Sahib, who does not deserve to rule over them," said the Nawab of Tank, Deputy Leader of the Frontier Muslim League Assembly Party, addressing a public meeting at Lakki Marwat today

The Nawab of Tank said that the League Civil Disobedience Movement was absolutely non-communal and if any untoward incident happened to the Sikhs and Hindus, Dr Khan Sahib would be held responsible for it

The Nawab exhorted the audience to court arrests in thousands and thus keep the spirit of the Movement alive The Nawab who arrived here in the morning was given a great ovation

A resolution urging the Frontier Governor to dismiss Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry and hold fresh elections was passed at the meeting

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.56

18 HAZARA LEAGUERS SENTENCED[1]

ABBOTTABAD, April 1 Mohammad Jalaluddin, President and Ghulam Hussain, Secretary of the District Muslim League, Hazara, Abdul Rasheed Riani, Propaganda Secretary, Maulana Mohammed Ishaq Khateeb, Abdullah Khan, Ghulam Haider, Ahmed Din and eleven other Leaguers were convicted today by the District Magistrate of Hazara under Section 40 Cr P C in connection with the Muslim League agitation and sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.57

5,000 TRIBESMEN ADVISE DR KHAN SAHIB TO RESIGN[1]

BANNU, April 1 A meeting of Janikhel and Batakhel tribes of Waziristan was held here yesterday which was attended by 5,000 armed tribesmen, including the generals of the Faqir of Ipi

The tribesmen declared that their cherished goal was Pakistan for which they would fight to the last

A resolution was unanimously passed supporting the Muslim League demand of Pakistan and advising Dr Khan Sahib to resign by the 10th of this month and end the Hindu *Raj*, if peace was desired in the Province

A procession of 20,000 people was taken out which picketed a liquor shop One hundred and fifty arrests were made

Later at a public meeting, Abdur Rahim Khan condemned the arrest of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and the repressive policy of the N W F P Government towards the Muslim League —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.58

GREAT PROCESSION TAKEN OUT IN D I KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, April 1 A grand procession was taken out here yesterday

led by Mr Ahmad Khan, son of Mr Mohd Din, press reporter, and two school boys They were arrested along with 10 volunteers Before his arrest, Mr Ahmad Khan appealed to young men to take active part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in large numbers

Later at a public meeting held under the presidentship of Pir Habibullah Zai, Mr Mohd Din and Zaman Khan appealed for funds and protested against the transfer of prisoners to other jails without any reason

Pir Fazal Din Ahmad Jan declared that his disciples were ready to court arrest in thousands

One hundred and thirty-six volunteers were sentenced to one year's imprisonment each under Section 40 F C R , yesterday The total number of persons sentenced here so far is 262 —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.59

POLICE CHARGE PIR OF MANKI'S FOLLOWERS[1]

PESHAWAR, April 1 The police *lathi*-charged and tear-gassed a big procession here yesterday in which thousands of followers of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif participated

The courts were again picketed for several hours The police arrested 42 persons, says an OPI message

[1]*Pakistan Times* 2 April 1947

VIII.60

DR KHAN SAHIB'S DRAMATIC ESCAPE FROM LEAGUE CROWD[1]

KOHAT, April 1 Dr Khan Sahib staged a dramatic escape on his way to Kohat, in order to avoid a League crowd shouting anti-Congress slogans

A multitude of people, it is reported, on hearing of Dr Khan Sahib's arrival, gathered on all the roads leading to the city Dr Khan Sahib, who was travelling by car, found all the roads resounding with anti-Congress slogans, whereupon he climbed into a lorry, which took him incognito to his destination —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.61

LAHORE MUSLIM WOMEN TAKE PART IN FRONTIER MOVEMENT[1]

Lahore Muslim women gave a lead to their menfolk during the weekend when a batch of four of them left Lahore for Peshawar to participate in the Pathan struggle for restoration of civil liberties They included Begum Fatima, Miss Nasira Siddiqui, Begum Zubeida Shah and Begum Karim Dad News of their safe arrival in Peshawar has been received here

This batch of women will be followed by others The Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee, which has sponsored the present move to help actively our Pathan brethren, hopes to send *jathas* of Muslim women regularly

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

VIII.62

67 LEAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED[1]

ABBOTTABAD, April 2 Sheikh Mohd Jalaluddin, President, District Muslim League, Hazara, Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan, MLA and a Member of the Constituent Assembly, Mr Sultan Hassan Ali Khan, Khan Mohd Farid Khan, MLA, Capt Zain Mohd Khan, MLA, Maulana Mohd Ishaque, *Khateeb, Juma Masjid*, Mian Ghulam Hussain, General Secretary, District League and 60 other League workers were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment each under Section 40 F C R by Major S T John, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, yesterday

Three big processions were taken out here yesterday and the picketing of the court also continued Twenty-four volunteers including Mr Walayat Khan, *Salar*, Red Shirt, Mirpur, who recently joined the League along with his 7 colleagues, were arrested but later released A number of persons volunteered themselves to be arrested but no arrests were made —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.63

NAWAB OF TANK CHALLENGES DR KHAN[1]

D I KHAN, April 2 Addressing a largely attended meeting of the Pathans at Lakki Marwat, Nawab Qutub-ud-Din of Tank, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, challenged the Frontier Premier, Dr Khan Sahib to choose any one of the 39 Muslim seats to measure his strength with the Muslim League on the issue of Pakistan He said "I am confident that Dr Khan Sahib will lose his security, if he comes into an open contest with the Muslim League from any constituency "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.64

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN KOHAT BREAK DOORS OF BARRACKS[1]

PESHAWAR, April 1 The N W F P Government issued the following communique last night "In Kohat this morning about 59 under trial political prisoners broke the doors of their barracks and came out in the jail compound and began to damage jail property The prisoners were relocked in their barracks

"Cases of incendiarism also occurred in Kohat City today Some shops were burnt and ten looted The Superintendent of Police was assaulted by a Muslim League worker near the jail gate Detachments of police and troops are patrolling the town A curfew has been imposed for one week from 7 p m to 6 a m and all public meetings and processions have been banned

"At Peshawar Jail this morning some of the political prisoners set fire to three tents and assaulted two convict warders who received injuries Curfew in Peshawar City has been extended for one week

"Two live bombs were discovered today near Akora on the main railway line from Peshawar The down Frontier Mail was consequently delayed Last night ten bundles of luggage of Hindu passengers at Nowshera Railway Station were set on fire A railway *chowkidar* is reported to have fired two shots but the culprits managed to escape "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times* 3 April 1947

VIII.65

FRONTIER WOMEN HOIST LEAGUE FLAG ON PREMIER'S BUNGALOW[1]

Processionists Place Their Demands Before Governor's Secretary

PESHAWAR, April 1 A big procession of League women was taken out on Tuesday Starting from the city the procession reached the bungalow of the Premier, who was absent In spite of police efforts to stop the procession, it succeeded in entering the bungalow and hoisted the League flag on the roof

The processionists then marched to Government House with the same intention They were met at the gate by Mr Latimer, Secretary to the Frontier Governor At his suggestion four women were selected to put forward their demands The four delegates then communicated their demands which were that the Congress Ministry having lost what little support it ever had among the people should be made to resign at once, fresh elections should be held in the Province without any such thing as a Caretaker Ministry, as that was the only way to ensure fair and free elections, the present overcrowding of jails and the bad treatment of League prisoners should be looked into at once and in view of the loss of trade and business, the present League agitation should be settled as early as possible

The women further informed the official that thousands of women were ready to follow the 15,000 men now in jail, and that the Pathans, men, women and children would never tolerate a regime which received its orders from Wardha The women finally told Mr Latimer that they would wait for two days for an answer to their demands, and would then come again to the Government House Mr Latimer promised to put all their demands before the Governor and communicate the reply to the ladies

MOVEMENT AS STRONG AS EVER

On the men's side the Movement continues as strong as before, ever larger number of Leaguers are coming forward to offer themselves for arrest An attempt was made last night to set fire to a deserted house An explosion also occurred during the night, but no casualties are reported

The District Magistrate, Maj Shah has extended the curfew for another week in the Municipal limits of the city, the curfew will now commence at 8 p m instead of 10 p m It is forbidden by another order

for more than five persons to assemble even on rooftops Persons, who go out after dark are ordered to carry lights These new restrictions are a result of the situation of extreme tension following the arrest of the *Pir of Manki Sharif*

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.66

20,000 LEAGUERS ARRESTED IN FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 2 Khan Sultan Mohammad Khan, President N W F P Muslim Defence Committee, at a press conference today said "While over 70 per cent Pathans in settled areas in the N W F P are behind the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, Pathans in the tribal areas are for the League in even greater number"

The Khan stated "Though the present League Movement in the Frontier is against suppression of civil liberties in the Frontier, emphasis now is on Leaguer's demand that the present Congress Ministry should resign—for it does not now represent the majority of the Pathans—and new elections be held in which the League will be returned by an overwhelming majority "

Khan Sultan Mohammed Khan revealed that according to Muslim League's estimation over 1,100 Muslim Leaguers were arrested during the Muslim League campaign in Peshawar and Mardan Districts alone since March 4 when trials started The Khan further stated that 450 Leaguers were under trial at present

According to the Khan over 20,000 Leaguers were arrested in the Frontier during the present League Movement but only 7,000 were in various jails in the Province, the rest having been released

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.67

ARBAB ABDUL GHAFOOR KHAN ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 2 It is reported that Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, President, Afghan *Jirga*, has been on hunger-strike since Friday last as

a protest against the Jail authorities' refusal to permit him to join last Friday's congregational prayers and Frontier Government's objectionable decision to classify as non-political prisoner those League volunteers who were arrested on the premises of the Premier's house These volunteers are now prisoners under Section 395 and 397 I P C

Arbab Ghafoor is reported to have informed the jail authorities that he would continue the strike till these wrongs were redressed

It is also said that several political prisoners have also gone on hunger-strike in sympathy with Arbab Ghafoor —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 April 1947

VIII.68

22 LEAGUERS ARRESTED[1]

An Orient Press message from Peshawar says The police resorted to *lathi*-charge and used tear-gas to disperse a huge procession led by Hafiz Obeidullah Khan and Khan Hidayatullah Khan yesterday Both of them, along with 20 volunteers, were arrested

Before his arrest Hafiz Obeidullah Khan addressing the people said, "We are out to achieve our cherished goal of Pakistan We are ready to sacrifice our lives and children for this sacred cause, and we shall overcome all difficulties "

He appealed to every young and old to gird up their lions and come out to fight for the object in view that it was achieved

It is reported that 12 disciples of the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif entered the compound of the Government House yesterday and raised Muslim League slogans The police reached the spot and arrested them

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 April 1947

VIII.69

PROCESSION TEAR-GASSED IN PESHAWAR[1]
200 Muslim Leaguers Arrested

PESHAWAR, April 3 A big women's procession was taken out today

Over 1,500 women starting from the residence of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan marched through the city shouting League slogans

The men's procession started from the office of the City Muslim League and were tear-gassed immediately afterwards, but this had little effect and the processionists succeeded in breaking through the police cordon and reaching Kabuli Gate During their march round the city, 200 persons were arrested

When the procession returned to the office of the City Muslim League, a meeting was held Mr Mohammad Ashraf, Secretary of the Peshawar League in an impassioned appeal to the people told them that when the Pathans make up their minds to do something, they never stop, and as they are determined to achieve their freedom, no power on earth can stop them

A water-carrier who was helping the people during the tear-gas attack was attacked by Congressman Khan Mohammad, and was seriously injured

About 400 disciples of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, who arrived in Peshawar early in the morning, are reported to have offered their *Juma* prayers in the Sessions Court compound in Peshawar Cantonment — OPI and API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

VIII.70

PICKETING IN KOHAT[1]

PESHAWAR, April 4 An unsuccessful attempt is reported to have been made in Kohat today to set fire to a place of worship No damage is reported to have been caused

Muslim Leaguers picketed the courts in Kohat today in connection with the League campaign against suppressing civil liberties in Frontier The Leaguers also picketed the residential quarters of the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent Police in Kohat today Small batches of Leaguers also defied Section 144 Cr P C —API

[1]*Pakistan Times* 6 April 1947

VIII.71

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF DAY HELD THROUGHOUT FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

Faqir of Ipi Supports League Movement Against Congress Government

PESHAWAR, April 5 The "Pir of Manki Sharif Day" was observed throughout the Province today, as a protest against the arrest of Pir of Manki Sharif

In Peshawar the Muslim League organized a procession and about 100 processionists were detained by the police They were let off in the evening

The "Pir of Manki Sharif Day" was observed in Bannu All shops remained closed A mammoth meeting was also held, presided over by Sahibzada Fazal Haq, *Gaddinashin* Karbogha

A letter from the Faqir of Ipi supporting the Frontier League Movement and the League demands was read in the meeting

2,000 ARRESTED IN D I KHAN

Over 2,000 arrests have been made in D I Khan District since the start of the Civil Disobedience Movement The daily programme, apart from meetings, is a big procession at the end of which 16 volunteers court arrest This is done everyday despite severe curfew restrictions, writes our D I Khan correspondent

Nawabzada Zulfiqar Ali Khan, President of the City Muslim League, Sheikh Mohammad Akram, Saifullah Khan, Umar Khan, Malik Faiz Mohammad Paroa and 12 volunteers were convicted by the City Magistrate to one year's rigorous imprisonment each, under Section 40 of F C R So far 700 convictions have taken place

CONGRESS PROPAGANDA TOUR FAILS

Allah Nawaz Khan, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, with Abdullah Khan, MLA and other Congressmen accompanied by a police guard attempted a propaganda tour of the district In Baidkora, Haripur and Paroa the Muslims heckled them and refused to listen to what they had to say

At Paharpur, Sahibzada Fazal Ahmad Jan, nephew of the Pir of Zakori and Haji Mohammad Ramzan with a party of Muslim Leaguers, started a meeting of the Muslim League at the place where the Congress meeting was to be held All the Muslims attended the League meeting and heard the League leaders for over three hours The

Congress meeting was attended by 40 Hindus only, and a few Muslims who were present only heckled the Congress speakers

The Muslims were greatly agitated at the attempts of the Congressites to force a meeting on them, but they were pacified by League leaders A Muslim League deputation with Makhdum Abdul Sattar Shah is touring the villages at various places They were offered the fullest support of the villagers for the Muslim League cause

STUDENTS' SUPPORT

The students are giving the fullest support to the League Movement and representatives of the Muslim Students Federation, along with the Muslim League National Guards, lead the daily peaceful procession A meeting of the students was held and the arrest of Mr Ahmad Din was condemned

LEAGUE LEADERS TREATED BADLY

It is learnt that Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, Mohammad Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan, Khan Mohammad Ayyub Khan, *Salar* of the Frontier National Guards, and Khan Mohammad Akbar Khan were treated very badly when brought by a police party from the Peshawar Jail to the Dera Ismail Khan Jail

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

VIII.72

LEAGUE PRISONERS IN PESHAWAR JAIL RESUME HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 3 Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Mian Musharraf Shah, Khan Bakht Jamal Khan, Khan Nasrullah Jan, Khan Ibrahim Khan of Jhaggra and 70 others League prisoners now detained in Peshawar Jail have been on hunger-strike from April 1 in protest against the continued bad treatment by the Frontier Government

It will be recalled that the first hunger-strike was given up when the Government accepted the demands of the hunger-strikers The "acceptance" of their demands however, has led to no change in the actual treatment of the prisoners The hunger-strike therefore has been resumed It is reliably learnt that Abdul Ghafoor Khan is in a serious state He has become very weak and is spitting blood

He was requested by other League prisoners to give up the strike in view of his precarious condition but he refused

Incidents of beating the political prisoners by jail wardens have also been reported

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

VIII.73

RED SHIRTS LOOT HINDU SHOPS[1]

KOHAT, April 3 The latest example of the way the Frontier Government is trying to suppress the present League Movement is provided by a young boy, Ghulam Sarwar, who was arrested earlier in the Movement and was to be released from jail today As he was about to come out of the jail gate, a League flag was thrown inside the jail by the crowd assembled at the jail gate The D S P who saw this started beating Ghulam Sarwar and tore the flag into shreds Ghulam Sarwar was taken back to jail

The Leaguers assembled outside showed great patience and forbearance and refusing to be provoked, marched back to the city in a procession A number of Red Shirts without uniform went along with the procession and shouted anti-League slogans in the hope of starting trouble When this failed to provoke the Leaguers, the Red Shirts looted 10 Hindu shops and set fire to some

At this stage the troops appeared and arrested five Leaguers, Hamayun Shah, Hussain Shah, Lala Abdullah, Pir Bux and Jahan Dar Shah who were leading the procession Two hundred and thirty arrests have been made in the last two days There is virtually a 24-hour curfew in Kohat

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

VIII.74

BRITISH TROOPS PATROLLING PESHAWAR STREETS
25,000 MUSLIMS DEFY CURFEW TO TAKE OUT PROCESSION[1]

400 League Volunteers Injured in Police *Lathi*-Charge

PESHAWAR, April 6 British troops are patrolling the streets of Peshawar City which is under the blanket of a 24-hours curfew Troops are assisting the civil forces in enforcing the curfew

The 24-hours curfew imposed by the Khan-Khanna Ministry in the city has had no effect on the League Movement

Twenty-five thousand Leaguers who, in defiance of the curfew, took out a procession, were severely *lathi*-charged and tear-gassed in the city Four hundred volunteers were injured and were carried back to the League office, the procession moving in perfect order and discipline

On Saturday in defiance of the curfew a procession of 25,000 Leaguers started from the office of the City Muslim League As the procession reached the Clock Tower the police and the army who were present in great force *lathi*-charged and tear-gassed the processionists, who remained completely non-violent and lay down on the ground Like a disciplined army at the orders of their leaders they rose again to advance in face of the police They were repeatedly *lathi*-charged

After an hour they broke through the police cordon and marched on to Qissakhwani Bazaar where another batch of the police was stationed They were again *lathi*-charged, and despite heavy attacks of tear-gas they could not be dispersed

INJURED VOLUNTEER DIES

Over 400 volunteers were wounded and carried back to the City League office The usual meeting was held and the procession marched through the streets of the town and returned to the League office

One of the League volunteers injured during the vindictive police *lathi*-charge died from his wounds On Sunday his funeral procession was taken out by over 40,000 Muslims After Saturday's experience the police made no attempt to interfere

At Nowshehra, a son of the Pir of Manki led a huge procession in spite of the curfew A meeting was held and prayers were offered for the latest martyr in the cause of the freedom of Muslims

A procession was also taken out at Kohat

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

VIII.75

ARRESTED PUNJABI TEACHER TO BE EXTERNED FROM N W F P[1]

PESHAWAR, April 6 The Frontier Government have arrested

Mr Abdul Hameed, a senior teacher in the Islamia High School, under Section 36 F C R and will extern him from the Frontier Province, it is learnt

Mr. Hameed belongs to the Punjab and has been serving in this school for last 12 years

The premises of this school were forcibly taken possession of by the Government for the accommodation of the Red Shirts against which the Council of Management took serious objection The Council passed a resolution condemning this act of the Government as a criminal house trespass Mr Hameed is said to have taken a leading part against this action of the Government —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

VIII.76

MAHSUD TRIBESMEN PROTEST PIR OF MANKI'S ARREST[1]

PESHAWAR, April 6 A *Jirga* of Mahsuds held at Tank in Dera Ismail Khan District yesterday passed a resolution protesting against the arrest of Pir of Manki Sharif, and supporting the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan

The *Jirga* which was attended by the Pir of Wana Hafta Khan, Mir Badshah and Shah Pasand, decided that two men from every tribe should visit all Agencies and fix a date for the holding of a combined *Jirga* of all tribes to decide the future policy of the tribesmen in view of the injustice being done to Indian Muslims —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

VIII.77

NATIONAL GUARDS READY TO GO TO FRONTIER[1]

Syed Amir Hussain Shah, *Salar-e-Ala*, Muslim League National Guards, in a statement says that the National Guards of the Punjab are ready to go to the help of their brothers in the Frontier Province at a moment's notice

"The Punjab", he said, "has watched with growing concern the

Muslim League's peaceful and non-violent Movement in the Frontier The League is fighting a regime which has lost the confidence of the people through its nepotism, inefficiency and political chicanery The struggle for civil liberties in the Frontier is really a struggle for the freedom of the Pathans "

"They have our fullest sympathy, and at a word from the Frontier League, thousands of young Punjabis will march to their help "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 9 April 1947

VIII.78

FOUR PUNJAB MUSLIM WOMEN DODGE POLICE TO AID LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN FRONTIER[1]

One of the four Muslim women who recently journeyed to Peshawar on behalf of the Punjab Muslim League Women's Committee in connection with the Frontier League Movement, has just returned to Lahore after dodging the Frontier Police hounds and escaping arrest, by a hair's breadth

Miss Nasira Siddiqui, who was in jail for over a month during the Punjab League Movement, told a *Pakistan Times* reporter that on reaching Peshawar, they discovered that they were wanted by the police

"But heavy *burqas* and heavy Peshawari *chappals*," she said, "came to our rescue Wearing them, we felt safe, and we quickly settled down to organising women's processions and meetings "

This, she continued, led to feverish activity on the police front, and informers began following every *burqa*-clad woman to her home

One day, the police succeeded in locating their residence, but while a detachment was on its way to raid the house, their hostess quickly dressed them in typical Pathan robes and shrouding them in old-fashioned *burqas*, took them to a house in another lane On the way, they passed the constables armed with warrants for their arrest, bound for the original house

"This," said Miss Siddiqui, "happened on several occasions, but each time we successfully dodged the police, who failed to arrest us "

Miss Siddiqui declined to disclose her future plans Her three companions are still in the Frontier Province

[1]*Pakistan Times* 9 April 1947

VIII.79

2,000 MUSLIMS IN D I KHAN JAIL ARRESTS CONTINUE[1]
Hired *Goondas* Employed to Break League Struggle

D I KHAN, April 8 On Monday April 7, the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement entered its 40th day In this District alone over 2,000 Leaguers have been thrown behind the bars, but neither repression nor all the other tricks of the Congress, has had the slightest effect on the strength of the movement The people, full of fervour and enthusiasm are determined to smash the unholy Khanna-Khan alliance During these 40 days there has not been a single communal incident to mar the peaceful non-violent Movement of the League

On Monday, a huge procession was taken out under the leadership of Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan After marching through the streets the processionists demonstrated in front of the residence of the Frontier Speaker, Allah Nawaz Khan, who has been here for some time trying to break the League struggle, by hiring *goondas* from other districts and by other dirty means with no success at all

At the end of the procession, a meeting was held at Powinda Gate Syed Khurshid Shirazi, speaking at the meeting, asked the Pathans to be prepared for the final call from their beloved Quaid-i-Azam Exhorting the audience to stand by the League, he said "Remember that the League has no money to offer you, those who seek money have to go elsewhere, the League only offers you struggle, hardships, blood and tears We are fighting for our freedom We will continue the fight till we win The achievement of Pakistan is a certainty, if we do not falter As for the traitors to the cause of the Muslims, their days are numbered"

Haji Mohammad Ramzan condemned the Hindu press for its insulting attitude towards the Muslims and the Muslim leaders About 12 persons courted arrest

A meeting was held today at the Hafiz Jamal Khan Maidan Malik Mohsin Ali and Karim Khan were among those who spoke Twenty persons courted arrest, led by Sardar Shoazam Khan, Mohammad Ali Shah and Sardar Ahmad Khan of Kiri Kasor

The Nawab of Tank and Haji Mohammad Ramzan Khan are touring the southern villages of the district, accompanied by a batch of National Guards The villagers are offering themselves in hundreds for all sacrifices in the cause of the League The Miankhel tribes have sent a special invitation to the League leaders to tour their villages

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 10 April 1947

VIII.80

PESHAWAR MUSLIM PROCESSION *LATHI*-CHARGED[1]

PESHAWAR, April 9 Muslims organized a procession in Peshawar City before the commencement of curfew today The police used tear-gas and made a *lathi*-charge to disperse a crowd near Pulpukhta in Peshawar City Reorganising their procession they reached the Kabuli Gate where 14 persons were put under "temporary" arrest

Muslim women also organised a procession today in Peshawar City before curfew hours —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 April 1947

VIII.81

NO RESIGNATION, EVEN AT GOVERNOR'S REQUEST[1]

Frontier Minister Tries to Explain Away League Movement

NEW DELHI, April 12 Qazi Atta Ullah Khan, Education Minister, N W F P , addressing a press conference in New Delhi declared that the Congress Ministry would not resign, even should the Governor ask them to do so

He anticipated that the Constituent Assembly Committee on Tribal and Excluded Areas would encounter difficulties if it undertook its projected tour

Referring to the Muslim League Movement in the Frontier Province, Qazi Atta Ullah said that there were 4,000 people in jail He attributed the great influence of the League on the masses to "vested interests and powerful official contacts "

Finally he said that if the Pir of Manki Sharif had been arrested in the early stages of the movement there would not have been "very much trouble "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.82

FIFTIETH DAY OF FRONTIER LEAGUE MOVEMENT[1]

More Demonstrations Speaker Urged Not to Play Traitor

PESHAWAR, April 12 Pathans celebrated the 50th day of the League Movement in the N W F P with great fervour yesterday Courts were picketed in Haripur, Swabi, Mansehra and at several places Muslim volunteers also picketed the Police Station of Garhi Habibullah

In Mardan Muslims picketed the courts and office of the P W D A procession was organised in Kohat which was dispersed by the police with a *lathi*-charge Some people were injured

The League procession in D I Khan today was led by Mr Abdul Aziz Khan, *Salar*, Muslim National Guards The procession, after passing the jail held a demonstration at the residence of the Frontier Speaker, and called upon him not to play the traitor to the Pathans About 20 persons were arrested

A public meeting followed at Maidan Hafiz Jamal Khan, where Syed Mohammad Ali Shah and Haji Ramzan Khan told the audience how completely unsuccessful the propaganda tour of the Frontier Speaker had been Sardar Allah Nawaz Khan of the Punjab Muslim League promised all help to the Pathans on behalf of the Punjab Muslims

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.83

FRONTIER SPEAKER ADDRESSES MEETING IN *MANDIR*[1]

Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan, Frontier Speaker, organised a Congress meeting in a *mandir* in a Hindu *mohalla* He addressed his Hindu and Sikh audience and suggested that Red Shirts should be got from outside districts His offer, however, was not accepted

Nawab Qutub-ud-Din of Tank continued his whirlwind tour of the villages taking the message of the Muslim League to the remotest hamlets Everywhere he was warmly welcomed, large numbers of villagers promising all help to the League's struggle for civil liberties

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.84

MANSEHRA CARNAGE CONDEMNED[1]

The Mansehra Tehsil League Committee at a meeting passed the following resolution

"This meeting places on record their deep sympathy with the persons afflicted in the recent fire and carnage at Mansehra and at the same time unequivocally dissociates itself from this catastrophe and unanimously condemns this act, which in the opinion of this meeting, is an act of those mischief-mongers who intend to disrupt the Muslim League Organisation and harm its prestige and programme "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.85

VISIT TO TRIBAL AREAS NOT ADVISABLE, SAYS GHAFFAR KHAN[1]

NEW DELHI, April 12 As long as conditions were disturbed, it was not advisable for the Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on the North Western Tribal Areas, to undertake the tour, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is reported to have told a *jirga* of the *Maliks* of the South Waziristan who saw him today Qazi Atta Ullah and Mr Mehr Chand Khanna were also present —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947

VIII.86

IMMEDIATE DISMISSAL OF FRONTIER MINISTRY URGED[1]

League War Council's Resolution

PESHAWAR, April 13 The War Council of the Frontier Muslim League, in a statement, has demanded the immediate dismissal of the Khanna-Khan Ministry, as it got into power by corrupt and unfair means and never enjoyed the support of Muslims

Muslims organised a procession with a mock funeral of Dr Khan Sahib, this morning in Peshawar City The police used tear-gas and *lathi*-charged twice to disperse the procession, resulting in injuries to two persons Twenty processionists were arrested

A large number of villagers of the Mohmands of British territory entered Peshawar Cantonment in a procession, and after parading the main roads approached the Government House where they held a meeting Tear-gas and *lathis* were used to disperse them They left the place and formed a procession, marched to the city and dispersed at the City Muslim League office

PUNJAB YOUTH'S CHALLENGE

At Dera Ismail Khan, a procession of 7,000 was taken out At a public meeting held there, Mr Majeed Afzal Piracha, a Punjab volunteer, challenged Dr Khan Sahib to resign and seek election If he was sure of the confidence of the electorate, he asked, why did he not agree to the holding of fresh elections "Such hypocritical utterances will not deceive the Musalmans now", he added He further said that the best course for the Frontier Congress Premier was either to leave the Congress, or leave the Province by resigning from the Premiership

A warrant for the arrest of Mr Majeed has been issued by the Frontier Government —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 15 April 1947

VIII.87

FRONTIER *DETENUS* ARE MALTREATED, SAYS BEGUM FATIMA[1]

Begum Fatima, Acting President of the Punjab Muslim Women's League, who returned to Lahore after a fortnight's tour of the Frontier Province, in a statement to the press on Monday, made allegations of the maltreatment of the Muslim League volunteers in the Frontier jails

Begum Fatima led deputations of Frontier Muslim women to the Frontier Governor and the Premier, Dr Khan Sahib, to bring to their notice the alleged repression of the Muslim League *detenus*

While the Governor, she said, gave a sympathetic hearing to the deputation, Dr Khan Sahib, on the other hand refused point-blank to go into the matter, saying that jail was not forced on the Muslim League volunteers—as it was their own choice, let them have a little taste of it

She said that all the jails in the Frontier Province were packed to capacity with Muslim League volunteers, and temporary huts were being built to accommodate the in-flowing stream

Begum Fatima also addressed the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, and exhorted them to quit their books for the present, and actively join the struggle for Pakistan by touring the countryside and educating the Muslim masses on the present crucial issues —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 15 April 1947

VIII.88

KOHAT WOMEN BREAK THROUGH MILITARY CORDON 36 ARRESTED[1]

KOHAT, April 16 The Muslim League agitation continues unabated The District Courts were again picketed by the League volunteers today, and had to be closed A women's procession starting from the city paraded the main bazaars of the town Thirty-six volunteers were arrested including four students from Islamia College

At several places the women's procession broke through the military cordon Great resentment was caused in the city on account of the Hindu and Sikh officials, alleged rough-handling of the women processionists The intervention of the League leaders, however, saved the situation from becoming ugly

In the evening, a crowded meeting was held in the Municipal gardens in defiance of Section 144, where speeches condemning Khan Sahib's policy of repression and explaining the importance of the League struggle for civil liberties were delivered

Many processions were also taken out during the day Students took out a mock funeral of the Congress Government

[1]Pakistan Times, 17 April 1947

VIII.89

TRIBAL *JIRGA* DEMANDS PIR OF MANKI'S RELEASE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 15 A resolution demanding the immediate release

of Pir of Manki Sharif was passed at a joint *jirga* of South Waziristan and Kurram Agencies, a few days ago

The resolution said "We deeply regret that the Frontier Governor should have allowed this arrest, knowing that it would provoke tribesmen We urge the Governor-General-in-Council as well as the Frontier Governor to release him forthwith In case he is not released, the Government will be responsible for the consequences "

By another resolution the *jirga* demanded the resignation of the Khan Ministry and warned the Government that the Patel Committee's visit to the Tribal Area might have serious results The *jirga* also reiterated its full faith in Pakistan and the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

VIII.90

PIR OF MANKI SHARIF'S BROTHER ARRESTED[1]

Dramatic Hold-up By Frontier Premier Dr Khan Flees Despite Army Escort When 50,000 Tribesmen Arrive

PESHAWAR, April 16 The younger brother of the Pir of Manki Sharif was arrested yesterday after a dramatic hold-up by Dr Khan Sahib, Frontier Premier, near the Radio Station

The younger Pir Sahib, who was returning after presiding over a meeting of Muslims held at Tahkal Bala, was suddenly stopped by the Frontier Premier who had a strong army escort of Gurkha and British companies The Premier, it is reported, ordered the Pir Sahib and his companion, Maulvi Shakir Ullah, to get out of the car and at the point of pistol had the car searched Nothing incriminating, however, was found Immediately, the Premier had the two arrested

Soon afterwards, Malik Taj Mohammad, a prominent citizen of the city reached the spot He was also subjected to the search and put under arrest.

The son of Arbab Abdul Ghafoor, with his brother, also reached the spot, and were arrested

Events took a dramatic turn when a procession of nearly 50,000 tribal Pathans of the Khalil Mohmand tribes appeared on the scene Khan Sahib, apprehending danger, fled with his escort

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

VIII.91

50 ARRESTED AT BANNU PICKETING OF COURTS CONTINUES[1]

BANNU, April 16 Lorry-loads of Marwats, coming from a distance of 50 miles from Bannu, are courting arrests in large numbers, following the arrest of their leader, Khan Saifullah Khan, Chief of Ghazni Khel

Fifty Muslims were arrested here when a batch of Leaguers picketed all the courts in Bannu today Sarfraz Khan Khattak, Advocate, "Dictator" of the League Movement, Gulab Khan, Muzaffar Khan and Sher Ahmad Khan were arrested from their houses on Tuesday night

Khan Abdur Rahim Khan, Advocate, Khan Abdus Sattar Khan and Khan Faizullah Khan, ex-MLA, are touring Marwat, to prepare the people for the final struggle of achieving Pakistan

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 April 1947

VIII.92

200 RED SHIRTS ATTACK ISLAMIA SCHOOL STUDENTS[1]

Several Injured Office Damaged

PESHAWAR, April 17 Two hundred Red Shirts in plain clothes attacked yesterday morning some students and a clerk of Islamia High School, Peshawar, and also caused damage to the office of the school, according to information received here Two students were admitted to hospital and several others received minor injuries This incident occurred shortly before school time when students were playing in the school compound

It is reported that some 15 Red Shirts who were passing by the school laughed at the school boys Hot words were exchanged between the two parties Red Shirts left the place immediately, but returned with reinforcements

The case has been reported to the police but no action has been taken so far —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

VIII.93

RED SHIRTS *LATHI*-CHARGE MUSLIM STUDENTS[1]
Dr Khan Sahib's All-out Effort to Crush Movement
Escapes Again to Avoid Women's Demonstration

PESHAWAR, April 16 Over a hundred Muslim students were seriously injured when a gang of Red Shirt hooligans at the instance of Dr Khan Sahib *lathi*-charged a students' procession numbering several thousands today

The procession which was led by the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar, was taken out in protest against the closing of their school to house the Red Shirts The students demanded immediate opening of the school

As the procession reached the school, Dr Khan Sahib, who was waiting for them with his Red Shirt gang, had the students *lathi*-charged mercilessly Dr Khan is making increasing use of Red Shirt hirelings as he is not sure of the police carrying out all his instructions to curb the League Movement in the Frontier Province

The Frontier Premier had again to escape from his residence when a procession of Muslim women peacefully demonstrated in front of Dr Khan's residence The procession went round the city and dispersed at the residence of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

VIII.94

FRONTIER MINISTER'S STATEMENT REFUTED
DETENUS TOTAL 6,000[1]

PESHAWAR, April 16 Sher Bahadur Khan, Secretary of the Frontier Muslim League War Council, has issued the following statement to the press

"Congress ministers have, of late, taken it upon themselves to issue statements to the press in an effort to re-assure the world of the invincibility of the Congress power in the Frontier The statements betray the panicky state of mind of the Congress ministers, and are full of

bluff and bluster Dr Khan's repeated assertions in most unbecoming language that he has Pathan support, can be ignored, as it is obvious that it is a case of a lady protesting too much

The figures, however, given by Qazi Atta Ullah, Minister for Jails must be contradicted His assertions that there are only 4,000 League prisoners is false It is an admitted fact that there are well over 6,000 political prisoners arrested in the League agitation in the Frontier Jails today Let me remind Qazi Sahib also of the 40,000 Leaguers arrested by the Frontier Government who were later released, and of the 3 lakhs of people who have defied the various black laws including curfew orders, whom the Frontier Government did not dare to arrest I would like to remind the Qazi and Dr Khan that the total number of arrests during the Red Shirts' agitation in 1932 was 7,442 out of which over three thousand secured their release by apologising to a "foreign bureaucracy" If the Khanna-Khan Ministry is as sure and confident as they claim to be, let them arrest and imprison every person who openly breaks the law Will Dr Khan accept this challenge? The League is certain that thousands of freedom-loving Pathans will be at the jail gates every day Let Dr Khan and his tutor Mehr Chand Khanna speak

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

VIII.95

MARWATS POURING IN TO COURT IMPRISONMENT[1]

BANNU, April 17 Mr Sarfraz Khan Khattak, "Dictator" Muslim League, along with Messrs Gulab Khan, Muzaffar Khan and Sher Mohammed Khan, were arrested last night from their houses

Several processions were taken out here yesterday and courts strongly picketed The police arrested 50 volunteers

In the evening a big meeting was held in which the Congress policy was condemned

Following the arrest of their leader Khan Saifullah Khan, Chief of Ghaznikhel, lorry-loads of Marwats from distances of 50 miles are pouring into the city to court arrest

Khan Abdur Rahim Khan, Advocate, Khan Abdul Sattar Khan and Khan Faizullah Khan, ex-MLA, are touring the Marwat territory to prepare them for the final struggle of achieving Pakistan —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

VIII.96

BEGUM TASADDUQUE TO INQUIRE INTO PESHAWAR INCIDENT[1]

Begum Zubaida Shah and Begum Tasadduque Hussain left by ai on Friday morning for Peshawar to make an inquiry into the trai incident which occurred there on April 14 as a result of which fiv women processionists were injured

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 19 April 1947

VIII.97

SITUATION IN TANK REPORTED SERIOUS[1]

PESHAWAR, April 19 The situation is reported to have deteriorate in Tank where fires are again raging tonight South Waziristan Scout are defending the town against attackers and firing is going on

Trouble is also reported from Kulachi The Frontier Governor i expected to visit D I Khan and Tank shortly

An explosion was heard in Peshawar City this morning There wa no damage Two shopkeepers in Dabgari Bazaar in Peshawar Cit were fired at while they were sitting in their shops Both of ther received slight injuries

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 April 1947

VIII.98

KOHAT LEAGUERS PICKET COURTS 30 ARRESTED[1]

KOHAT, April 21 Thirty Muslims, including the Vice-President o the Kohat Muslim League, were arrested today when they took out a procession and picketed the courts

Thousands of Muslim Leaguers today took out a procession shouting anti-Khan-Khanna Ministry slogans and marched towards the District Courts Heavy military and police stood by while the Leaguers picketed the courts The police made 30 arrests

The curfew has been extended to April 28

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 22 April 1947

VIII.99

DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF PREMIER'S CAR[1]

Telegraph wires were found damaged near Nowshera

Muslim Leaguers demonstrated in front of the car of Dr Khan Sahib, while he was passing through Bannu on his way back from Dera Ismail Khan, where he had gone to see the riot-torn areas

Muslim Leaguers organised processions in Abbottabad, Bannu and Kohat and picketed courts at Bannu, Kohat, Abbottabad, Hangu, Mardan, Swabi, Nowshera and Mansehra

In Peshawar two processions were organised—one by men and another by women Muslim Leaguers Women processionists staged a demonstration in front of Dr Khan Sahib's residence

In Dera Ismail Khan, Dr Khan Sahib met the civil officials, local Hindu leaders and some members of the Peace Committee —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 23 April 1947

VIII.100

LEAGUERS OBSERVE MARTYRS' DAY IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, April 23 Muslim Leaguers observed the annual Martyrs' Day in Peshawar today, in memory of those killed in the Qissakhwani firing in 1930, by holding a public meeting and organising a procession to Peshawar City

After a public meeting in Cunningham Park, the Leaguers, most of whom were in green uniform, marched into Peshawar City, in defiance of Section 144 and the curfew order

The police tried to disperse the procession by tear-gas, when it reached Qissakhwani, but the procession managed to reach the Martyrs' Memorial, where they placed a wreath

The Leaguers then marched towards the railway bridge and then to the Dabgari Gate, and from there to the Muslim League office, where they dispersed

An explosion was heard in Peshawar City tonight No damage is reported

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 24 April 1947

VIII.101

MUSLIM WOMEN HOIST LEAGUE FLAG ON PESHAWAR COURT[1]

Frontier Government's Repressive Measures Condemned

PESHAWAR, April 23 Over one thousand Muslim women held a demonstration in front of the Court of the City Magistrate, shouting Muslim League slogans and then hoisted the League flag on the roof of the Court yesterday

Later they held a meeting in which some prominent Muslim women condemned the action of the Khanna-Khan Ministry in promulgating black laws and adopting tactics and repressive measures to suppress the peaceful movement of the Muslim League

The meeting resolved to carry on the struggle for the restoration of civil liberties to a successful end

The meeting further resolved that as Dr Khan Sahib and his party no longer commanded the confidence of the Frontier people he should resign forthwith and it called upon the Governor to dissolve the Frontier Assembly immediately and hold fresh elections

The meeting then formed itself into a procession and after marching through the city dispersed peacefully

At Kohat the work of the courts was completely paralysed and the magistrates, judges and their clerical staff were detained outside when the Muslim League volunteers picketed the courts from early morning to 3 p m

Usual processions were taken out at Kohat, Mardan and Nowshera — OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 24 April 1947

VIII.102

THE FRONTIER[1]

Lord Louis Mountbatten's impending visit to the Frontier Province,[2] and the visits of Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Malik Firoz Khan Noon who are already there, might mark the climax of the epic struggle of the Frontier people It should be clear to the Viceroy, as it is to those who approach the issues at stake with unbiased minds, that

the situation is too drastic and the issues at stake too fundamental to admit of flimsy palliatives What is required is a clear grasp of the facts and trends at work, and the will to apply the drastic remedies indicated by recent developments No amount of verbal and constitutional jugglery can conceal the fact that the Khan Ministry has ceased to inspire confidence among the Frontier people and has lost its sanction to govern The results of last year's elections that returned the Khan Ministry to power cannot be considered sacrosanct for two reasons It has been maintained that the elections were far from fair and questionable, electioneering methods were freely resorted to What is happening in the Frontier today supports this contention Secondly the Statement of February 20[1] has spotlighted new issues, has created a new set of conditions, and brought additional factors into play that render an immediate reference to the electorate necessary The will of the electorate has expressed itself in the plainest possible manner The Nehruite support at the Centre is propping up the Ministry it is true, but it has lost all other credentials A Government that cannot govern without artificial aid forfeits its claim to be obeyed and the Khan Ministry have forfeited theirs If the Khan Ministry rests upon popular support it should be in a position both to administer the law and to face the verdict of the electorate It is in a position to do neither Quite some time ago Dr Khan threatened to "settle accounts" with Frontier Muslims but his arithmetic appears to have made no progress The accounts-register of his own Ministry has nothing to show on the credit side while the debit side is black with entries Lord Louis Mountbatten will do well to keep all this in view and not to be guided by the views of Pandit Nehru on the subject of the Frontier policy, since the Pandit's recent experiences have embittered him against the Frontier people The Viceroy will also have the occasion to make a direct acquaintance with tribal problems The Pathan tribes have declared their firm resolve to have no truck with a Congress-dominated administration at Delhi or Peshawar It is for them to decide whether they will have an independent state of their own or link themselves with Pakistan or Afghanistan The Frontier policy under the British has failed to secure lasting peace on the Frontier and stands condemned by its results To replace Congress for British overlordship would be disastrous both for the tribal people and for the peace of the N W F P It is essential, therefore, that paramountcy should revert to the tribal people themselves, and the State they align themselves with should undertake the economic rehabilitation of the whole people instead of maintaining a few paid retainers to keep order The problems of the Frontier and its tribes

have been studied in the past only in the light of imperial defence and the interests of an alien bureaucracy and no one has ever wasted a thought on the political and economic welfare of the tribal people It is high time this were remedied

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 24 April 1947
[2]Mountbatten visited NWFP on 28 April 1947
[3]No 1 Vol I, Part I

VIII.103

ONE LAKH PATHANS DEFY CURFEW ORDER[1]

Martyrs' Day Observed in Peshawar
Noon and Nishtar not Allowed to Interview League Prisoners

PESHAWAR, April 24 In defiance of the curfew order by the Khanna-Khan Ministry, over a lakh of persons marched from the Buckingham Park towards the Qissakhwani Bazaar in connection with the Martyrs' Day celebrations As the spectacular procession, carrying crescent-spangled League flags marched through the main streets of Peshawar shouting League slogans, the police made several unsuccessful efforts to stop its onward progress Eventually the Police resorted to savage *lathi*-charge and tear-gassing of the processionists causing injuries to several persons

Undeterred by this the procession terminated in the Qissakhwani Bazaar and placed wreaths on the Martyrs' Memorial One lakh pairs of hands [were] raised in offering *Fatiha*

The authorities have refused Malik Firoz Khan Noon and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar facilities to interview the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and other League leaders who have now been brought to Peshawar from various jails in the Province

Malik Firoz Khan Noon is expected to visit Mardan on Friday and will undertake a two-day tour of the rural areas in the District Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar will go on a tour of D I Khan, Hazara and will leave for Quetta on April 28

Malik Firoz Khan Noon visited the office of the City Muslim League and addressed the League workers exhorting them to confirm to the high League ideals of remaining non-violent and non-communal during their sacred struggle against the present unrepresentative Ministry

Addressing a largely attended meeting near the Martyrs' Memorial, Begum Tasadduque Hussain, MLA (Punjab), exhorted people of the Frontier Province to remain firm and carry on their struggle in a non-violent and non-communal manner till victory was achieved

It is significant that the Martyrs' Day celebrations were completely boycotted by the Red Shirts The Muslim League leaders, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Malik Firoz Khan Noon, will address the students of the Islamia College, Peshawar on Thursday evening The members of the Women's Committee are visiting Omarzai where a meeting has been arranged

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 April 1947

VIII.104

PUNJAB LEAGUE WOMEN'S 3RD BATCH LEAVES FOR PESHAWAR[1]

Miss Zarina Razaq, *Salar*, Zenana National Guards, accompanied by Miss Shamim Jullundhari, left for Peshawar to reinforce the League agitation in the Frontier This is the third women's batch sent to Peshawar by the Punjab Muslim League Women's Sub-Committee during the last one month

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

VIII.105

FRONTIER REFERENDUM IMMINENT CONGRESS MINISTRY WILL HAVE A FALL FROM WHICH IT WILL NEVER RISE[1]

PESHAWAR, April 24 "The Frontier Congress Ministry is in office only for a week or two and a referendum is imminent," declared Malik Firoz Khan Noon, former Executive Councillor, addressing a gathering of students at the Islamia College, Peshawar this afternoon

"In these days of democratic rule," Mr Noon continued, "no Ministry can remain long in power by means of tear-gas, *lathi*-charge and dirty money which come from an organisation, the most dangerous enemies of Islam and Indian Muslims If the Frontier Muslims cannot see, I can read the writing on the wall The Ministry will have a fall from which it will

never rise This sort of administration cannot be carried on very long "

"Another election," the Speaker added, "is at your door when the Pathans will give a verdict in favour of Pakistan Our demand is not fresh election but free election and that can only be done, when the present Congress Ministry goes away and Section 93 is established" [*sic* for imposed]

Giving reasons for the existing great gulf between Hindus and Muslims in India, Malik Firoz Khan Noon attributed it to the narrow-mindedness of Hindu leaders and capitalists Had they been a little broad-minded and true statesmen, India would have been free long long ago

"India can now be free even tomorrow," Mr Noon added, "provided Hindu leaders agree to the same sort of freedom for Muslims which they love for themselves Hindu *Raj* will never be established over the head of Muslims Pakistan must be established at all costs where Muslims can live as a free nation with their own religion, culture and tradition "

Concluding Mr Noon paid tributes to Frontier League workers including the Pir of Manki Sharif and women workers

Malik Firoz Khan Noon had lunch with the Governor at Government House today

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member for Communications in the Interim Government, visited Peshawar Central Jail this afternoon and had long discussions with Frontier Muslim League leaders, including the Pir of Manki Sharif —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

VIII.106

N W F P NON-MUSLIMS FED UP WITH KHAN-KHANNA MINISTRY[1]

Mian Khurshid Anwar, *Naib Salar-e-Ala*, All India Muslim National Guards, who returned to Lahore from Peshawar on Thursday, in an interview said "The non-Muslims in the Frontier Province are now getting fed up with the Khan-Khanna Ministry which has failed to bring under control the League Civil Disobedience Movement "

He also made a devastating criticism of the Frontier Governor who, he added, was a political introvert and did not bother much as to what passed around himself

Concluding, he said, the days of the present unrepresentative

Hindu-dominated Congress Ministry had been numbered and it was only a matter of days when the Province would get rid of the present regime

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

VIII.107

FRONTIER WOMEN REJECT CONGRESS OFFER[1]

Mr Jinnah's appeal to the Muslims of the Province to maintain law and order was received by the Pathans with the respect it deserves

Giving an overall picture of the League Movement in the Frontier Province, *Pakistan Times*' special correspondent wires, "The League Civil Disobedience Movement is going from strength to strength "

In Peshawar City, a huge procession started from the City Muslim League office and marching through the main streets of the city terminated near the Buckingham Park Thirty National Guards were arrested in defiance of Section 144

Processions were taken out in Nowshera, Kohat and Mardan where 15 and 6 volunteers were arrested respectively At Mardan police resorted to severe *lathi*-charge In Peshawar, in the morning 45 Muslim National Guards were arrested for picketing the courts

The picketing of District and Sessions Courts in Peshawar lasted three hours, during which time court work came to a complete standstill

CONGRESS OFFER AN INSULT

At a meeting of the Women's Sub-Committee of the N W F P Muslim League a resolution rejecting the Congress Government's "peace offer" was unanimously adopted The resolution described as an "insult" the Government offer to release the League prisoners without giving a solemn undertaking for the dissolution of the present Assembly

Through another resolution the Muslim women expressed their determination to make every sacrifice for the achievement of their demand and to stand shoulder to shoulder with their brethren and fight for the emancipation of Pathans from the clutches of the Hindu Congress

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

VIII.108

LEADERS DISCUSS FRONTIER SITUATION[1]
Abdul Qaiyum Brought to Peshawar Jail
Movement Going on
No Arrests By Police

PESHAWAR, April 26 Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, Pir Abdul Latif of Zakori, MLA, Khan Mohd Ali Khan, Secretary of the N W F P Provincial Muslim League and Khan Ghulam Mohd Khan, prominent Muslim League members, have been brought to Peshawar Central Prison from D.I Khan to enable them to confer with other Muslim League leaders

All Muslim League leaders are reported to have conferred yesterday in Peshawar Jail when the situation in the Province is stated to have been discussed *vis-a-vis* the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement in the Province and the Frontier Government's recent announcement[2] about the release of the political prisoners

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar who went to Hazara yesterday addressed the Muslim League workers in Abbottabad and Havelian while Malik Firoz Khan Noon addressed a Muslim gathering in Kohat yesterday

LEADERS TO TOUR PROVINCE

There was no activity on the police front on Friday in spite of the fact that thousands of Pathans participated in the processions which marched through the main streets of the city and picketed the courts No arrest was made, writes our Peshawar correspondent

The presence of Malik Firoz Khan Noon and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar in the Province has given tremendous fillip to the League Civil Disobedience Movement Addressing a mammoth meeting in the Mohabat Khan Mosque, after the Friday prayers, Malik Firoz Khan Noon revealed his intention to court arrest along with the Muslim National Guards, if the Provincial authorities had [*sic* for did not] remove the restrictions on his interviewing the League prisoners in the Central Jail He called upon his audience to remain firm and peaceful, particularly in view of the appeal made by the Quaid-i-Azam in this connection[3]

Malik Firoz Khan Noon will leave on an extensive tour of Kohat, D I Khan, Bannu, and Mardan Districts on Saturday

Begum Tasadduque Hussain and four other Muslim women leaders interviewed the Governor at Government House at 4 p m The interview lasted for 25 minutes

The Muslim women headed by Begum Tasadduque Hussain, later visited Umarzai in Charsadda and addressed a meeting of about 5,000 women in the spacious gardens of the palatial residence of Khan Sadullah Khan Punjab Muslim Women leaders also addressed the students of the Lady Griffith High School and exhorted them to show their solidarity with the Muslim nation by lending their support to the League Movement A large number of girls spontaneously declared that they will henceforth work under the Muslim League flag As a mark of their determination to carry on women's struggle under the auspices of the League for the restoration of popular liberties, the school was closed for 8 days

It is understood that a deputation of Muslim women will meet Lady Mountbatten, when she visits Peshawar on Monday [28 April]

So far three medical missions have arrived here from Lahore to render medical aid to the injured The fourth batch of the first-aiders headed by Dr Lt Mohammad Mirza is expected to arrive Peshawar on Monday next

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 27 April 1947
[2] *Pakistan Times*, 20 April 1947
[3] Annex I to No 376, Vol I, Part I

VIII.109

MAULANA SHAKIRULLAH SENTENCED[1]

Maulana Shakirullah of Nowshera and a prominent League worker who was arrested along with Sahibzada Ahmad Gul Sahib, the younger brother of Pir Sahib Manki Sharif, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment in default of furnishing security under Section 40, Frontier Crimes Regulations

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 27 April 1947

VIII.110

VICEROY AND JINNAH AGAIN IN CONFERENCE[1]

Frontier Situation is Discussed at 75-Minute Meeting

NEW DELHI, April 26 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India

Muslim League, arrived at the Viceroy's House at 5 p.m today for an interview with His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten Mr Jinnah remained with the Viceroy till 6-15 p.m

Lord and Lady Mountbatten are to visit the North West Frontier Province on Monday [28 April], and it is understood that His Excellency's 75-minute interview with the Quaid-i-Azam was devoted almost exclusively to the existing political situation in that Province

Delhi League circles are hopeful about the outcome of the Viceroy's projected visit to the Frontier Province particularly in view of Mr Jinnah's assurance that the "Viceroy was determined to play fair "

There is a considerable body of opinion here which believes that the Viceroy, after his visit to the Frontier, will decide that the dissolution of the existing Assembly and the holding of fresh elections constitute the only possible solution to the Province's problem

This view, naturally, is not held in Congress circles, which, pointing obstinately to Dr Khan Sahib's technical majority in the House, ignore altogether the tremendous swing over of opinion which has taken place among the Pathans recently as evidenced by the widespread and enthusiastic support given to the Frontier League's present Movement

Before seeing the Viceroy this evening, Mr Jinnah had an interview with the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 27 April 1947

VIII.111

MOUNTBATTEN AT TRIBAL *JIRGA* IN FRONTIER[1]
Maliks Support League Demand for Pakistan

PESHAWAR, April 29, (by phone) Over 300 *Maliks*, representing the Afridi, Shinwari, Zakakhel, Sipa, Salmani and other tribes, expressed their solidarity with Muslims of India at a meeting held at Landikotal in connection with the visit of the Viceroy The meeting was held in the open air, and before the Viceroy's arrival, the *Maliks*, leaders of various Khyber people, carried on animated discussions as to their future

The Viceroy arrived at Landikotal after a visit to Jamrud He was accompanied by Lady Mountbatten, Sir Olaf Caroe, the Frontier Governor, and other officials His Excellency inspected a Guard of Honour furnished by the Khyber Rifles

Speaking on behalf of the gathering, Malik Abdul Latif welcomed the Viceroy and put forward the following demands

(a) In the event of the British vacating India by June 1948, the Khyber should be returned to the Tribes

(b) The tribesmen were not prepared to deal with any Advisory Committee sent by the Central Government, unless it was fully representative of all the Indian people [2]

(c) The tribesmen six months ago asked Lord Wavell for a lump sum reward, in recognition of their services during the last World War

Malik Abdul Latif further said "Although we are not affiliated to any political party, yet, as Muslims, we are deeply interested in the future of the Muslims of India We also demand that the Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif be released "

The Viceroy, in reply, said "I am delighted to re-visit the Khyber after 25 years, and make a closer acquaintance with the independent tribes I fully recognise the importance of this area and this is shown by the fact that the first visit I have paid to any Province since my arrival in India has been to the Frontier

"Your future is very much in my mind Do not forget that the relationship between yourselves and India, based on your treaties with the British Government will be continued with the future India on the basis of fresh agreements, which you will in due course be called upon to negotiate with the appropriate authorities

"You will do well to remember that there are two sides to every bargain, and that both sides stand to gain from a satisfactory agreement "

The Viceroy continued "To deal with your specific point (a) that this Government will vacate India by June 1948, you yourselves know very well the position of the Khyber At present you enjoy great advantages by your existing agreements with the Government, e g allowances, employment in the Khyber Rifles and as *Khasadars*, etc , etc It is, however, up to you to negotiate fresh agreements with the successor authorities of the Government of India

TENSION MUST END

"As regards (b), I understand what you feel about the Patel Committee I am in complete agreement with you that the sooner the present tension between the two major communities of India is brought to an end the better it will be I have been striving towards this end, as you will have noticed from the Gandhi-Jinnah appeal for communal peace,[3] and I will continue to use my best efforts to this end I hope that I can count on your support in this matter "

Regarding (c), the Viceroy said "This is the first [time that] I have

heard of your request to Lord Wavell, and I will look into the matter as soon as I return to Delhi

As the Viceroy concluded, there was a hum of voices from the 300 *Maliks*, and Malik Abdul Latif again came forward and expressed their strong desire that the Muslim demand for Pakistan be conceded He further emphasised that they would never negotiate with a Hindu Government at the Centre

The Viceroy assured the *Maliks* that nothing would be decided by force, and that the future Constitution would be based on justice and agreement

The Viceroy did not make any reference to the tribesmen's demand for the release of the Pir of Manki Sharif

The Viceroy and his party, on their return journey to Peshawar, saw an anti-Ministry demonstration near the Islamia College The students who had collected in large numbers near the College raised deafening anti-Ministry slogans

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 April 1947

[2]On 24 January 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up an Advisory Committee, popularly known as the Patel Committee, to deal with fundamental rights, minorities' rights and questions relating to excluded and tribal areas *Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 January 1947

[3]Annex II to No 376, Vol I, Part I

VIII.112

LEAGUE DEMANDS NOT MET BY FRONTIER GOVERNMENT[1]

Proposals Rejected Appeal to Muslims to Continue Movement

PESHAWAR, May 1 The North West Frontier Provincial Muslim League after considering the announcement of the Frontier Government with regard to the release of a section of political prisoners and hearing an account of the talks between His Excellency the Viceroy and the Muslim League leaders, resolved at a meeting held here yesterday that steps so far proposed by the Frontier Government in no way meet the demands of the Muslim League and were therefore not acceptable to the League[2] It was therefore decided not to call off the present Movement

The Provincial Muslim League has further appealed to the Frontier Muslims to continue the Movement on strictly peaceful and non-violent lines

The Muslim League volunteers at Mardan picketed the courts yesterday and completely paralysed the work No arrest was made

At Peshawar the police used tear-gas and resorted to *lathi*-charge many times to disperse a procession which was taken out there

A huge procession of Muslim women was also taken out and paraded the city shouting League slogans —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

[2] The Provincial ML had demanded settlement of the dispute of the convert girl, withdrawal of Hazara Public Safety Ordinance, 144 Cr P C and actions under the F C R and refund of fines The Provincial Government released the political prisoners unconditionally See Annexure to Enclosure to No 376, Vol I, Part I and *Pakistan Times*, 20 April 1947

VIII.113

FRESH ELECTIONS IN FRONTIER DEMANDED[1]

HARIPUR, April 30 A largely attended meeting of the representatives of all the important villages in Hazara Tehsil was held recently in the public park, Haripur A resolution demanding the immediate dismissal of the Khanna-Khan Ministry and accusing them of misrule, maladministration, jobbery and inefficiency, and of trampling on the civil liberties of the people was passed

The meeting further indicted the Frontier Government for its inability to protect the minorities The resolution further requested the Frontier Governor to remove the present Ministry and order general elections as soon as possible

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

VIII.114

PAROLED FRONTIER LEAGUERS FLY TO DELHI[1]

Five-Man Delegation Will See Quaid-i-Azam Today

NEW DELHI, May 2 A Muslim League deputation from the North-West Frontier Province arrived in New Delhi by air this evening from Peshawar

The deputation, which consists of the Pir of Manki Sharif, Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan (Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly), Khan Samin Jan Khan (President of the Frontier Muslim League), Mian Abdullah Shah (Vice-President) and Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan, will meet Mr M A Jinnah tomorrow morning

With the exception of Mian Abdullah Shah, all members of the delegation have been released on parole by the Frontier Government, to enable them to discuss the position in their Province with the Quaid-i-Azam.

This decision, it will be recalled, was taken during His Excellency the Viceroy's recent visit to the Frontier Province

Mr Jinnah had another interview with the Viceroy at 3 p m today The interview—the ninth which Mr Jinnah has had with Lord Mountbatten—lasted two and a half hours —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.115

10 ARRESTED AT KOHAT[1]

KOHAT, May 1 The League Movement in the Kohat District continues with undiminished strength and enthusiasm The procession yesterday was led by Mohammad Yaqub, a member of the District League Committee, and paraded the main bazaars of the city, in defiance of Section 144 The police arrested only 10 volunteers

The Frontier Government's effort to suppress the Movement by brutal fascist methods also continues The Frontier Crimes Regulations is being used indiscriminately It is interesting to recall that during the 1930-31 Red Shirt Movement, the Congress carried on incessant propaganda against the F C R Today the Congressmen themselves are making use of it against respectable and peaceful Muslim Leaguers

Muhammad Rafiq Khan, Chief of Gumbat, a former Khan Bahadur and D S P , his brother Mohammad Bashir Khan and Pir A Gilani, a university student, have been jailed under Section 40 of the F C R

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.116

HIGH AUTHORITIES FAVOUR NEW ELECTIONS IN N W F P ?[1]

Congress Working Committee
Hints at Partisan Attitude

NEW DELHI, May 2 The Congress Working Committee at its session today, it is understood, further considered the situation in the Frontier Province, with particular reference to the reported desire of the authorities to hold fresh elections in the Province

The Committee is believed to have addressed a letter to the Viceroy opposing the holding of any general elections now, and stressing that the first concern of the Government should be to restore law and order

It is believed the Committee's opposition to the holding of elections is mainly due to the fact that those held in the Province only last year resulted in the success of the present Ministry

The Committee is understood to be of the opinion that elections should not be held in response to disorders engineered to upset the Government, and that the interest taken by certain highly-placed authorities in favour of an election now would be construed as a partisan attitude

In this connection Congress quarters pointed out that the Muslim League was for liquidating the present Ministry, or alternatively, holding a fresh election —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.117

FRONTIER LEAGUE'S MOVEMENT CONTINUES[1]

Congress Ministers Confer with
Ghaffar Khan for Two Hours

PESHAWAR, May 1 The Muslim League Civil Disobedience [Movement] is continued in various towns in the Province In Peshawar City, Muslim Leaguers organised two processions, including one by women The procession organised by men was *lathi*-charged and tear-gassed as a result of which one person is reported to have been injured

The Nowshera Railway Station was picketed last evening when

some Muslim League volunteers entered the railway station booking office and issued Pakistan tickets

Courts were picketed in Abbottabad, Haripur, Mansehra, Mardan and Swabi In Havelian six processions were organised and Pakistan tickets were issued from the railway booking offices by Muslim Leaguers

Discussions have started among top-ranking Congress leaders in the Province Frontier Ministers, Mr Mehr Chand Khanna and Qazi Atta Ullah Khan, went to the Red Shirt centre in Sardaryab yesterday to apprise Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of the talks they had with the Viceroy

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan arrived in Peshawar this evening Immediately after his arrival all the four Ministers met him in a conference which lasted over two hours —API and OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.118

FRONTIER MUSLIM WOMEN'S ROLE IN LEAGUE STRUGGLE[1]

NEW DELHI, May 2 "The Muslim women of the Frontier are wide awake and have become fully politically conscious They are aware of their duties and conscious of their privileges," said Miss Fatima Begum, the Punjab Muslim League women's leader, who has arrived here after an extensive tour of the Frontier Province

She added "The arrest of thousands of their menfolk has administered a rude shock to them They began to ask why all these processions, public meetings, picketing of courts and liquor shops by thousands of Musalmans, and tear-gassing, *lathi*-charges, mass arrests, and shooting of innocent Musalmans, were going on When the true reason for all these happenings were put before them, they too, like their menfolk, offered themselves in thousands to participate in the Movement With their husbands, brothers, parents and other relatives in jail, they are not in a mood to wait or be indifferent They are boiling with new life and are not prepared to lag behind but are determined to play a decisive role to carry the Movement to a successful end

WOMEN WILL RESIST *AKHAND* HINDUSTAN

"Every Muslim woman understands what Pakistan is and what the League stands for They are also aware what the Congress is and what their position would be if the Congress had its way in the Frontier The

Frontier Muslim women, in increasing numbers, will resist the continuance of the present Ministry and will never tolerate the imposition of *Akhand* Hindustan in the Frontier "

She said that in Peshawar the women were now taking out only one procession a day, but they asked her and the other Muslim leaders to permit them to take out more than one procession daily Had they been permitted, she said, four and five processions of thousands of Muslim women a day, would be a common occurrence

MINISTRY BOUND TO COLLAPSE

Referring to the Ministry she said "The Ministry is bound to collapse within a few weeks It is inevitable The Ministry enjoys a technical majority in the Assembly, but no Ministry can continue for long in the face of the united opposition of the people who disown it and have no confidence in it

"It is a pity that Dr Khan Sahib does not see the sign of the time He has refused to think and to have a full and accurate estimation of the momentum of the campaign that is being carried on by the Frontier Muslim League His conception of the Muslim League belongs to a bygone age and that is the reason for much of what is happening He does not realise that the Muslim League is a dynamic and resurgent organisation of a hundred million Musalmans —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.119

BEGUM TASADDUQUE RETURNS FROM HER FRONTIER TOUR[1]

Begum Tasadduque Hussain, the Punjab Muslim League woman leader, returned to Lahore on Thursday morning after an extensive tour of the Frontier Province, in connection with the Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement there

She spent 13 days in the Province, during which she addressed over a score of joint meetings of men and women in Peshawar and elsewhere Her presence and active participation in the League campaign gave a fillip to the Movement and entrusted [*sic*] the Pathan women who flocked in their thousands to participate in the processions A large number of Congress and Red Shirt Muslim girls joined the Muslim League and became its enthusiastic workers

Begum Tasadduque, during her stay in Peshawar, had interviewed the Governor of the Frontier Province, with the President and Secretary of the Frontier League Women's Sub-Committee She has expressed high appreciation of the Frontier Women's organising skill and capacity for work The shortage of loud-speakers, however, had very much handicapped the women's work Begum Nazari Zari, daughter of the late Khan Sarfraz Khan of Mardan, she said, had supplied one loud-speaker set at her own expense, spending over Rs 1,400

Begum Tasadduque Hussain was accompanied by Begum Zubaida Shah during her Frontier tour

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 3 May 1947

VIII.120

CONGRESS TYRANNY FAILED TO SUBDUE PATHANS' SPIRIT[1]
Abdul Qaiyum Khan Reviews Frontier League Movement

NEW DELHI, May 3 Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan in an interview with the representative of *Pakistan Times* said "The present Muslim League Movement in N W F P has brought about two very significant results Lies frequently propagated by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his henchmen that Muslim Leaguers were incapable of making any sacrifices has been nailed to the counter

"Secondly it has brought about a great change in the public opinion and thousands of Muslim men and women, who were either in the Congress or were indifferent, have joined the Muslim League Conferences, speeches and popular demonstrations could not have brought about this result Frontier Muslims have become very League-minded and they are determined to achieve Pakistan as speedily as possible "

MINISTRY MUST GO

Continuing Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said "Recent Province-wide firings, frequent use of tear-gas, merciless *lathi*-charge on men, women and children have failed to subdue the spirit of Pathans The root cause of the whole trouble is the present unpopular Ministry Not only is there a demand for its removal from the Province but also tribesmen from Gilgit in the North to the borders of British Baluchistan in the South have one and all demanded its removal and are determined to back this demand by action, if necessary Therefore, if peace is to be

restored in the N W F P and tribal belt, the present Hindu-dominated unpopular Ministry must go and fresh elections held under Section 93 regime The record of the present Ministry in handling of elections during 1946 was so bad that nobody in the Frontier would entrust control of coming elections to such a Ministry "

Concluding Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said "Peaceful Civil Disobedience Movement in N W F P is in full swing and is bound to gain even greater momentum, if our just and legitimate demands are not acceded to "

Khan Samin Jan Khan, President of the N W F P Muslim League, said that they had come in obedience to Quaid-i-Azam's orders and that he had nothing to add to what Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan said

Pakistan Times, 4 May 1947

VIII.121

NO GREATER LIE[1]

It is always painful to have to call someone a liar but there are occasions when no other word would suit Dr Khan Sahib said the other day that Mr Jinnah, in other words, the Muslim League, did not exist in the Frontier Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar has described this statement as the greatest political lie ever told in recent times The description is harsh but true One can overlook mistakes of judgement, misstatements based on ignorance or even a denial of those facts of which one has no personal knowledge None of these extenuating circumstances can justify Dr Khan Sahib's statement And he made the statement almost simultaneously with one of the biggest pro-League and anti-Khan demonstrations in Peshawar He must have seen this and other demonstrations himself, he has doubtless heard of what is going on in the rest of his province and his administration must have informed him of the intensity of popular feeling throughout the Pathan land Dr Khan Sahib, as far as we know, is neither blind, nor dumb nor mentally deficient He has chosen to deny, however, the evidence of his senses and the testimony of his reason His statement is based on neither ignorance, nor misinformation nor absence of factual evidence The statement, therefore, can only be described as a lie Whom it was meant to convince we do not know It will not convince the Frontier Pathan, it will not convince either Muslims or Hindus outside the

province who can read the papers, and it will not convince the British who know as well as anybody what is going on It might confuse some poor leader-writer in Britain or America but that hardly matters One can only put it down, therefore, to a sense of panic which seeks consolation in all sorts of escapist devices and dreams of wish-fulfillment

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 4 May 1947

VIII.122

PEACE AND HONOUR[1]

In a recent issue we analysed the utterances of the Congress press immediately after the publication of the joint peace-appeal by Mr Gandhi and Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah [2] The Congress press, we pointed out, appeared determined to prove that this joint appeal was, in fact, not "joint" at all, or in other words, no one need take any serious notice of it Mr Gandhi in one of his latest daily press conferences, also called prayer-meetings, has gone one better If the account of what he said in his prayer-meeting in New Delhi on May 1 has been correctly reported, Mr Gandhi has completely destroyed, whatever substance in this appeal his henchmen of the press had left intact The statements made by Mr Gandhi in this meeting are positively the most venomous he has ever made and the unverified charges he has brought against the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim people as a whole, would have done credit to any Tara Singh or Sachar at his worst In the first place, Mr Gandhi placed the entire responsibility for the present communal disturbances squarely on the shoulders of the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslims In the second place, he hinted that because this violence was still continuing in spite of the joint-appeal, the Quaid-i-Azam had either no influence with his followers, or he was abetting this violence Thirdly, the Muslims were trying to establish a case for Pakistan through force and Mr Gandhi hoped that the wonderful Britishers would not be intimidated by these methods and give their award on the basis of reason and justice This is the case made out by Mr Gandhi and this time he has even ignored the precaution of wrapping up his venom in the cotton-wool of saintly words That there is violence going on in the country in spite of the joint peace-appeal, no one will deny, that deplorable excesses have been committed is also a fact, and we hold no brief for any individual whose guilt is proved To maintain, however,

that the Muslims either provoked or are continuing this violence while the Hindus, poor things, are absorbed in yogic contemplation of their navels and allowing themselves to be slaughtered, is a piece of incredible chicanery Mr Gandhi has not only condoned the sins of his own community but he has actually incited his co-religionists to further violence When the leader of one party says that the political opposite members of his party are a pack of bloodthirsty rascals, who are trying to force decisions by violence, it is as good as provoking his followers to counter-violence If these followers are already the more violent of the two parties, as in this country, this entire shifting of the blame provides them with additional justification for intensifying their terror Thus Mr Gandhi expressed grave concern over the disturbances in the Punjab and N W F P , but the excesses of his own followers, in Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore and other places, failed to get a mention We refuse to believe that Mr Gandhi is ignorant of who started the aggression in the Punjab and who provoked disturbances in the N W F P It is preposterous to think that some invisible hand deletes the news of Bombay, Calcutta and Cawnpore disturbances from the newspapers read by Mr Gandhi He knows as well as anybody else that his own followers have taken even less notice of the joint-appeal than the followers of other political leaders According to his own argument, therefore, either he has no influence with his followers or he is abetting this violence The statement we are trying to analyse points to the latter alternative and it is not the only evidence which points in that direction As we have pointed out in these columns in a previous issue, the recrudescence of communal trouble synchronised with the British Cabinet Statement of February 20[3] and was deliberately provoked by our opponents, in the Muslim provinces of the Punjab and Bengal first The argument of force invoked by them was immediately supplemented by the demand for the partitioning of the Punjab and Bengal That the two phenomena are closely related is proved by the fact that these disturbances are being continuously cited as arguments in favour of partition and the leaders of Congress minorities and their allies in these areas are still adamant in their refusal to participate in peace-making The bogey of Muslim violence, therefore hardly compares with the reality of Hindu violence, and the apostle of *ahimsa*, if he really wanted to outlaw violence, might have taken note of both In Mr Gandhi's opinion, says the press report, "the honour of both Viceroy who was instrumental in bringing about the joint-appeal and of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah was involved", if the disturbances did not come to an end It appears that only Muslim leaders are so

extravagant with their honour that it keeps getting involved in all sorts of scrapes Mr Gandhi and his colleagues, it seems, have divested themselves of all useless trappings, such as honour, and whatever their followers do, the honour of the Congress High Command remains unsullied Mr Gandhi also doubted "the wisdom of issuing the joint-appeal, unless it was certain that it meant for both the signatories all that the words thereof conveyed " If the proceedings of the prayer-meeting we are referring to are an indication of what this peace-appeal conveyed to Mr Gandhi, we agree that it might just as well not have been issued

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 4 May 1947
[2]Annex II to No 376, Vol I, Part I
[3]No 1, Vol I, Part I

VIII.123

REFERENDUM ALONE CAN BRING PEACE TO FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]

Malik Firoz Khan Noon's Tour Impressions

Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who returned to Lahore after a week's tour of the Frontier Province on Friday, in an interview, said that a referendum alone could bring peace to the disturbed province

Malik Firoz Khan Noon who travelled throughout the length and breadth of the Frontier Province and addressed over a score of meetings in towns and villages, summing up his impressions of the Frontier situation, said "The whole of the Frontier Province, including the Tribal belt is today astir, full of discontent and anger There is great resentment among the masses that a non-League Ministry has come into power in the Province through election tricks and bureaucratic high-handedness They now demand free general elections or a referendum to register their verdict on the future constitutional set up of the Province "

"But," he added, "a free and independent verdict can only be attained if the general elections or referendum is held under the direct rule of the Governor No referendum is ever held while one of the contesting parties is running it "

He referred to the Pathan's suspicions of the promises of the British and said that the consensus of opinion in the Frontier Province regarded the British as more opposed to their demand for Pakistan than the non-Muslims

The Pathans, he said, apprehended that if the British yielded Pakistan under stress of Muslim opinion, it would be in a mutilated form, so as to lay the foundations of constant unrest and quarrels over joint ownership of water, power resources and such other questions

UNBOUNDED ENTHUSIASM FOR PAKISTAN

Malik Firoz Khan Noon said that in the course of his visits to the tribal belt and the Malakand Agency, everywhere he witnessed unbounded enthusiasm for Pakistan

The Pathan today, he said, is fully awake and realises the significance of the coming constitutional changes in the country

He revealed that orders had been issued by the Frontier Government banning his entry into the province and instructions had been sent to the authorities at Attock in this connection But owing to a last-minute development the ban was withdrawn and he was permitted to proceed to Peshawar —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 6 May 1947

VIII.124

DR KHAN SAHIB TO JOIN PARLEYS[1]

League Leaders Again Confer
With Quaid-i-Azam

NEW DELHI, May 5 Mr M A Jinnah and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had an interview with the Viceroy last night The interview lasted two and a half hours Mr Gandhi also saw the Viceroy last night

It is understood that the Viceroy, in his talks with Mr Jinnah and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, discussed the Frontier question Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, is expected in Delhi tomorrow

Sir Eric Mieville, Principal Secretary to the Viceroy, called on Mr Jinnah this morning, and was with him for an hour

The Frontier League leaders, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Khan Samin Jan Khan, the Pir of Manki Sharif, Mian Abdullah Shah and Arbab Nur Mohammad Khan, with Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had lunch with Mr Jinnah today

The Frontier League leaders had two more interviews with the Quaid-i-Azam yesterday Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar was present at

both the meetings, while Mr Liaquat Ali Khan was present at the second meeting

Referring to the talks the Pir Habib of Manki Sharif said that he would issue a detailed statement after the whole situation had been discussed threadbare with the Quaid-i-Azam As regards the reported Congress decision to oppose fresh elections in the N W F P , Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, the Leader of the Opposition in the North West Frontier Province Assembly, in an interview said "This decision of the Congress Working Committee is most unfortunate, indeed

"First, it is an attempt to prevent the overwhelming Muslim majority in the N W F P from expressing their views on the question, which is of vital importance

"Secondly, it will not help the Frontier minorities either It is a clear admission of the fact that the Congress has lost its hold among the Frontier Muslims The Congress High Command must understand that the root cause of the entire trouble in the N W F P is the present unpopular Ministry, which has completely lost its hold on the people Its disappearance from the political arena will be welcomed by a majority of Muslims and it will also come as a source of relief to the hardpressed minority, whom the present Ministry cannot afford adequate protection

"The Congressmen must realise that a division of the country is the only way out, and the Congress objections to a fresh election in the Frontier will become entirely irrelevant when the declaration announcing a clear cut division is made "

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 May 1947

VIII.125

10 PRISONERS HURT IN HARIPUR JAIL CLASH[1]

PESHAWAR, May 4 About ten prisoners are reported to have been injured in a clash in the Haripur Central Prison yesterday The condition of three of the injured is stated to be serious

The situation is reported to be quiet now Details are awaited

Muslim League women demonstrators squatted on the railway line yesterday and delayed the Bombay Express heading towards Lahore by about two hours

An unsuccessful attempt was made to interfere with the railway

track on the Taxila-Havelian line, when wooden sleepers were set on fire at two places

Two explosions are reported from Abbottabad, causing slight damage

Camel-loads of property including 20 bags of cloth, two sewing machines and one cycle, believed to be looted during the disturbances in Tank were seized near Tank —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 May 1947

VIII.126

DELHI PARLEYS[1]

The Muslim League leaders of the N W F P are already in Delhi and have already discussed the situation with the Quaid-i-Azam who has presumably informed the Viceroy of his views Dr Khan Sahib, the Frontier Premier, is shortly expected in Delhi and the rest of the Congress High Command, including Mr Gandhi, have already interested themselves in the Frontier impasse The stage, therefore, might appear to be set for a final satisfactory settlement This welcome development, however, is offset by others of a gravely disturbing nature There is first of all the vociferous propaganda recently let loose by the Congress against any settlement in the Frontier except on Congress terms It is maintained that the Khan-Khanna combine have somehow established a permanent proprietory right over the Frontier Government, and even though the people of the Frontier have expressed their disapproval of the present Government in the most unmistakable terms, the Government should not be disturbed This propaganda has been supplemented by the usual atrocity stories and familiar abuse Both Mr Gandhi and Sardar Patel have made free with eloquent denunciation of the Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim people, and now Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has added his senile voice to the anti-Muslim League chorus His theory of the present happenings in his Province, is even more ridiculous and he has sought to ascribe the unpopularity of his relatives in the Frontier Government to the machinations of the British Governor He has accused the Governor of an "open conspiracy with the Muslim League to bathe the province in blood " Judging from the daily hymn of praise sung to the British by all the Congress bosses, Mr Gandhi downwards, one should have expected that if the British Governors were in league with any political party in the country, it

should be the Congress If Khan Abdul Ghaffar thinks otherwise, it is merely because no other hypothesis would adequately explain the present happenings in the Frontier Logic, as we know, has never been a strong point with the Congress High Command, and consistency of any type or description, is a very rare characteristic of Congress utterances Even if we concede to the venerable Khan that it is the Governor who is responsible for the present conditions in the N W F P , why do not the Khanate scotch his conspiracy by acceding to the League demand for re-elections The Frontier Gandhi answers the question himself "Why does Caroe want a new election in the Frontier? The bad faith of this intention is plain He wants to hand over power to lackeys and henchmen of his " Forgetting the abuse, the Khan has openly admitted that the re-elections will overthrow the Khanate and return the Muslim League to power That is why re-elections are utterly undesirable and whoever talks of them is not a lackey of the Congress, as all good men should be, but is in league with the British Impartial observers who have heard the loud cries of Dr Khan Sahib and his crew that all the Pathans are behind them, might have occasionally wondered why these gentlemen were so frightened of re-elections If the Pathans were behind them surely the Pathans would again return them to power It is the Muslim League who should hesitate to face the electorate, for fear they might be defeated again Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has very obligingly set these conjectures at rest The Khans, and their patrons in the Congress, do not want re-elections, because they are sure to be defeated, and as it would be difficult to explain such a defeat except on the grounds of a reshuffling of political loyalties they are trying to forestall the dire emergency by cooking up an imaginary Muslim-British controversy If this is a specimen of the attitude the Congress High Command are going to adopt in the present parleys regarding the Frontier Province the prospects of a satisfactory settlement are bleak

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.127

WHO IS TO RECEIVE POWER IN N W F P IN JUNE 1948, IS REAL ISSUE[1]

Khan Brothers Determined to Hand Over Frontier to Hindus Says Qaiyum

NEW DELHI, May 6 "The struggle that has been launched by the

Frontier Muslim League was forced on us by the Khan Brothers, who are determined to hand over this Muslim Province to the Hindu Congress," said Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly, in an interview

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, who has come here with Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Khan Samin Jan Khan, President of the N W F P Muslim League and Mian Abdullah Shah, President of the N W F P League War Council to consult Quaid-i-Azam on the Frontier situation, in an interview said, "I and my colleagues are glad to avail ourselves of the opportunity of meeting the Quaid-i-Azam We have come straight from the Peshawar Central Prison, and we are grateful to him for asking us to come here and giving us an opportunity to meet him

"The struggle that has been launched by the Frontier Muslim League was forced on us by the Khan Brothers, who are determined to hand over this Muslim province to the Hindu Congress The Pathans could never tolerate this and hence this struggle In view of the Statement of February 20[2] by the British Prime Minister the real issue is this Who is to receive power in the N W F P in June, 1948?

"We are determined to fight on till fresh elections are ordered in the province We demand that these elections should be held under Section 93 regime

"The present Ministry resorted to the foulest practices in the 1946 Central Election to cheat us We can never agree to such a Ministry running a fresh election

"The present Ministry which is the root cause of all the troubles in the N W F P must be removed immediately "

Concluding he said, "Muslim India has noted with great interest the fact that the Congress Working Committee is vehemently opposed to fresh election in the N W F P This is a clear indication of the fact that the Congress has lost its hold on the Pathans "—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947
[2]No 1, Vol I, Part I

VIII.128

FRONTIER MUSLIMS DO NOT WANT TO BE RULED BY HINDUS[1]

PESHAWAR, May 5 Sultan Mohammad Khan, President, Frontier Muslim League Defence Committee, has criticised the statement recently

issued by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, saying that fresh elections would be held only after the new constitution was finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly and not before that

"The present Ministry," he says, "does not command the confidence of the people of the province and the representatives sent by this Legislature to the Constituent Assembly, namely, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr Abul Kalam Azad, do not voice the views of the masses "

He further adds, "As there is going to be transfer of power in June 1948, it should only be just that fresh elections be held so that the transfer should be made into the hands, who really represent the people of the Province The mere fact that the two representatives of the Legislature have participated in the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly is a positive proof of the fact that they do not represent the true convictions of our people The Province does not want to be ruled by a strong Hindu Centre "—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.129

FULL TRIBAL SUPPORT TO PAKISTAN DEMAND[1]

SHABQADAR (Peshawar), May 3 At a meeting of the tribal *Maliks*, representing Mohmands, Afridis, Wazirs, Mahsoods and Bajaurs, a resolution was passed pledging their full support to the Muslims demand for independent sovereign Pakistan The tribal *Maliks* reiterated their firm decision to support the Indian Muslims by all possible means for the attainment of Pakistan

At Kohat after *Juma* prayers, the congregation passed a resolution expressing lack of confidence in the Khanna Ministry

In Mardan picketing of courts continued but no arrests were made

Mr Abdul Hameed Qureshi, Second Master in the Peshawar Islamia High School, who had been ordered to quit the Province under the Frontier Crimes Rules [*sic* for Regulations], has now been reinstated

After Friday prayers in the Mohabat Khan Mosque, Peshawar, the congregation converted itself into a procession which passed through the main streets of the town. Sixteen persons were temporarily put under arrest

On Sunday a well-attended meeting was held at Peshawar in which

about 6,000 Pathan women took part It was presided over by Begum Qazi Amir Ahmad Shameem Jullundari and Begum Ata Mohammad delivered speeches, explaining to the Pathan women the importance of their freedom movement Later, a large procession led by Shameem Jullundari was taken out The Pathan women who had all come from nearby villages showed great enthusiasm

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.130

N W F P LEAGUERS' DEMONSTRATION IN SECRETARIAT[1]

League Flag Hoisted on Government Office

PESHAWAR, May 6 Women Muslims entered the Peshawar Civil Secretariat today and demonstrated in front of the offices of the Ministers, shouting Muslim League slogans The Muslim League flag was also hoisted at the Secretariat building

The women demonstrators held a meeting near the Revenue Commissioner's office which was addressed by one of their leaders in Pashtu

The Muslim League procession was again *lathi*-charged and teargassed yesterday in Peshawar Thirty-seven Muslim Leaguers were arrested

A League procession was also *lathi*-charged at Mansehra in Hazara District yesterday Some Muslim Leaguers entered the Mardan Railway Station booking office and issued about 280 tickets to passengers —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 7 May 1947

VIII.131

QAIYUM TELLS PATHANS TO CARRY OUT QUAID-I-AZAM'S ORDERS[1]

PESHAWAR, May 8 Mr Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Leader of the Opposition in the Frontier Assembly in a statement issued in Rawalpindi yesterday while on his way to Peshawar after a parole visit to Delhi said

"The Frontier people must carry out orders and directions of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam in connection with the movement which is now in full swing in the N W F P As Muslims it is our duty to protect the weak and we must realise that our movements are not directed against the minorities in the Province but against the present Government which has completely lost confidence of the Pathans

"We have not the least doubt that our efforts and our sacrifices will shortly be crowned with success The Frontier is a part of Pakistan and no power on earth can stop us from achieving our destiny "—API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.132

LAHORE MUSLIM STUDENTS PLEDGE FULL SUPPORT TO FRONTIER MOVEMENT[1]

The Muslim Students' National Guards, at a meeting held in Lahore, under the presidentship of Syed H Hyder Kazmi, unanimously adopted a resolution pledging full support to the Muslims of the Frontier Province in their struggle against the Khan-Khanna Ministry

A deputation of Muslim students will meet the Provincial leaders in this connection

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.133

LIQUIDATE KHAN MINISTRY—*'ULAMA'S FATWA*[1]

PESHAWAR, May 8 The leading *'Ulama* and *Mullas* of N W F P have issued a *fatwa* enjoining upon Muslims that the attainment of Pakistan for the establishment of *shariat* rule was a cardinal principle of Islam and that it was the religious duty of every Muslim in the Frontier Province and Tribal Areas, to do their best in paving the way for the achievement of Pakistan The liquidation of the Khanna-Khan Ministry is the first step towards that direction

VIII.134

AGHA AYUB SHAH GETS 1 YEAR'S R I[1]

PESHAWAR, May 7 Agha Syed Ayub Shah, a well-known League leader, has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, for defying Section 144 The Agha led a procession and when they reached the Government House, he planted a League flag on the building

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.135

FRONTIER LEADERS ARRIVE IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, May 8 The Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan Khan Samin Jan Khan and Arbab Nur Muhammad, were received outside and inside the Central Jail amidst enthusiastic shouts of Muslim League and anti-Congress slogans on their return here yesterday from Delhi where they had gone on parole to meet the Quaid-i-Azam

Acknowledging the greetings of the people who had gathered in thousands the leaders smilingly said, "We will win by the grace of God"

Mian Abdullah Shah, President, Provincial Muslim League War Council arrived at Rawalpindi, while the warrant for his arrest was being executed at Peshawar aerodrome —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 9 May 1947

VIII.136

FRONTIER LEAGUE MOVEMENT CONTINUING[1]
Processions Taken Out and Courts Picketted

PESHAWAR, May 9 The Frontier League Movement is continuing

Processions were taken out and courts were picketed in different cities of the province Several arrests were made in Mardan Demonstrations were held at the railway station and Pakistan tickets issued

A procession was taken out in Peshawar yesterday and courts were picketed by the Muslim League volunteers Some temporary arrests were made

At Kohat, Syed Qaim Shah and Mr Yunus Shah, pleaders, were arrested under Section 40 F C R

It is learnt that warrants have been issued against Malik-ur-Rehman Kayani and Mahabat Ali Khan, President and Secretary respectively of the District Muslim League

Twenty-six persons were arrested here yesterday, while picketing the courts, but seven were sent to jail

A hand-grenade is alleged to have exploded inside the house of Sardar Sawan Singh at Kohat It is reported that one boy and a servant were slightly injured

At Mardan, courts were picketed, demonstrations were held at the railway station and Pakistan tickets issued

Processions were also taken out at a number of other places in the province —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 May 1947

VIII.137

MUSLIMS' PICKET KOHAT COURTS 34 ARRESTED[1]

KOHAT, May 9 The courts in the town were compelled to suspend work as a result of picketing by the Muslim League

Three League leaders, Mian Humayun Shah, pleader, Sayed Qamus Shah, pleader and Press Secretary, and Mian Fazal Shah were arrested under Section 40 F C R

Twenty-five picketers and six processionists under the leadership of Mr Ghulam Mohammed Khan and Mr Ghulam Hussain were also arrested

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 10 May 1947

VIII.138

FRONTIER DECISION[1]

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's statement[2] is a masterly summing up of the situation in the Frontier Province. He has traced the genesis of the mass movement in that province to the persistent and determined efforts of the Khan Sahib Ministry to utilize all available provisions of the law, including that primitive legal curio, the Frontier Crimes Regulations, to suppress the Muslim League Organisation. It has never been a secret that the Frontier Government, in point of composition, is largely a single family affair and that it has been running the administration in a spirit much narrower than the tribal, and its main objective has been to pursue old feuds and settle old scores. This partisan spirit has been as much in evidence in the distribution of favours as in the victimisation of adversaries. In the circumstances, the Muslim League demand for civil liberties was only natural and spontaneous and did not follow from the Direct Action Resolution of July 29[1946].[3] The Quaid-i-Azam has done a bit of clear thinking for the benefit of those who have conceived an obsession for the term "Direct Action" and keep repeating it, if they can think of nothing else, to vilify the Muslim League. The Congress, which has always prided itself on its methods of mass agitation and law-breaking, should be the last to object to what is as yet, a mere phrase. No "Direct Action" has so far been launched by the Muslim League. The resolution embodying it was no more than the realisation, borne out by decades of experience, that constitutionalism had exhausted its possibilities and that the League was, henceforth, at liberty to resort to mass civil disobedience when necessary. The Frontier situation did not grow out of that resolution, but was created and forced upon the Province, by the short-sighted and vindictive policy of Dr. Khan Sahib and his preceptors of the Congress High Command. The Quaid-i-Azam rightly considers that the Muslim League leaders of the Frontier Province are justified in continuing their movement for civil liberties. The release, even though unconditional, of the leaders does not mean that the demands of Frontier Muslims have been met or that their grievances have been removed. The root cause of the trouble remains. The Quaid-i-Azam has advised the Muslims to keep their movement strictly non-communal and to consider it their foremost duty to protect the lives and interests of the minorities, in spite of the provocations offered, which have been, and will be, many and trying. He has rightly ignored the aspersions

almost daily cast by Mr Gandhi on the bonafides of his peace appeal The Congress leader has the complacent habit of ignoring uncomfortable facts and clutching at anything that affords the merest semblance of a point against an adversary If Muslims show an unfortunate deviation, here and there, from the instructions of their leaders, this appears, to the Hindu saint, to follow from some hidden meaning of the Quaid-i-Azam's utterances But if his own followers are guilty of the grossest barbarism, it does not detract from the supreme perfection of his creed of non-violence Let him and his followers ponder over the Quaid-i-Azam's reminder that it takes two to keep the peace Dr Khan Sahib should also show that he is capable of learning from experience Only a man who lives in a vacuum could have the temerity to assert that Mr Jinnah did not exist in the Frontier Province The only honourable course for this otherwise Hon'ble gentleman is to resign office and obtain the verdict of the electorate, of which he has more than once claimed entire support.

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 10 May 1947
[2]Annex to No 391
[3]The All India Muslim League Coucil had *inter alia* directed the ML Working Committee to prepare a programme of Direct Action to achieve Pakistan Annex III to No 386

VIII.139

N W F P LEAGUE LEADERS REFUTE GHAFFAR KHAN'S STATEMENT[1]

PESHAWAR, May 10 Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's statement that the Frontier League Movement was confined to the urban areas was emphatically denied by Frontier League leaders today who asserted that no corner of the province both rural and urban has been left unaffected by the League Movement

Sultan Mohammad Khan, President, Provincial Defence Committee, in a statement, says

"Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in his recent statement, had again harped on the old subject that agitation in the Frontier Province is centred only in the urban areas and rural areas are totally unaffected There can be no more baseless propaganda than this Hundreds of villagers rush into the cities every day for defying Section 144 and the Government have resorted to the policy of temporary arrests Perhaps this is another ground

for enabling the Red Shirt leader to give wrong statements, because the number of prisoners inside the jail is not increased any more

SURGING ACTIVITY

"The entire Province is surging with the Muslim League activities Not one corner of both the rural and urban areas has been left unaffected by this agitation and all true sons of the soil have contributed in defying the ban of the Government by taking out processions and holding meetings

"Never in the history of the province had any cause enlisted the support of the teeming millions to such a high pitch as in the present movement They are determined to win their civil rights and are determined to nip in the bud the nefarious activities of the Government by which they are being deprived of their due share in the coming freedom "

Muhammad Amin Jan, a prominent Muslim League worker, has also criticised the statement of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan saying

"The statement of the Red Shirt leader that the Muslim League Movement is only restricted to the urban and that the rural areas are not affected by it is contradicted by the very fact that there are 95 per cent of the prisoners from rural areas amongst thousands of Muslim League leaders and workers inside the Frontier jails More than half of these prisoners are the old Red Shirts —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 11 May 1947

VIII.140

PATHAN PROCESSION TEAR-GASSED[1]

Demonstrations in Several Places Many Arrested

PESHAWAR, May 10 A huge procession of Pathans, which passed through the main streets of Peshawar, was heavily tear-gassed followed by 12 arrests for defying the ban of taking out processions

Eight Muslim League volunteers were arrested at Nowshera while picketing the courts

In Kohat, 11 Muslim League workers were arrested under the Frontier Crimes Regulations

Processions were also taken out at Mardan, Abbottabad and many other places in Hazara District

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 11 May 1947

VIII.141

FRONTIER GOVERNMENT PROHIBITS JAIL INTERVIEWS[1]

D I KHAN, May 10 The Khan-Khanna Ministry has prohibited the interviewing of the Muslim League prisoners in jails by their relatives

The Inspector-General of Prisons who arrived here on Friday saw Pir Zakori Sharif in the jail

It will be recalled that already the Muslim circles are complaining against inadequate food and lack of amenities to the League prisoners The "Dictator" of the Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ibrahim, saw the Deputy Commissioner in this connection

2 MUSLIMS FINED RS 1,500

The Deputy Commissioner, D I Khan, has imposed a fine of Rs 1,500 on two leading *zamindars* of Paniala village, Mohammad Aslam Khan and Mohammad Akbar Khan, for alleged taking part in communal riots there

MUSLIM BAYONETED

A Muslim, who was bayoneted on Friday morning by a military officer, has been admitted to the hospital with serious wounds The "Dictator" of the Muslim League, Mr Mohammad Ibrahim, saw the Station Commander, Col Fell, who has promised to look into the matter

CIVIL SUPPLIES DIRECTOR

Major Book, Director, Civil Supplies, arrived in D I Khan on Friday He was met by Muslim League leaders who discussed with him the food situation in the district

Vedik Bhartari College is not opening for some time more The Muslim students who were not allowed to offer their prayers in the boarding house hesitate to rejoin the College

The local Muslim circles are now discussing the steps for converting the Islamia School into an Intermediate College

NO NEED TO RECALL GOVERNOR

Nawab Nasrullah Khan, Khan Alizai, Nawabzada Khan Bahadur Mohammad Nasir Khan, retired District and Sessions Judge and Khan Bahadur Abdul Haye Khan Qasuria in a joint statement say

"We strongly condemn the resolution passed by the Punjab Congress Committee recommending immediate recall of the Frontier Governor 'as the only solution for putting an end to the disturbances in the

Frontier' We earnestly believe that the disturbances in the Frontier would have been on a much greater scale than now but for Sir Olaf Caroe's statesmanship and intimate knowledge of the Province The root cause of the trouble is the unpopularity of the present Ministry for certain well-known reasons We sincerely believe that application of Section 93 is the only solution of the Frontier troubles and pray for its immediate application"

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 11 May 1947

VIII.142

MUMTAZ SHAH NAWAZ ENDS HER WHIRLWIND TOUR OF FRONTIER[1]

PESHAWAR, May 10 Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, a well-known League worker from the Punjab, has been carrying on vigorous propaganda among the Muslim women throughout the Frontier Province She visited Utmanzai, the birth place of the Red Shirt Movement

During her whirlwind tour of the Province, she addressed several public meetings of women History was made in Peshawar on Friday, when she addressed a joint meeting of men and women after *Juma* prayers Congratulating the Pathans, men and women, on their valiant fight, which they are putting up against the Congress Hindu Government to achieve their long lost civil liberties, she declared "Muslim India expects every man and woman, old and young, to do his or her duty towards the nation"

Accompanied by Begum Sardar Ali and Begum Faqir Mohammad and other energetic women workers of Peshawar, she visited the interior of the province Addressing a women's meeting at Utmanzai, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz said "Let us all work together, with a view to giving a burial to the Red Shirt Movement, which has for all practical purposes become a handmaid of the Hindu Congress at its own birth place"

Miss Mumtaz arrived in Lahore on Saturday

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 11 May 1947

VIII.143

MARTYRS' DAY IN PESHAWAR[1]

PESHAWAR, May 11 A mammoth meeting of Muslims was held here in Cunningham Park yesterday to observe the "Martyrs Day"

Addressing the meeting [Maulana] Abdul Qadus Khan, a former Red Shirt, declared that the ideal of Pakistan was a true Islamic ideal and the Muslims were prepared to achieve it at any cost

He said, "It is high time that Khan Brothers should realise the grave and critical situation and come forward to contribute their share to achieve Pakistan"

The Maulana appealed to the Red Shirts to join the League

Mr Nasir-ud-Din spoke on the immortality of those who die for the cause of their nation

A resolution was unanimously passed condemning the unwarranted suppression of civil liberties in the Frontier and the imposition of heavy fines on some villages in Peshawar Tehsil and on Muslims of Rawalpindi Division

The meeting then formed itself into a procession and paraded through the main streets of the city shouting League slogans

Women also took out a big procession and held a meeting in Qissakhwani Bazaar, where sympathy was expressed for those who gave their lives for the cause of Islam on March 10, 1947

Later making their way through a strong police cordon, they hoisted the Muslim [League] flag on the Kabuli Gate Police Station —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 13 May 1947

VIII. 144

PICKETING LEADS TO SUSPENSION OF WORK IN KOHAT COURTS[1]

KOHAT, May 12 The District Courts had to suspend their work when the Muslim League volunteers picketed the courts Later on the volunteers formed themselves into a procession and marched into the streets in defiance of Section 144 Five persons were arrested

In the evening a women's procession led by Mrs Ahmad marched through the bazaars and terminated near the Government Treasury where a League flag was planted

Mr Fazal Karim, Advocate, was arrested A sum of Rs 1,000 was collected on the spot at a public meeting where an appeal for funds was made

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 13 May 1947

VIII. 145

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN BANNU JAIL ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 14] The Civil Liberties Movement in the North West Frontier Province continues unabated, and the axe of oppression of the Khan Ministry is falling on the Muslims as usual Political prisoners in Bannu Jail are on hunger-strike from the evening of May 11

Qazi Matin-ud-Din, Secretary of the District Muslim League Kohat, was arrested in Kohat on Tuesday under [Section] 40 F C R , ruthlessly and indiscriminately applied without appropriate reasons Begum Kamaluddin arrived in Kohat on Tuesday and was served with a notice to leave the district This news spread like a wild fire in the town Many ladies in veil assembled near the police headquarters to protest against this inhuman and undemocratic treatment, which the Congress Ministry was showing to crush the Civil Liberties Movement of the people

Later a women's procession marched through the main bazaar Many ladies addressed the gathering and exhorted them to show patience and be ready for greater sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan Another huge procession of Muslim Leaguers followed by 4,000 women marched through the main bazaar at 6 p m defying Section 144

The lady workers from Peshawar appealed for funds About a thousand and half was collected on the spot The courts were picketed and their work was suspended for few hours Twenty picketers were arrested The curfew was extended till May 18 despite protests The present timings of curfew from 8 p m to 6 a m greatly hinder in the *khuftan* [night] and morning prayers Khan-Khanna Ministry is paying no heed to the religious sentiments of the Muslims

EXPLOSIONS IN ABBOTTABAD

An API message says Two explosions are reported to have taken place in Abbottabad and one in Peshawar City as a result of which the roof of one house was slightly damaged in Abbottabad while the walls of two houses were slightly damaged in Peshawar

Political prisoners in Bannu Jail are reported to have gone on hunger-strike on the evening of May 11

Telephone wires are also reported to have been cut between Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan

RED SHIRTS JOIN LEAGUE

Some Red Shirt leaders accompanied by several of their followers in full red shirt uniform called at the State Muslim League office and declared that they have resigned from the Congress and joined the Muslim League

The Red Shirt leaders are Mr Khadim Mohammad Jaffar with 50 Red Shirts of Katlandi, Sayed Shahzada Badshah with 20 Red Shirts, Mr Kadim Shah with 120 Red Shirts, and Mr Aminulla, an erstwhile prominent Congress worker with 30 Red Shirts

A resolution reiterating confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was passed The meeting adopted another resolution also calling on all to be prepared for any sacrifice The meeting made it clear that the Muslim League was not a party of Khans as asserted by Congressites but it was a party in which every Muslim young and old, man and woman had confidence

The present Congress Government had lost the confidence of the public of the Frontier Province and that is why the Congress was compelled to change the name of Red Shirts to Zalme Pakhtoon and also change their policy of non-violence to that of violence

The Nowshera and Jahangira Railway Stations were picketed yesterday Trains were delayed and Pakistan tickets were issued by Muslim League volunteers

[1] *Dawn*, 16 May 1947

VIII.146

LEAGUE MOVEMENT CONTINUES IN KOHAT WOMEN PICKET COURTS[1]

KOHAT, May 15 The League Movement continues with undiminished strength A huge procession of Muslim Leaguers was taken out on Wednesday followed by a procession of thousands of women The procession started from Jinnah Park at 9 a m and marched through the main streets of the town

While passing through the main bazaar five processionists were arrested

Street corner meetings were held and speeches were made by a

batch of women from Peshawar An appeal was made for funds, and over Rs 1,500 was collected on the spot

The curfew has been extended to May 18 Despite protests from the Muslims, the curfew hours are such as to interfere with the morning and night prayers, the curfew being from 8 p m to 6 a m

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 May 1947

VIII.147

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN D I KHAN RESTARTED[1]
70 Students Arrested in Kohat

D I KHAN, [May 16] At a meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee in D I Khan, it was decided to launch Civil Disobedience Movement once again in D I Khan which had been suspended in the District owing to riots

Mr Ghulam Haider Khan has been appointed "Dictator" to conduct the movement

The Nawab of Tank has telegraphed to the Viceroy and the Governor of N W F P against the clamping of curfew in Tank

He has also demanded the immediate transfer of the Deputy Commissioner, Shiv Saran Lal Section 144 has been extended in D I Khan for another fortnight till June 1

Sayed Jalal Husain Shah and Mr Nadir Khan, League workers picketed the A C T O and Senior Sub-Judges Courts The Superintendent of Police arrested them but released them soon after

Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan, General Secretary of the District Muslim League, Sardar Abdul Rashid Khan, District National Guard *Salar*, Dr Mir Alam and party were released yesterday from the Central Jail

In Kohat the Muslim students marched in procession defying the Section 144 ban They also picketed the courts Seventy students were arrested

In the afternoon, a huge procession of men and women marched in procession under the leadership of Mr Ghulam Husain, defying Section 144 Five persons were arrested

[1]*Dawn*, 18 May 1947

VIII.148

LEAGUE FLAG ON TELEPHONE EXCHANGE[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 17] Muslim League women demonstrators in *burqa* entered the local Central Telephone Exchange yesterday turned out the operators and other employees and occupied the . chairs Some of them started writing on walls such slogans as "Muslim League *Zindabad*" and "Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad* "

The demonstrators left the Exchange building after hoisting the Muslim League flag over it —API

[1]*Dawn*, 18 May 1947

VIII.149

MARDAN NATIONAL GUARDS *LATHI*-CHARGED[1]

25 League Volunteers Arrested in Peshawar

PESHAWAR, [May 17] Twenty-five Muslim League workers were arrested here when a huge procession in defiance of the Government ban was taken out after the *Juma* prayers yesterday The processionists marched through the city carrying League flags and shouting League slogans

The Muslim ladies of Mardan also took out a huge procession yesterday, which paraded the city streets breaking the police cordon at three places

The Muslim National Guards who accompanied the women processionists were severely *lathi*-charged and ten of them received injuries

All the Public Works Department Rest Houses and *Patwarkhana* [where] public records concerning canals and other reference books were kept, were picketed by the League volunteers Picketing started at the same time in all these places

A correspondent from D I Khan states that today all the courts were picketed by Muslim villagers Eight of the picketers were arrested and immediately sent to jail

An API report says

Courts were picketed in Nowshera, Kohat, Haripur and Bannu by the Muslim League volunteers yesterday —OPI and API

[1]*Dawn*, 19 May 1947

VIII.150

250 LEAGUE VOLUNTEERS ARRESTED IN KOHAT[1]

More Red Shirts Join Civil Disobedience Movement

KOHAT, [May 19] For the last fortnight, the younger brother of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, accompanied by Mian Abdulla Shah, Haji Said Shah and Ali Mohammad Khan, has been carrying on extensive tour in the rural areas of this district They addressed huge gatherings in about a score of villages, as a result of which a large number of Red Shirts joined the Muslim League

In the meetings, resolutions were passed expressing no confidence in the Congress Ministry, and reiterating full confidence in the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam

After the Friday prayers on May 16, at a meeting held at Bahadur Khan Mosque, the following resolutions were passed

That the Muslim League strongly condemns the action of the Congress Ministry in indiscriminately arresting respectable League workers under Section 40 F C R

That the present curfew hours from 8 p m to 5 a m interfere with the religious rights of the Muslims, who are debarred from offering their congregational prayers

KHAN SHOULD FOLLOW KHIZAR HAYAT

That it is the time when the Khan Brothers should join the Muslim League and follow the noble example of Malik Khizar Hayat Khan, the ex-Premier of the Punjab

The same day, the civil courts in the Kohat District were picketed, resulting in the suspension of work 150 picketers were arrested A huge procession of men and women marched through the main bazaars at 6 p m Five processionists were arrested and following their arrest, five lady processionists offered themselves for arrest but were refused arrest The procession dispersed at the Jinnah Park, after a speech by the Muslim League leaders

Haji Said Shah, the President of the District League, was arrested under Sec[tion] 40 F C R on May 17 Consequently, all the schools remained closed and the students marched in a procession to the civil courts for picketing, but the police dispersed them, arresting six of them

COURTS PARALYSED

After the students were arrested, the courts were picketed by men from the Ustarzai village who suspended the work of the courts for a few hours 90 of these were arrested

In the evening, as usual, a huge procession followed by 2,000 ladies marched through the main bazaars The processionists held street-corner meetings at various places in defiance of Sec[tion] 144 Cr P C Five of the processionists were arrested

All the schools here remained closed for the day The students marched towards the civil courts in a procession to picket them But the police arrested six of them and dispersed the rest

[1]*Dawn*, 21 May 1947

VIII.151

REIGN OF TERROR IN PESHAWAR JAIL[1]

Gurkha Troops Manhandle Political Prisoners

Information has been received in New Delhi that a number of political prisoners in the Peshawar Central Jail have been injured as a result of police and military atrocities

The Government of the N W F P has asked all political prisoners in the jail to leave the jail and on their refusal to do so, Gurkha troops and Frontier Police were used to force them to quit the jail by subjecting them to *lathi*-charges, bayonet charges and even firing

Many dozens of political prisoners including some prominent leaders have been injured

A reign of terror prevails in the Peshawar Jail and with a view to somehow forcing the prisoners to leave the jail, all facilities have been stopped Even *charpais* have been taken away All food has been stopped

BAN DEFIED

A curfew has been imposed from 10 a m on Tuesday Processions were taken out in defiance of the curfew and men, women and even children took part in these processions

During yesterday and today the Government resorted to every conceivable method to force the League prisoners out of the jail

[1]*Dawn*, 22 May 1947

VIII.152

LEAGUE PRISONERS DEPRIVED OF ALL AMENITIES[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 21] The Frontier Muslims' campaign for the restoration of civil liberties entering its fourth month on Monday last continues with marked fervour with thousands of Muslims—ranking from the topmost provincial leaders and MLAs to ordinary peasants and workers undergoing various terms of imprisonment in gaol throughout the province

According to API, the Police resorted to *lathi*-charge and used tear-gas to disperse a procession of Muslim League demonstrators in Peshawar City yesterday One person received injuries Among a number of processions taken out by Muslim Leaguers one was that of women

Fifty-two persons were removed to the jail hospital for first aid after tear-gas had been used by the police to disperse political prisoners in the Peshawar Jail last evening

All cots and beddings have been withdrawn from political prisoners in the Peshawar Central Jail it is learnt, adds API

Sheikh Abdul Majid, a Muslim League worker of the Punjab, who addressed the D I Khan Muslims a day before the riots, has been brought to D I Khan by the Police and is detained in the judicial lock-up And a case has been registered against him says *Dawn* correspondent

He adds The picketing of courts by the Muslim Leaguers of Pir Bilot continued Three were arrested and released afterwards at a distance of ten miles, at Nawakali Eight picketers of the previous day were released at Potah

Mohd Afzal Khan, President, Muslim League, Paniyalla and his party of 85 in the D I Khan Central Jail went on hunger-strike due to bad treatment of the jail staff and the bad food given to them The Muslim League has appealed to the Governor, the Inspector-General of Prisons and the League High Command

The Pir Sahib of Zakori has also challenged a general strike by the Leaguers in jail if the conditions are not improved

In Mardan, according to a telegram from the Secretary of the local Muslim League, *patwarkhanas* in all villages were picketed and *abiana* records damaged Forty-six Leaguers were arrested in this first step towards the non-payment of land revenue The Municipal Committee was also picketed by Leaguers yesterday and a ladies procession was taken out under the leadership of Miss Z H Sarfaraz

EARLIER REPORT

Processions were taken out and courts were picketed in all the main cities and towns of the province on Friday last P W D Rest Houses at

Shabazgarhi, Tene, Gohati and Jagan Nath were also picketed, as well as the office of the *zaildar* of Mardan

On Saturday, the work of the courts at Nowshera was paralysed for a long time as a result of picketing Fifteen persons are said to have been arrested The Peshawar City Muslim League volunteers took out a large procession through the main streets of the city and some arrests were made at the Kabuli Police Station

[1]*Dawn*, 23 May 1947

VIII.153

LEAGUE CONCERN OVER PESHAWAR JAIL SITUATION[1]

NEW DELHI, [May 21] The situation in the Frontier as it has developed within the last few days due to the Government trying to force the political prisoners to leave the Peshawar Central Jail is engaging the serious attention of the League High Command

According to the latest information available in New Delhi on Wednesday evening more than a hundred political prisoners have been injured as a result of police and military atrocities in the jail

Some of these prisoners have been injured rather seriously The injured include many prominent League leaders of the province

Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Communications Member, who met Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah on Wednesday morning has, it is understood, discussed the situation in detail with the Quaid-i-Azam in the light of the latest developments

In the evening Mr Liaquat Ali Khan also met the Quaid-i-Azam and is understood to have discussed *inter alia* the Frontier situation The latest situation in the Punjab was also discussed

High League circles here are greatly perturbed about the Frontier situation It is pointed out that even the British did not behave in this inhuman and brutal manner towards the political prisoners at any time whatsoever, howsoever grave the accusations against such prisoners might have been

The case of political prisoners in connection with the 1942 movement launched by the Congress is a very recent instance

It is learnt that no outsider is allowed inside the jail and that the Muslims in Peshawar and suburbs are greatly upset over such mean tactics of the Government

Though League workers outside the jail are doing their best to

impress upon the masses the absolute need to remain strictly non-violent, as directed by Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, yet who knows when the patience of these people might be exhausted and the consequences might be grave The blame, it is pointed out, will remain entirely on the shoulders of the Government and on none else

Peace, these circles opine, can be maintained only if the Government avoid provocative steps and retrace the steps already taken

[1]*Dawn*, 23 May 1947

VIII.154

1,300 PRISONERS INJURED IN PESHAWAR JAIL[1]

Free Use of Hand-Grenades by Prison Staff

NEW DELHI, [May 23] More than 70 per cent of the 1,800 political prisoners lodged in the Peshawar Central Jail have been injured by the police and military *lathi*-charge and firing there, according to the latest information received in New Delhi on Friday evening The condition of 83 of them, who have been removed to the Lady Reading Hospital is reported to be very serious

It is also reported that hand-grenades No [*sic*] 92 were freely used by the jail staff and the police Colonel Smith, the Inspector-General of Prisons, N W F P and Mian Bashir Ahmad, the Additional Superintendent of Police, Peshawar are stated to have opened fire on the prisoners with their own revolvers

Arbab Ataullah Khan of Gulbela, a prominent League worker, is still lying unconscious Mr Ziaul Haq Khan of Peshawar, Mr Siddiq Akbar Khan of Akora and Sardar Abdul Aziz Khan, a close relative of Khan Gul Mohd Khan, the D I G Police, N W F P are among the numerous victims of hand-grenades

No visitors are allowed either inside the jail or in the Lady Reading Hospital "C" Class food meant for ordinary criminals is being provided to three political prisoners

In spite of the curfew clamped down on the city, processions are taken out every day

GHAFFAR'S HOUSE PICKETED

Picketing has been started at the residence of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in Charsadda Daily a batch of 15 volunteers courts arrest there

While Mardan is offering 100 volunteers daily for arrest, Kohat and D I Khan offer 50 each daily

[In] Friday's incident in Gali Penjian of Bazaar Karimpura, Peshawar, a bomb is reported to have exploded in the house of a person belonging to the minority community But, strangely enough, the Ismaili Jama'at Khana was subjected to a search and that too by Obeidullah Khan, the son of the Frontier Chief Minister, Dr Khan Sahib, who was accompanied by Chaudhuri Ram Ghumandi and Roshan Lal of the local Congress Committee and two Red Shirts

League circles in Peshawar are viewing the situation with great concern

The recent tour of the younger brother of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif in Kohat District has given a new tempo to the League struggle, says *Dawn* Kohat correspondent

More and still more village people are daily coming to court arrests in defiance of Section 144 and other black laws of the N W F P Congress Ministry

Courts are being picketed as usual followed by mass arrests 56 picketers and 50 processionists were arrested yesterday and 86 arrests were made on Wednesday

In the afternoon of May 21, a huge procession of men and women starting from Jinnah Park marched through the main bazaars defying Section 144 Women processionists offered themselves for arrest but the police refused to arrest

A large number of National Guards volunteers from Karak villages has arrived in Kohat in uniform

Mohd Aslam Khan, MLA, yesterday tried to arrange a Congress meeting in Theri Village, his own constituency But the villagers refused to listen to him and instead demanded his resignation from the Assembly

The Civil Disobedience Movement is gaining new strength every day The handful of Congress MLAs are marking time

It is now rumoured that the Congress Ministry wants to overawe the Muslims by their new organisation Zalme Pakhtoon, which is following Nazi methods of terrorism But they are certainly doomed

An immediate inquiry by an impartial tribunal is considered by political circles as overdue

One man was shot dead and two others were injured by some miscreants in Village Maneri in Mardan District, says API

One country bomb is reported to have exploded in a house in Village Bandkhur in Mardan District the previous night resulting in a slight damage —API

VIII.155

PESHAWAR JAIL INCIDENT KHAN VERSION[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 23] The Frontier Premier, Dr Khan Sahib at his press conference yesterday answering questions regarding Government's attitude towards growth of armed political parties like Zalme Pakhtoon and Ghazi Pakhtoon declared, "Government is there to see that the law-abiding citizens are not worried or coerced by these organisations in any way but no popular Governments will interfere in the free will of the people to organize themselves into groups to protect themselves and their rights "

Dr Khan Sahib said that he was going to Delhi along with his brother Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan on May 30 to attend the Congress Working Committee meeting

Dr Khan Sahib was asked a number of questions about the genesis of trouble in Peshawar Central Prison

He said, "Muslim League political prisoners who are theoretically wedded to non-violence but have all along been adopting violent methods hoisted Muslim League flags all over the place in Peshawar Jail They have armed themselves with knives and daggers and gone out of the jail by force They stayed the nights out and returned to jail at will They attacked warders and jail officials and were fighting among themselves and abusing the jail staff This type of behaviour has been noticed in Haripur, D I Khan, Kohat and in a milder form in Bannu Jail

The Government warned the prisoners that if they do not behave, their privileges would be withdrawn

The Muslim League political prisoners broke into the cells of the condemned prisoners, shaved them off to disguise them from the authorities and mixed them among the crowd They also burnt gallows The Inspector-General of Prisons was obliged to go into the jail to establish control He was attacked by a Muslim Leaguer with a knife Order was established without any firing and only police used tear-gas Their privileges have been withdrawn —API

[1] *Dawn*, 24 May 1947

VIII.156

DEMONSTRATIONS ALL OVER FRONTIER PROVINCE[1]
Peshawar Pays Homage to Jail Martyr

PESHAWAR, [May 24]. Peshawar Pathans observed complete *hartal* today in memory of the late Khan Mohammad Zafar Khan of Yakatuie, a prominent League worker, who having been seriously affected by the tear-gassing in the Peshawar Central Jail on May 20, breathed his last in the Lady Reading Hospital last night.

The martyr's funeral procession was taken out from his residence in Qissakhwani Bazaar at 10-30 a.m. in which thousands of Pathans, old and young, men and women participated.

While at Kohat, as a mark of protest against the conviction of five prominent leaders of Bangash Pathans, namely Messrs. Nawab Ali Khan, Nasir Khan, Syed Lal Badshah, Khan Rahmat Ali Khan and Khan Mohammad Amin Khan, sentenced to six months imprisonment on Friday. 6,000 Bangash Pathans marched in procession to Kohat City where a procession consisting of more than 20,000 Muslims was taken out in defiance of Section 144 Cr. P.C.

After its termination, a mammoth meeting presided over by *Risaldar* Qasim Raza and addressed by several top most Bangash leaders, was held to condemn the repressive policy of the thoroughly discredited Khanna-Khan Ministry.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Bangash Pathans of Kohat District while expressing their full and implied confidence in the able leadership of their highly respected and most beloved Quaid-i-Azam reiterate their unflinching faith in a full-fledged, the cherished goal of Muslim India and express their firm determination to make all sacrifices, for its achievement.

They demand immediate dismissal of the Patel-sponsored Frontier Ministry in the interest of public peace.

They further demand the release of all League workers arrested so far as well as of those falsely implicated in Ghurzai train or Gushi murder cases as there is no evidence against them and as none of them was identified in three consecutive jail parades.

NO EVIDENCE

Here it may be mentioned that the authorities have decided to release on bail ten persons arrested in connection with Ghurzai train case, who have been in the lock-up for one month despite lack of identification

and absence of any evidence against them But the accused have refused to furnish bails demanding the unconditional withdrawl of case against them

The League Civil Disobedience [Movement], so peacefully conducted hitherto, has assumed such proportions that not only the Government find no jail accommodation for those arrested but the administration in the whole of district is completely at a standstill Only token arrests are now being made though people in thousands daily court arrest On Friday, the police arrested only 5 persons and even they were let off later

GOVERNMENT TACTICS

But the Government far from relaxing its annoying tactics is forging new weapons to throttle people's civil liberties People continue to make protests against the imposition of curfew during the time of prayers But the Deputy Commissioner instead of relaxing it, has now promulgated a new order to the effect that all Cantonment gates be closed at 7 p m

Khan Amir Mohammad Khan, Member, Frontier Muslim League War Council was arrested today

Court picketing continues with unabated ardour paralysing all court work

At D I Khan also court picketing continues as usual Ten picketers were taken into custody yesterday but were later released

A big League meeting was also held at Peshawar yesterday, Malik Mohsan Ali Imran, Secretary and Mohammad Nawaz Khan, Vice-President spoke They were assured of public help

The following protest resolutions were passed in all the city mosques after Friday prayers at D I Khan

(a) Muslims cannot attend evening prayers in mosques due to curfew hours It is clearly an interference in the religious affairs They urge the local authorities to relax curfew hours from 5 p m to 10 p m
(b) The Muslims have suffered heavy losses in riots but the Government has refused them any help from Government relief fund Muslims demand their due share
(c) The villagers strongly protest against their defence rules being taken away by the D C It is highly inadmissible to take back rifles in such crucial times

It is further learnt that Mr Zia-ud-din Khan, Postmaster, was not allowed to go to his house to evacuate his family and defend his property during the riots as a result of which he was robbed of all his property worth Rs 50,000 His son, however, was able to evacuate his family at great personal risk

[1] *Dawn*, 25 May 1947

VIII.157

INQUIRY INTO PESHAWAR JAIL INCIDENT DEMANDED[1]

PESHAWAR, [May 25] A resolution condemning the N W F P Congress Ministry for making *lathi*-charge on political prisoners in the Peshawar Central Jail and for using tear-gas bombs containing metal and glass pieces on them was passed by a largely attended meeting of the Muslims, here yesterday afternoon The meeting was presided over by Mr Syed Habib Shah of Bhanamani

The resolution demanded that the Governor should immediately appoint an impartial tribunal to inquire into the recent incident in the Peshawar Central Jail

The Mian Sahib of Mahzar speaking on the resolution said Congress tyrannies in the province have reached their peak The Khan-Khanna Government is using very low methods to counteract the League agitation in this province They have used tear-gas, bombs, containing shrapnel and combustible elements against the political prisoners in the Central Jail and thereby injured scores of innocent and harmless prisoners for the simple reason that they refused to quit the jail even after all their privileges were withdrawn

He said that the Provincial Government had become very nervous and was at the end of its tether

Criticising the demand for an independent Pathanistan and formation of the Zalme Pakhtoon, he said that these stunts were intended to regain the confidence of the people which they had lost

He appealed to the Pathans to carry on the movement peacefully even in the face of provocation

Mr Mohammad Ashraff, Secretary, City Muslim League, addressing the gathering, said that the agitation would continue till Congress Ministry resigned

The meeting thereafter formed a procession and marched through the main bazaars of the city, defying the ban on processions Fifty-five processionists were arrested

A large procession of Muslim women also was taken out today Work in the local courts and the telephone exchange was at a standstill for some time when a large number of people picketed them today Fifty-five picketers, it is reported, have been arrested

Nine League political prisoners, two of whom were unconscious, were brought to the women's ward of the Lady Reading Hospital from the Peshawar Central Jail this evening

The work of courts at Charsadda was paralysed for three hours today Owing to picketing, twenty-five volunteers were arrested Kohat courts suffered a similar fate

At Mardan a liquor shop and the Railway Station were picketed

At Dera Ismail Khan courts were picketed and processions taken out

Muslim League "Army", Ghazi Pakhtoon appeared in Utamanzai, day before yesterday and a section armed with rifles, pistols, double barrelled shot guns and single barrelled shot guns respectively paraded in streets and bazaars With this demonstration and picketing in Charsadda, tension is reported in the area Two Hindu families are reported to have left Almanzai for Patiala State Shops re-opened in Peshawar today after the funeral procession of a political prisoner who died last night Situation is fairly easy

It is reported from Pirpai that some students took away keys of the railway signal from the railway employee yesterday causing thereby half-hour delay to 41 Up train In Mardan District a bridge has been damaged on the Mardan Swabi Road At Hathian Railway Station Muslim Leaguers issued Pakistan tickets —OPI and API

[1] *Dawn*, 26 May 1947

VIII.158

ORDINARY PEASANTS AND WORKERS JOIN LEAGUE CAMPAIGN IN FRONTIER[1]

Courts and Railway Stations Picketed

PESHAWAR, May 29 The Frontier Muslim League civil liberties campaign continues to progress among the ordinary peasants and workers throughout the province Almost every Muslim is contributing his share to the cause of the Muslim League in one way or other

The courts were picketed by the League volunteers at Peshawar, Charsadda, Nowshera, Mardan, Sawabi, Mansehra, Havelian, Abbottabad, Kohat, Bannu, Lakki and Dera Ismail Khan yesterday Many volunteers were arrested temporarily but later released at various places At Bannu six volunteers and at Lakki 24 were jailed

The Railway Stations at Hathian and Takhtbhai were picketed by Muslim League volunteers yesterday which paralysed the work of the railway station Pakistan tickets were issued to intending passengers

Liquor shops were picketed at Mansehra by three Muslim League

volunteers Processions were taken out at all towns and cities of the province yesterday, each consisting of thousands of League volunteers shouting League and anti-Congress slogans

LADIES' PROCESSION

At Peshawar, Muslim ladies paraded in a procession in the afternoon carrying League motto flags and shouting Muslim League and anti-Congress slogans The procession marched through the main streets of the Peshawar City and visited the Lady Reading Hospital where they saw the Muslim League political prisoners who were recently brought to the Peshawar Central Jail after they got injured by tear-gas and *lathi*-charge inside the prison The procession then marched back to the house of Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan where they formed into a meeting The meeting condemned the repressive measures of the Government —OPI

[1]*Morning News*, 30 May 1947

VIII.159

STOP ALL ATROCITIES[1]

Haripur Jail Prisoners' Warning to Frontier Government

HARIPUR, May 30 The Frontier Government is warned to stop all atrocities or else it will be held responsible for repercussions, according to a resolution passed by the Haripur Jail prisoners at a meeting in the jail, it is reliably learnt

In another resolution, the prisoners sympathised with the Peshawar Central Jail prisoners who were *lathi*-charged and tear-gassed and against whom hand-grenades are said to have been used

The Governor was asked in a third resolution to hold an enquiry into the Peshawar Jail incident and in the meanwhile to allow two Provincial Muslim League leaders to make an inquiry The meeting demanded five prisoners reported missing from the Peshawar Central Jail to be located and taken back failing which the Frontier Muslims would take serious steps

Copies of the resolutions have been sent to Mr Jinnah and the Governor of the Frontier Province —OPI

[1]*Morning News*, 31 May 1947

VIII.160

FRONTIER LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN FULL SWING[1]
Congress Influence Has Disappeared
Government's Statement False

NEW DELHI, May 31 "The League Movement is in full swing The Ministry cannot last long All the influence of the Congress has disappeared in the province"

Thus observed Major Khurshid Anwar, *Naib Salar-e-'Ala*, All India Muslim National Guards, in course of an interview regarding the Frontier situation with OPI

He added "Qazi Attaullah and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan are living in a fool's paradise if they think of an independent Pathanistan Pathans have now realised that they cannot leave their Muslim brethren of Pakistan Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his satellites will now have to submit to the Muslim League unconditionally or they will have to quit the Frontier"

Characterising the statement issued by the Frontier Government, that no firing was resorted to in Peshawar Central Jail, as false and misleading, he said "Firing did take place Usman Ali Shah of Peshawar, Sardar Abdul Aziz and others who received bullet wounds are still in the jail to negate the statement issued by the Frontier Government"

JAIL INCIDENTS

He gave a graphic account of the incidents which took place during May 19 and 20 in the Peshawar Central Jail and how the Government were planning in vain to provocate [*sic*] the political prisoners through their agents including Colonel Smith, I G of Prisons and how the latter ordered them to quit the jail and even told them that they would be deprived of all their privileges and treated as "C" class prisoners

He said, "on the evening of May 19, one jail *Lambardar* with some jail employees burned the gallows, shouting Pakistan slogans, presumably to accuse the political prisoners of the offence They later released five prisoners who were undergoing death sentences and set fire to the godown No notice of this drama, which continued for three hours, was taken by the jail authorities"

"At 9 p m Col Smith ordered the political prisoners to come out of their barracks They obeyed, only to be *lathi*-charged and dumped in a small place and tear-gassed Their belongings worth about Rs 80,000

were looted Those who were severely injured were removed to various hospitals Next day the prisoners were removed to an open enclosure and were asked to present themselves before the jail authorities for a search of their persons On their refusal to undergo this humiliating procedure gas-bombs, hand-grenades and revolver-shots were fired at them as a result of which 125 persons fell unconscious It is a pity that the Frontier Governor refuses to hold an impartial inquiry "

[1]*Star of India*, 3 June 1947

VIII.161

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN N W F P MAY BE CALLED OFF[1]
League to Secure 90 Per Cent of Pathan Votes

NEW DELHI, June 2 Samin Jan Khan, President of the North West Frontier Provincial Muslim League, in an interview tonight said that in view of the new constitutional developments, the calling off of the League's campaign for restoration of civil liberties in the Frontier Province was being considered and that it was very likely that the movement would be ended within the next few days

Samin Jan Khan, who is at present a political prisoner of the Congress Government in the N W F P and is on parole in Delhi for discussions with the League High Command on the Frontier situation stated "The League movement was started on February 20 with the purpose of restoring civil liberties in the N W F P and dislodging the present Congress Government which the Muslim League feels is unrepresentative of the Pathans

The movement has been strictly conducted against the Government only and is non-violent and non-communal Over 100,000 Muslim Leaguers have offered themselves for arrest, of whom nearly 6,000 have been jailed for varying terms of sentences "

He said that the League would now plunge into the task of campaigning for the support of Pathans for the amalgamation of the N W F P. in the Pakistan State envisaged by Mr Jinnah He was hopeful that the League would secure 90 per cent of the Pathan votes

According to Samin Jan Khan, the N W F P Government has already ordered the release of all political prisoners and it is expected that as soon as the decision to call off the League Movement is made known, general release of the political prisoners would take place —API

[1]*Morning News*, 4 June 1947

APPENDIX IX

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT IN ASSAM

A large number of Bengali Muslims had, over the years, migrated to and settled in the tribal area of Assam Their influx grew considerably in the wake of the Bengal Famine of 1942 Apprehending the adverse economic and demographic effects of the unchecked immigration, the Congress Ministry of Assam devised, in early 1946, the so-called "Line System" whereby all settlers beyond a certain arbitrary line were to be evicted The Line System was repugnant to Section 28 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and had been dubbed even by Nehru as "undesirable" and "bad" When protests against the Line System did not avail, the Muslim Members boycotted the Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Muslim League formed a Committee of Action composed, among others, of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Abdul Matin Chaudhury and Syed Mohammad Sa'adullah, to address the situation In March 1947, the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League decided to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement and called on the Muslims to start cultivation of all Government uncultivated land, ostensibly to promote the "G M F" [Grow More Food] Campaign The call for Civil Disobedience evoked mass support and thousands joined the campaign, defying the Government and courting arrest Following the announcement of the Partition Plan on 3 June 1947, however, the campaign was called off at Jinnah's behest

The following extracts from newspapers depict the development of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam

IX.1

ASSAM LEAGUE TO START CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST EVICTION[1]

SYLHET, Feb 23 The Council and the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League reiterated the resolution adopted by the Provincial League workers to start a Civil Disobedience Movement against the eviction policy of the Assam Government, and advised all landless people to spread out and cultivate all the available Government waste land in the interests of the Grow [More] Food Campaign

A Committee of Action consisting of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Syed Mohammad Sa'adullah, Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Mr Saeed-ur-Rahman, Mr Abdul Hamid, Dewan Abdul Basit, Mr Abdul Kasim, Mr Abdulla Choudhary, MLA, and Mr Saleh Ahmed, has been formed with powers to take effective measures to implement the above resolution

The Committee of Action will hold its first meeting on March 3

Addressing a large gathering of Muslims who had gathered in large numbers, Maulana Abdul Hamid said that the struggle that was ahead would be purely non-communal and non-violent He urged the people to maintain discipline and calm so that the present oppressive Government might be thrown out and a real people's Government set up

Earlier, a procession of 10,000 people paraded the main streets of the town —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 February 1947

IX.2

ASSAM LEAGUE STARTS CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE[1]

Provincial President Arrested

SHILLONG, March 10 Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, was today arrested at Tezpur, where an Order under Section 144 has since been imposed

"Assam Day" called by a Joint Committee of Action of the Bengal and Assam Provincial Leagues to protest against the Government's eviction policy was observed all over the province

A message from Nowgong said that the Assam League Working Committee which met here yesterday, decided to launch their Civil Disobedience Movement "immediately" against the eviction policy of the Government The Committee drew up a panel of 51 top-ranking League leaders of Assam, who will defy Section 144 and court arrest Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan headed the list He left Tezpur to court arrest

The Working Committee also asked the Muslim League Assembly party not to attend the forthcoming Assembly session —API and OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 12 March 1947

IX.3

ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE PARTY BOYCOTTS LEGISLATURES[1]

SHILLONG, March 12 The Assam Muslim League Parliamentary party has decided to refrain from attending both the Houses of the Provincial Legislatures

The Committee of Action and the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League will meet here on March 14 and 16 respectively, to discuss the latest political developments in the province

The Assam Legislative Council sat today only for 45 minutes after which it adjourned for want of quorum Only 10 members were present

The Muslim League members were absent *en bloc* in pursuance of the decision of the League Parliamentary party —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

IX.4

ONE MILLION VOLUNTEERS READY TO COURT ARREST IN ASSAM[1]

League Movement Gains Momentum

CALCUTTA, March 17 "The Assam Government have put a clamp on the news emanating from the province with regards to the Muslim League's Civil Disobedience Movement against the eviction policy of the Government Processions are taken out every day in Tezpur and in other places of Dhubri sub-division and hundreds of people are courting arrest The movement is gaining rapid momentum," said Mr Mahmud Ali, Secretary, Assam Provincial Muslim League, in an interview

He also revealed that the Muslim League had no less than half a million volunteers ready to court arrest in due course and thousands of Muslims and Hindus had been asked to move in to the waste land in non-private reserves which they had begun to do

He further remarked "If Bengal is ready to help us, as we see it is, we are confident that our struggle is bound to succeed and we shall be able to bring the Assam Government to their senses very soon Our cause is just and we shall win"

In the end he said that the Assam Government were trying to

raise up a bogey of communal trouble, but he assured the people that the facts were not so The struggle was only against the Government for their atrocities on the poor emigrants who included Hindus and Muslims —OPI

[1]Pakistan Times, 18 March 1947

IX.5

ASSAM LEAGUE PARTY REFUSE TO ATTEND ASSEMBLY[1]

SHILLONG, March 17 When the Assembly met today, the Speaker said he was sorry to inform the House that the Opposition Leader had communicated the decision of the League party not to attend the House

The Home Minister, Mr Basanta Kumar Das speaking in the Assembly today referred to some recent incidents in Silchar following a Muslim League demonstration there, reiterated the determination of the Assam Government to maintain law and order in the province

Mr Das added, a detailed report of the incident had not been received from the District authorities and as soon as it was received, the Government would decide what steps could be taken —API

[1]Pakistan Times 19 March 1947

IX.6

ABDUL HAMID KHAN'S TRIAL ON MARCH 20[1]

SHILLONG, March 17 The trial of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President, Assam Provincial Muslim League, who is now in the Tezpur Jail, will begin on March 20

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan was arrested on March 10, following his alleged defiance of the Government ban on his entry into the Darrang District —API

[1]Pakistan Times, 20 March 1947

IX.7

BENGALIS NOT DAUNTED BY BARDOLOI'S THREAT, SAYS LEAGUE LEADER[1]

CALCUTTA, March 19 "Bengal will do all that is possible to undo the cruel and inhuman eviction policy of the Government of Assam", says the Secretary of the Bengal and Assam Joint Committee of Action of the Muslim League, in a statement today

He adds "The recent threat given by the Premier of Assam, Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, that the people of Bengal going to Assam to assist the evictees will be faced with guns and bayonets," has not created the least terror among the Bengalis On the other hand, it has doubled their enthusiasm for the cause The arrest of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, has added to the fire which was already burning in their hearts

Mr Bardoloi should realise that the well wishers, friends and relations of those who made Assam what she is now by fighting with ferocious animals like leopard and tigers, know how to take a firm stand before bayonets and firearms for a right cause Preparations are accordingly being made in all the districts to give effect to the programme already adopted by the Joint Committee of Action "—API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 21 March 1947

IX.8

11 MUSLIM IMMIGRANTS KILLED IN ASSAM POLICE FIRING[1]

Civil Disobedience Movement Takes a Serious Turn

BARPETA (ASSAM), March 24 Four people, including a woman of 70, died on the spot, and an equal number were wounded, when the police opened fire on the Muslims of Chochra, a village in Barpeta sub-division on March 21, informs the Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League

The same evening fire was opened again in the Mandia grazing reserve, killing and wounding a number of Muslims Up to the morning of March 23, 11 bodies were removed to hospital and 15 persons were lying seriously wounded

The situation has taken a grave turn Maulvi Syed Abdur Rauf, MLA, rushed to the spot and then returned to Barpeta for attending the "Pakistan Day" celebrations He said that the police had absolutely no justification in opening fire on the peaceful Muslims, but unless an inquiry was made by top-ranking officers and due care was taken by the League leaders, justice would be denied to the Muslims

A message from Gauhati says that the situation in several places in Kamrup, Goalpara and Darrang Districts is tense, following the launching of agitation against the eviction policy of the Assam Government by the Muslim League, but the Government are taking precautionary measures in these areas It was stated there officially on Saturday

Mr N Phookan, District Magistrate of Gauhati, called a conference of leading citizens of the town, including Maulvi Nurul Huq, Acting President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, and Dr Bubandeswar Barauh, President, District Congress Committee, and urged the leaders of the different communities to abandon tomorrow's programmes in observance of the "Pakistan Day" by the Muslim League and the "Anti-Pakistan Day" by the non-Muslims It is learnt that the leaders attending the conference agreed to maintain peace by curtailing the original programmes

Mr Kazimuddin Ahmed, President, and Maulana Ata-ur-Rahman, Secretary, of the Barpeta (Assam) Muslim League, with 16 National Guards, were arrested at Tezpur on March 21, and sent to Gauhati Jail under police escort, according to a message received in Calcutta from the Shillong correspondent of the *Azad*, a Muslim League daily

It is learnt that Dr Emran Hussain Chaudhry, MLA, is proceeding to Tezpur to lead the Civil Disobedience Movement He is the first Member of the Assam Legislative Assembly to take part in the movement

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan will be detained in jail for 3 months without trial, it is understood

The Assam Government have also ordered to detain Mr Saleh Ahmad, a member of the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League for 15 days, under the Assam Public Safety Ordinance

The Assam Muslims observed complete *hartal* yesterday as a protest against the arrest of their leaders

In Tezpur a huge procession was taken out and when it reached the jail, the police tried to stop it but failed

Meetings were held in many towns and villages demanding the release of the leaders and condemning the eviction policy of the Assam Government —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 March 1947

IX.9

REPORTS OF TROOPS POLICING ASSAM OFFICIALLY DENIED[1]

NEW DELHI, March 29 A Press communique says The attention of the Government of India has been drawn to a announcement in the Press that orders have been passed for troops to be placed at the disposal of the Assam Government "for the eviction of Muslims from Assam" or "for the eviction campaign"

This report is utterly incorrect Troops are not supplied by the Government of India to carry out the policy of any Provincial Government, but only in case of necessity to help maintain and restore order —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

IX.10

BARDOLOI SAYS HIS GOVERNMENT WILL NOT SUBMIT TO THREATS[1]

SHILLONG, March 30 "The Assam Government cannot submit to any kind of threat, whether from inside or outside the province," said Mr Gopinath Bardoloi on his return from a tour of the disturbed areas in Assam

The Premier said "The decision of the Joint Council of Action of the Bengal and Assam Provincial Muslim Leagues to launch an attack on Assam with organised Muslim League National Guards must be an extremely unfortunate one In judging by what has happened since then, it has caused widespread alarm and sense of insecurity throughout the province

"The Government of Assam might have treated the whole thing lightly if it did not result in the disturbances which have taken place in the different parts of middle and lower Assam

"Besides minor aggressive activities in small grazing reserves, in major places, aggressive tactics were adopted by immigrants against police parties kept to prevent illegal encroachments and disturbances In Govindapur, reserve police had to open fire in order to save themselves and protect their camp from the mad fury of an armed mob of several thousands Near Mankachar, the Joint Council of Action

of the Muslim League have opened a camp named as 'Purba Pakistan Qila' (Fort Eastern Pakistan), where training is given to Muslim League National Guards to train them in the art of creating disturbances within the province by participating in Civil Disobedience "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

IX.11

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT TO BE STARTED IN ALL ASSAM DISTRICTS LEAGUE DECISION[1]

SHILLONG, March 31 The decision to start a Civil Disobedience Movement in all the districts of Assam was officially taken at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League yesterday

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, a member of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and Mr Habibullah Bahar, Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, attended the meeting on special invitation

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, addressing the workers of the Shillong District Muslim League, said that the Muslims of Assam had decided to fill up the jails In doing that, he would ask them to remember that their fight was against the Government and not against a community

Mr Habibullah Bahar warned the Assam Ministry that unless it changed the eviction policy, Bengal might be forced to adopt measures which would not at all be to the liking of Mr Bardoloi

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman and Mr Habibullah Bahar are leaving for Sylhet today —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947

IX.12

LEAGUE DIRECTIVE TO LAUNCH MASS MOVEMENT IN ASSAM[1]

SHILLONG, March 31 The Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, in a resolution directs every branch of the Muslim

League Organisation throughout Assam to start a peaceful, non-violent, non-communal mass Civil Disobedience Movement on wide scale "to break the Government which have been unjust and unfair to Muslims"

The following is the text of the resolution

"In view of the high-handed action of the Congress Government of Assam in arresting some leaders of the Muslim League, including Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, and firing on unarmed innocent Muslim immigrants, outside the grazing reserve, killing 12 persons, including a woman of 70, and injuring many, and in view of the fact that the liberties of the Muslims of Assam are being trampled upon by the Provincial Government by suppressing free association and by putting restrictions on letters, telegrams, and other means of communications, this Committee directs every branch of the Muslim League Organisation throughout the province immediately to start a peaceful, non-violent, non-communal mass Civil Disobedience Movement on a wide scale to break the Government which have not only been unjust and unfair to the Muslims, but have failed in every direction in relieving the people of the province from the hardship created by scarcity, rising prices, corruption and nepotism

"It calls upon the people of the province as a whole to support the movement"—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

IX.13

LEAGUE LEADERS CRITICISE ASSAM'S EVICTION POLICY[1]

SYLHET (ASSAM), March 31 Addressing a meeting here Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee, said "The struggle of the Muslim League against the eviction policy of the Government of Assam which had already commenced would last long" He appealed to the Muslims, tribals, Scheduled Castes and the Manipuris of Assam to join in the struggle

"Assam is sure to be in Pakistan, so it is not true that the Muslim League is fighting to establish Pakistan in Assam," he added The Leaguer's fight is not against any particular community but it is against a certain policy of the Congress Government

Mr Habibullah Bahar, Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, appealed to all to gather round the Muslim League in its fight against the eviction policy —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 April 1947

IX.14

KHALIQ-UZ-ZAMAN TO REPORT ON ASSAM LEAGUE MOVEMENT[1]
Congress Government's Strength
Dwindling Ministry May Go

The Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam called by the Provincial Muslim League would be a very strong movement, as he had found very large numbers of people to offer sacrifices for the League cause, said Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman, member of the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League, in an interview today

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman returned last night to Calcutta after a week's tour of Assam, accompanied by Mr Habibullah Bahar, Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League In their tour they visited Gauhati, Shillong, Sylhet, Karimganj and Habibgunj and addressed public meetings at all those places

RELEASE ABDUL HAMID KHAN

Asked about reports of negotiations having taken place in Shillong between Congress leaders of Assam and the Muslim League leaders for a settlement of the immigration question, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that no direct approach was made to him, though he understood that a section of the Congress group from Surma Valley was anxious for a settlement on humanitarian grounds

Mr Muhammad Sa'adullah as Chairman of the Committee of Action could start negotiations if Mr Bardoloi was prepared to come to a settlement on reasonable terms, subject of course to the condition that the leaders of the Muslim League, including Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, were immediately released to enable them to take part in the deliberations

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said that he found the situation in Assam very bad Several persons had been killed and many wounded outside the grazing reserves in the settled areas The Provincial Muslim League had unanimously passed the resolution launching mass Civil Disobedience [Movement] on non-communal lines It had also invited other minorities to join the movement

The propaganda that had been carried on by the Congress Government among the indigenous people that the immigration was aimed at increasing the Muslim population in order to turn the area into Pakistan was baseless and historically wrong This immigration due to economic conditions prevailing in Bengal had started as early as 1901 when none dreamt of Pakistan and had continued since then in some form or other

MUSLIMS LARGEST SINGLE GROUP IN ASSAM

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman continued that Muslims were the largest single group in Assam and they had the support of several other communities It was through sheer propaganda and money that the Congress managed to secure a majority in the Provincial Assembly But the strength of the Congress Government was dwindling and the Bardoloi Ministry might go

Asked about help from outside the province to the Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam, Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman said "I do not see that there is anything in the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Assam Provincial Muslim League which asks for help from outside, though Muslims all over will have their sympathy with the Muslims of Assam and will watch the movement with great anxiety "

Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman will now report to the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League on the Assam situation He leaves for Lucknow on April 5 —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 April 1947

IX.15

BARDOLOI'S BULLETS[1]

The news from Assam is extremely disquieting The Congress Premier, Mr Bardoloi, has made an imaginary Muslim League invasion of Assam the pretext for a virtual declaration of war on Bengali immigrants Only the other day, nine persons were killed and eight injured as a result of police firing in Barpeta sub-division It has been given out that compromising documents have been seized from Muslim League National Guards, and this discredited wartime device is being employed to justify full-scale operations against a landless and unarmed people drive by hunger and want to seek a meagre living in an inhospitable land We have already had occasion to refer to the manifest iniquity of the Assam Government's eviction policy, which derives its sanction from the divine right of brute force to dispossess, exploit and harass the poor and the weak We reiterate that the Assam Government is bringing communal, racial and fascist consideration to bear upon a question which should legitimately be viewed from a purely economic angle The "hire system" which is being enforced by the Assam Government with such extreme severity exceeds in its injustice and rigour even the

"Pegging" Act and is hardly distinguishable from some of the worst specimens of racial legislation against which India has been protesting for so long Under this system the immigrants who number over a million are restricted to specified areas The Province of Assam is divided into two zones, the immigrant zone and the Assamese zone The immigrants cannot own land in the other zone, and this has led to complications which were inherent in this artificial scheme of segregation A point has been reached when the density of the population in the immigrant zone has arisen to over six hundred a square mile, whereas in the Assamese zone it is not more than 144 at its highest Such an uneven distribution of population obviously calls for readjustment and landless, unemployed proletariat has grown up in the immigrant areas hungrily seeking access to vacant lands, that was only to be expected As the old-time Pandit Nehru rightly pointed out, "a sparsely populated area with vacant lands like Assam is at present, cannot continue as it is with overcrowded provinces surrounding it " The crux of the problem as we have said before, lies in an economic approach to the problem, but unfortunately neither the Bardoloi Government nor the Congress High Command is prepared to adopt The agricultural statistics of 1940-41 show that there are 5,747,736 uncultivated areas in Assam, and there is at the same time a serious shortage of agricultural labour The tea industry in particular is dependent on immigrant labour Hindus from Madras and Central and United Provinces are freely allowed to settle down in Assam, but no Muslim from neighbouring Bengal This discrimination was bound to result in unpleasantness and the Congress Government is trying to resolve this unpleasantness by adding to it brutal oppression and ruthless use of force Sheer force has never successfully resolved economic problems and there is no reason to suppose that Bardoloi's bullets will settle the problem of Assam

[1]Editorial, *Pakistan Times*, 4 April 1947

IX.16

BARDOLOI CLARIFIES ASSAM GOVERNMENT'S EVICTION POLICY[1]

SHILLONG, April 4 "The Government have decided to hold firm to their determination and do not propose to submit to threat," says Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, in the course of a statement

dealing with the eviction policy of the Assam Government and the Civil Disobedience Movement proposed to be launched by the Muslim League against that policy

He adds "It should be made abundantly clear to the world that if this Civil Disobedience Movement contemplated by the Assam Muslim League is not a plea for carrying the policy of bringing Assam into Pakistan zone under an all-India plan, a view which in the context of the present political situation in the country cannot be said to be altogether unjustified "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

IX.17

LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN ASSAM WILL SUCCEED, SAYS MR BAHAR[1]

CALCUTTA, April 5 "The movement launched by the Assam Muslim League against the eviction policy of the Assam Government will surely be crowned with success," observed Mr Mohd Habibullah Bahar, MLA, General Secretary, Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who had accompanied Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to Assam

Mr Bahar revealed that the Congress Government of Assam had been systematically suppressing telegrams, letters and other news from Assam, to keep the people of the world in darkness about their inhuman policy

He further remarked that the eviction policy of the Assam Government was not only against the Bengali Muslim immigrants, but was against the Bengali and Burma [*sic* for Surma] Valley Hindus as well

Referring to the alleged differences between League members over the policy adopted by the Assam Muslim League against the Government, Mr Bahar said, "It is absolutely false and mischievous There is a complete unity and harmony in their activities and firm determination to do or die "

He concluded that the Ahom and Khasi tribes and several other leaders of the minority communities had assured the League that they would join hands with them in the struggle for civil liberties in Assam.—OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 6 April 1947

IX.18

THREE ASSAM LEAGUE LEADERS ARRESTED[1]
Civil Disobedience Movement in Full Swing

GAUHATI, April 8 Mr A H Choudhury, member of the All India Muslim League Council, Syed Ahmed Ali and Mr Saif-ur-Rahman were arrested by the Assam Government for leading a procession at Gopalpur in defiance of Section 144

This procession was taken out by the Gopalpur District Muslim League in pursuance of the decision of the Assam Provincial Muslim League to start the Civil Disobedience Movement throughout the province

MINISTER'S CAR DAMAGED

The Finance Minister of Assam, Mr Bishnu Ram Medhi, reached here last evening at five from Habibganj

At Maulvi Bazaar town, on his way to the student's Congress office his car was held up by a procession which was shouting Muslim League slogans The car was damaged by brick-batting and kicking — OPI and API

[1] *Pakistan Times* 9 April 1947

IX.19

ASSAM LEAGUE SECRETARY EXTERNED ORDER TO BE DEFIED[1]

TEZPUR, April 9 An order of externment has been served on the Acting President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, Maulvi Abdullah Nurul Huq, directing him not to enter the areas of Sootea and Behall

The order, which has been issued by the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang under Section 9 of the Assam Maintenance of Public Order, will be in force for a period of three months

The local Muslim League office states that Maulvi Nurul Huq will defy the order

Maulvi Huq has arrived here with Maulvi Jalaluddin Ahmed, Joint Secretary of the Provincial Muslim Students Federation —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 10 April 1947

IX.20

ASSAM CONGRESS GOVERNMENT BROKE LAND AGREEMENT[1]
League Movement Not Yet Launched
Sa'adullah-Bardoloi Negotiations

GAUHATI, April 9 Mr Mohammad Sa'adullah, former Premier of Assam and Chairman of the Assam Muslim League Council of Action, revealed at a public meeting today that negotiations were still proceeding between him and Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, the Premier for "an honourable settlement" on the eviction question "so that Assam might be spared the untoward happenings which might be inevitable otherwise "

Mr Sa'adullah also said that the Civil Disobedience Movement had not yet begun, but was being examined by the League High Command He counselled all, including Leaguers and overzealous officers, not to bang the negotiation's door

Referring to the eviction policy now being pursued by the Assam Government, Mr Sa'adullah said that it was not the one formulated in 1946 between Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, Mr Rohini Kumar Chaudhury and himself to solve the land problem in the province The present Government was following an entirely new policy

The Congress in 1939 virtually accepted the abolition of Line System policy which later culminated in a tripartite agreement two years ago "I accuse the present Government of breach of the terms of that agreement and it is indeed a travesty of truth to say that the Bardoloi Ministry have been acting by that agreed policy," he said

Mr Sa'adullah referred to the recent statement of Mr Gopinath Bardoloi in which the Premier had said that 3,500 families had been evicted so far, of whom 700 families were entitled to provision of land, as protected people If 27,000 *bighas* of land were provided to evictees, said Mr Sa'adullah, the problem might easily be solved and if the Congress Government agreed to this term he (Mr Sa'adullah) would stop further immigration into Assam in the best interest of Assam as a whole

MUSLIM MAJORITY PROVINCE

Dwelling on the question of including Assam in Pakistan he stated that Assam was a Muslim majority province if the tribals, Ahoms and Scheduled Caste people were excluded from the Hindu fold, as these people preferred to be separate communities

He also levelled the charge of nepotism, corruption and inefficiency against the present Government

Concluding Mr Sa'adullah appealed to all to maintain peace and harmony as the Muslim League had no design to launch any movement against any community or individual, but warned, if forced, to fight an unjust policy

This was Mr Sa'adullah's first public speech since the Muslim League's decision to launch Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 11 April 1947

IX.21

ASSAM NATIONAL GUARDS CHIEF ARRESTED[1]

ASSAM, April 10 Four persons including the *Salar-e-Suba* of the Muslim National Guards, Mr M A Raqib were arrested today in connection with last Sunday's incident when the Finance Minister, Mr B R Medhi's car was blocked by a procession

All of them were released on bail, but subsequently Mr Raqib and two others were rearrested under the Assam Maintenance of Public Safety Act, 1947 —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 12 April 1947

IX.22

LEAGUE LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN IN ASSAM[1]
Central Government Assures Help
To Crush Movement

HABIB GUNJ (ASSAM), April 11 The Assam Provincial Muslim League today launched here the Civil Disobedience Campaign against the eviction policy of the Assam Congress Government A large procession was held to inaugurate the campaign

An attempt was made to plant the League flag before the Treasury building A Treasury guard fired one round and one person was injured

Mr Mayen-ud-Din Chaudhury, MLA, Assam, one of the leaders of the Muslim League in Assam, was arrested today at Shillong, under the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act, while starting for Sylhet

CONGRESS ASSURANCE TO CRUSH MOVEMENT

A Calcutta message says "Both the Government of India and the Congress High Command have assured us that all help would be given to Assam to put down any lawlessness in the province," said Mr Deveswar Sarma, Speaker of the Assam Legislative Assembly, who along with Mr Fakhar-ud-Din Ali Ahmed and Mr P D Himmatsinghka, Congress leader, returned to Calcutta from Delhi on their way to Assam

The delegation, which had been to Delhi to apprise the authorities as well as the Congress High Command about the situation created in Assam by the Muslim League's decision to start a Civil Disobedience Movement there, met Mr Gandhi, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Sardar Baldev Singh and Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor-designate of Assam —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 12 April 1947

IX.23

ASSAM LEAGUE DETENUS TO GO ON HUNGER-STRIKE[1]

GAUHATI, April 17 Mr Mahmud Ali, General Secretary, Assam League, Mr Mueen-ud-Din Ahmed, MLA, and other League leaders detained in Gauhati Jail have decided to go on hunger-strike within a week's time as a protest against the want of arrangements for their prayers, inadequate supply of food etc —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 18 April 1947

IX.24

LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN ASSAM GOING AHEAD[1]

Khaliq-uz-Zaman Confident Of Ultimate Victory

NEW DELHI, April 18 "The Muslim League movement in Assam is going ahead and I am confident of its ultimate victory" said Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman who is here to acquaint the Committee of Action of the All India Muslim League with the situation in Assam

He wondered how the Congress associated the immigration question

with the Muslim League's demand for inclusion of Assam in the Eastern Zone of Pakistan

He said. "It is a well-known fact that immigration started as early as 1901 and has continued since then for reasons too well-known to be repeated Nobody dreamt of Pakistan when immigration question was started and no sane person can expect immigration to be so speeded up as to make the Muslims a majority community in the province "

Referring to the claim of the Muslims, he said "Muslims are the largest single unit in Assam and they have the sympathies of a large number of tribal people, including Khasis, Ahoms and Garus The Caste Hindus in the province are only 24 lakhs including Rajabhanis who are reckoned as Scheduled Castes in Bengal, but are included along with Caste Hindus in Assam with the object of increasing the percentage of the Caste Hindus "

Adverting to the grouping issue he said "Assam cannot, for reasons economic, cultural, linguistic and other allied considerations, join any other group except Bengal, which even now provides Assam with a University, a High Court, Veterinary Department and similar other facilities to serve its economic and other interests in many ways

"The leaders of the tribal people have been deeply shocked at the unfair methods of the Congress Government during the last elections " He said, he would not be surprised if there was an open revolt against the Congress in tribal areas

Concludingly he asserted that the movement which had been started by the Muslim League in Assam was both non-communal and non-violent and had left a door open for other communities also to join —OPI

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 19 April 1947

IX.25

BENGAL GOVERNMENT REFUTE ASSAM MINISTER'S CHARGES[1]

CALCUTTA, April 18 A Bengal Government press note states "The attention of the Government of Bengal has been drawn to a statement attributed to Mr Bishnu Ram Medhi, Revenue and Finance Minister of Assam, that has received publicity in certain sections of the Press, to the effect that the Muslim League movement in that province against the

Assam Government had the fullest support of the Bengal Government and further that the Bengal Government was providing rations to those people to attack Assam

"The Government of Bengal desires it to be clearly understood that they have given no support to what is termed the Muslim League movement against the Assam Government, nor are they providing rations to people on the Assam-Bengal border or anywhere to enable people to attack Assam They have not issued, nor do they contemplate issuing any instructions which could be interpreted as meaning that particular individuals were to be provided with rations for any activity of the kind visualised in the statement attributed to Mr Medhi They would point out further that in the areas of Bengal adjoining Assam no Government rationing organisation exists and no question of Government rationing arises "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 20 April 1947

IX.26

ASSAM TRIBES MAY SIDE WITH LEAGUE TO FIGHT EVICTION[1]

CALCUTTA, April 20 The Scheduled Caste tribes—Ahoms and Khasis of the Surma Valley and other tribes of Assam Province were considering the question of joining hands with the Muslim League, and to fight unto death the eviction policy of the Assam Government, said Mr Habibullah Bahar, MLA, General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who has just returned from a tour of Assam

He hoped that they would make their decision very shortly —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 23 April 1947

IX.27

CROWD PREVENTS ARREST OF LEAGUE LEADER[1]

SYLHET, April 23 A police party was surrounded and a person who was to be taken into custody was rescued by a crowd here

The incident happened at a meeting here under the auspices of the

Muslim League in Govinda Park At the conclusion of the meeting the police made an attempt to arrest Mr Abdul Bari, a member of the Assam Provincial Muslim League Council and Committee of Action, but the crowd surrounded the police and snatched away Mr Abdul Bari —API

[1] *Pakistan Times*, 25 April 1947

IX.28

TWO MORE ASSAM LEAGUE LEADERS ARRESTED[1]

SHILLONG, April 24 Mr Mahmud Ali, General Secretary of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, and Mr Ajmal Ali Choudhury, a member of the All India League Council, have been placed under detention for a period of two months, under the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act

Two other prominent Muslim Leaguers, Alep Haji and Haji Nazim-ud-Din Sarkar, are being detained for three months under the same Act —API

[1] *Pakistan Times* 25 April 1947

IX.29

PROSPECTS OF SETTLEMENT IN ASSAM ARE BRIGHT[1]

Congress-League Conference Concludes After Making Definite Headway

SHILLONG, April 24 The prospects of a settlement of the dispute between the Congress and the League in Assam over the eviction policy of the Government of Assam are bright, according to some of the leaders attending the conference of representatives of the Congress and the League The conference concluded today after making a "definite headway" towards a solution of the difficult problems facing Assam

"The entire situation is very favourable, and the prospects of a settlement are bright Nothing can be stated beyond this at the present

stage," said Mr Sa'adullah, Leader of the Opposition in the Assam Assembly, and Chairman of the Committee of Action of the Provincial Muslim League, as he came out of the conference, which concluded today after more than four hours discussion

Mr Sa'adullah added that he had summoned a meeting of his Committee of Action, when the decisions reached at today's conference, would be placed for consideration He also disclosed that a special messenger was being sent to Delhi to inform the League High Command of the results of the negotiations

Mr Gopinath Bardoloi, Premier of Assam in an interview said he hoped that there would be good news for Assam He would only say that the conference had made definite headway towards a solution of the difficult problems facing Assam He added that though the conference had concluded its deliberations, it might be necessary to obtain clarification of certain points by correspondence —API

[1]*Pakistan Times* 25 April 1947

IX.30

POLICE FIRE ON ASSAM LEAGUE DEMONSTRATORS[1]

1 Dead And 6 Injured Shops Closed In Sylhet

SYLHET (ASSAM), April 24 Half a dozen persons were injured and one of them subsequently died, when the police opened fire to disperse a crowd of League demonstrators that raided the Sylhet Sadar Thana

Shouting the slogan "Down with the Congress Government," the crowd hoisted the League flag on the *Thana* building The police made a *lathi*-charge, but failed to disperse the crowd The police then opened fire, resulting in injuries of about half a dozen persons The motor car of the Police Superintendent was damaged

One of the injured died in the Sylhet Civil Hospital The corpse was taken in procession Elaborate police arrangements have been made as a precautionary measure Shops are closed and military vans are patrolling the town —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 26 April 1947

IX.31

BARDOLOI NOT TO RELEASE LEAGUE PRISONERS[1]

GAUHATI, April 28 "If we act on Jinnah-Gandhi Joint Statement[2] and release all Muslim League political prisoners that will be our foolishness Until and unless the League calls off the movement, the question of the release of political prisoners does not arise We cannot allow more lawlessness in the province, and if necessary the public with the aid of the military will deal with the lawlessness," declared Mr Bardoloi, the Assam Premier, in an interview before he flew to Delhi

It is gathered that a committee, consisting of three leaders, including the Premier of Assam and a member of the League Assembly party, will be set up to ascertain the number of immigrants, since 1938, so as to provide land to them —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 30 April 1947
[2]Annex II to No 376, Vol I, Part I

IX.32

ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE POLITICAL PRISONER'S DAY[1]

GAUHATI, May 1 "Assam Muslim League Political Prisoner's Day" will be observed throughout the province, as a mark of protest against the arrest of the League leaders

Mr Hashmat Ali, General Secretary, Assam Provincial Muslim Students' Federation has appealed to the Muslim students to observe the day by absenting themselves from their classes and by holding demonstrations and arranging meetings —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

IX.33

LEAGUE MOVEMENT IN ASSAM WILL CONTINUE UNABATED[1]

GOPALPUR (ASSAM), May 2 "As soon as the Bardoloi Cabinet took

over the charge of the province it adopted the eviction policy for compelling the immigrants to quit Assam The civilised world will never support such an inhuman action of any Government The Muslim League launched its movement for the sake of landless and poor people," declared Mr Abdul Hai, MLA, General Secretary Assam Provincial Muslim League, addressing a large gathering here yesterday

He added "I remind the people that our fight is not against any community or party, but against the Assam Congress Government Unless and until the Bardoloi party change their heart and join hands with us, the movement will go on unabated "

Regarding the Assam Public Safety Act, Mr Hai remarked "It is an unlawful act in the name of law and has been promulgated to suppress the voice of the Muslims "

Mr Hai left for Gauhati in the evening —OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 4 May 1947

IX.34

ASSAM LEAGUE LEADERS SENTENCED[1]

SILCHAR (ASSAM), [May 15] Mr Abdul Bari, MLA, Muhammad Ashraf Choudhury, MLC, and Mr Abdul Hai, MLA, have been convicted by the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar under the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act for holding a meeting in the Municipal Bazaar in defiance of the prohibitory order, and sentenced to 10 months simple imprisonment each

A volunteer of the Muslim National Guard, who was also arrested, was let off with a warning

[1]*Dawn*, 17 May 1947

IX.35

FOUR ASSAM SQUATTERS KILLED[1]

TEZPUR (ASSAM), [May 16] Four persons were killed and several others injured on May 14, when military opened fire on an alleged

unruly crowd that had resisted eviction of squatters from the Government reserve lands according to reports reaching here from Kumalia Chuburi in Tezpur Division of the Brahmaputra Valley —API

[1]*Dawn*, 17 May 1947

IX.36

INDISCRIMINATE FIRING ON TEZPUR IMMIGRANTS 20 KILLED[1]

SHILLONG, [May 19] Twenty lives are feared lost as a result of military firing on peaceful demonstrators at Tezpur on Thursday last Official casualty figures have been kept a close secret, but from all accounts available it can be said that this has been the worst and most indiscriminate firing resorted to by the military since the Assam Provincial Muslim League launched the Civil Disobedience Movement

Over 200 persons were injured at Silchar on May 12, some seriously, including men, women and children of all ages and including respected League leader, Secretary League party in the Legislative Council

Dewan Muhammad Azraf was slapped before being taken into custody along with other legislators Abdul Bari Choudhry, Vice-President, APML and Abdul Hai, Acting General Secretary, APML and Abdus Salam, student's leader

These upholders of law and order went amok in an organised attempt to break up meeting in Fatak Bazaar by Nazi methods of terrorism and violence Just at start of meeting the venue was cordoned-off immediately, followed by bayonet charge on public without warning led in person by C C B Paine, D C , and S M Dutta, S P both reported under influence of drink Boiling water from nearby tea shop was splashed on demonstrators resulting in severe burns to one child Khalil Hazari (8 years) and several others

Mouthfuls of vile abuses on respected Muslim leaders were used by policemen and officers all the time Policemen then under orders from their officers spread out, broke into shops and private houses and looted materials, molested and assaulted men, women and children Not a single house in locality escaped brutal attentions of police while Muslim passersby even were not spared

The orgy which began at 4 p m continued upto midnight without break or respite Camera was snatched from my hands by police officer

when at a considerable risk to myself I toured the locality and took some snaps of police atrocities in action

Earlier when leaders arrived to address the meeting as per schedule police activity was intensified in town and scenes appeared reminiscent of last war when whole area presented appearance of armed camp town seeming to be under state of serious emergency

Approaches to town were guarded by police pickets and people questioned on entry Muslims from outlying areas nevertheless infiltrated in ones and twos undaunted by police preparations to attend meeting in defiance of Section 144 A batch of 50 National Guards in plain dress marched twenty miles at night to reach town On the whole, Muslims before and after the meeting and arrest of their leaders, behaved admirably well and with profound patience though feelings ran high and youthful spirits struggled to break lose in revolt at the inhuman cowardly attacks on unarmed peaceful demonstrators Asked by me, the police officer said these measures were intended "to produce moral effect on demonstrators to curb their spirits and create greater respect for established law and Government"

Wave of indignation has swept over the province on dastardly action of the police and extreme measures adopted by them

Situation in province has become so explosive that unless Governor, Sir Akbar Hydari takes up matter personally forthwith and orders thorough inquiry by impartial authority, possibilities of province-wide conflagration are not ruled out by certain quarters On my return from tour of the valley, I found people in an extremely agitated state of mind and fermenting against high-handedness of Government and Police, adds the correspondent

[1]*Dawn*, 21 May 1947

IX.37

3 ASSAM LEAGUE WORKERS SENTENCED FOR SLOGANS[1]

SYLHET, [May 21] Three Muslim League workers were sentenced today by Mr Atul Nandy, the Senior Extra Assistant Commissioner, Sylhet, to one month's imprisonment each for contempt of court

The allegation against them was that they were shouting anti-Ministry slogans in front of the court —API

[1]*Dawn*, 23 May 1947

IX.38

CAMPAIGN AGAINST EVICTION POLICY 13 ARRESTED[1]

SYLHET (ASSAM), [May 25] The Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement against the eviction policy of the Assam Government continues Three Muslim Leaguers entered today the *Munsif's* court room and occupied the seat of the *Munsif* and *Peshkar* while the third acted as *Chaprasi* They were all arrested by the police

Three other Muslim Leaguers were arrested in the Criminal Court verandah while shouting anti-Ministerial slogans

It is reported from Silchar that seven Muslim League volunteers have been convicted by the Deputy Commissioner and sentenced to imprisonment till the rising of the court for leading a procession in violation of a prohibitory order

The accused pleaded not guilty, saying that they were not aware of the prohibitory order —API

[1]*Dawn*, 26 May 1947

IX.39

INDISCRIMINATE FIRING ON PEACEFUL IMMIGRANTS[1]

Matin Chaudhury's Account of Kumalia Reserve Incidents

SHILLONG, May 24 "Undeterred by humane considerations and unmoved by universal condemnation, the Congress Government in Assam is still carrying on its barbarous policy of eviction of poor peasants by demolishing their houses and destroying their crops", says Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, member, Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, in a statement on his return from a tour of the Kumalia reserve in Tezpur sub-division of Darrang District which, according to him, was "the scene of recent indiscriminate firing on unarmed and peaceful immigrants"

Mr Chaudhury says that recently the Government with military forces and elephants demolished over 500 houses in that area rendering 1,500 men, women and children destitute and homeless and "resorted to unwarranted firing resulting in heavy casualties "

"The immigrants", he adds, "have been living in Kumalia for the last seven or eight years, an overwhelming majority of them having migrated to Assam 15 to 20 years ago"

Mr Chaudhury continues that not content with demolishing the houses and driving the unfortunate people to the wilderness, on May 20, the military with the aid of local Assamese set fire and burnt to ashes the demolished materials of the houses so that the immigrants might not utilise the broken building materials for constructing houses elsewhere

SAD PLIGHT

In this rainy season, he goes on to say, the sad plight of the homeless and destitute evicted immigrants can be more imagined than described

He adds "While the evicted persons have been prohibited entry into the evicted area, hundreds of cattle of the local Assamese and Nepalis are daily let loose on cultivated paddy fields of the evicted persons and thousands of *bighas* of growing paddy are thus being destroyed While Dr Rajendra Prasad has been making an urgent appeal for the production of more crops, the Congress Government in Assam is aiding and abetting the destruction of vast areas of cultivated paddy fields about to yield thousands of maunds of paddy"

In Mr Chaudhury's view, the least that can be done to mitigate the hard lot of these unfortunate evictees is to allow them to tend their fields till crops ripen and paddy is harvested This paddy is the sole means of their subsistence for the whole year and they have spent months of labour to produce it —API

[1] *Star of India*, 27 May 1947

IX.40

HARTAL AT SILCHAR[1]

SILCHAR, May 29 Mr Nasiruddin Ahmad, MLA, reached here accompanied by others on May 27, to enquire into the police excesses on Muslim League demonstrators Evidences of over 50 persons were recorded As a protest against police excesses a complete *hartal* was observed here to-day

Despite this high-handedness, processions defying the Assam Government ban were taken out Thirty-two persons have been arrested so far

[1] *Morning News*, 31 May 1947

IX.41

ASSAM MUSLIMS CANNOT BE COWED DOWN[1]

Bardoloi Government Warned

A resolution condemning the indiscriminate shooting of innocent Muslims by the Fascist Congress Government of Assam in order to suppress the rightful activities of the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Muslims of Assam was passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assam Muslim Association held on May 29

The merciless assaults on boy demonstrators exceeded all canons of civilized Government The power-drunk Bardoloi Government of Assam should note that the Muslims of Assam are fighting for a just cause and they are not to be cowed down by the repressive policy ruthlessly followed by them and that there will be no wavering on the part of the Muslims in their determination to achieve their objective

The Committee warns the Government in this connection that if due to the senseless policy of persecution followed by the Government the non-violent movement at any time takes a violent character, the entire responsibility will be theirs

[1]*Morning News* 1 June 1947

IX.42

MANKACHAR QILA IS NOTHING BUT AN ORDINARY RELIEF CAMP[1]

Nurul Huq's Appeal to Press Not to Indulge in Propaganda

Mr Nurul Huq, Acting President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League who, with Dr Emran Hussain, member, Provincial Committee of Action, has just completed a tour of the Surma Valley and Mankachar, in a statement says that the so-called "Mankachar Qila" is nothing but an ordinary relief camp rendering relief to the "distressed and oppressed people"

Mr Huq says there are only some ordinary thatched houses in Mankachar Qila for Muslim National Guards who render relief to the distressed people He denies the report of stocks of ammunition and arms in the camp

Appealing to the press and the public not to indulge in propaganda

without studying the real situation in Mankachar Qila, which would bring about strife, Mr Huq says "It is absolutely false to say that a large number of immigrants from Bengal will invade Assam"

Mr Huq also warns the Government against repression of Muslims because, he says, "It will not bring peace and amity but create permanent widespread disaffection among the Muslims" —API

[1] *Morning News*, 2 June 1947

IX.43

CONGRESS INVITED TO VISIT MANKACHAR QILA[1]
Non-Hindus of Assam Want Ministry To Go

SHILLONG, June 2 An invitation to Congress leaders to visit the so-called Purba Pakistan Qila at Mankachar any time they liked, has been extended by Dr Emran Hussain Chaudhury, MLA, member, Committee of Action, Provincial Muslim League, who recently toured the Assam-Bengal border with Mr N Huq, Working President of the Assam League

Giving a picture of the *Qila* which, according to him had been misunderstood by some persons, Dr Chaudhury said that it was nothing but a relief camp with a few thatched huts for which "one match-stick was enough"

Referring to the general situation in the area he said there was no panic and non-Muslims, particularly the Scheduled Castes had expressed their satisfaction and said there was no cause for fear He added that the Hindus and Muslims in that area had lived as brothers for generations and would like to live so for all times to come

Mr Chaudhury emphasised that since the launching of the Muslim League movement, 75 days ago there had been no communal trouble in Assam The movement had remained non-violent and peaceful despite provocation and "indiscriminate firings" in a number of places where "many Muslims were killed"

Mr Chaudhury claimed that the Muslim League struggle in Assam had the full sympathy of 3 lakhs of Ahoms, 19 lakhs of tea garden labourers, 7 lakhs of Scheduled Castes and 16 lakhs of tribals He added that "the non-Hindus of Assam have sympathy for any struggle directed to overthrow the inefficient and oppressive Government full of corruption and nepotism"—API

[1] *Morning News*, 4 June 1947

APPENDIX X

CABINET MISSION'S MEMORANDUM ON STATES' TREATIES AND PARAMOUNTCY[1]

F 20/181-182

12 May 1946

1 Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister[2] in the House of Commons an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature His Majesty's Government have now declared that if the Succession [*sic*] Government or Governments in British India desire independence, no obstacle would be placed in their way The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of independence within or without the British Commonwealth The Delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish

2 During the interim period, which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new Constitutional structure under which British India will be independent or fully self-governing, paramountcy will remain in operation But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government

3 In the meanwhile, the Indian States are in a position to play an important part in the formulation of the new Constitutional structure for India, and His Majesty's Government have been informed by the Indian States that they desire, in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure, and to take their due place in it when it is completed In order to facilitate this they will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the State they will no doubt

arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions

4 During the Interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field Such negotiations, which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian Constitutional structure or not, will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the succession [sic] Government or Governments that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed In this matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired

5 When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them

[NOTE] The following explanatory note was issued by the Cabinet Mission in New Delhi on the date of publication (22nd May, 1946)

"The Cabinet Delegation desire to make it clear that the document

issued today entitled 'Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Delegation to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes' was drawn up before the Mission began its discussions with Party leaders and represented the substance of what they communicated to the representatives of the States at their first interviews with the Mission [3] This is the explanation of the use of the words 'Succession [*sic*] Government or Governments of British India' an expression which would not of course have been used after the issue of the Delegation's recent statement "

[1] *TP*, VII, No 262, pp 522-524 contains three notes which have not been included

[2] No 1, Vol I, Part I

[3] In the interviews with members of the Cabinet Mission and Wavell on 2 April 1946, the Nawab of Bhopal and some other rulers of States discussed a number of issues relating to the States and Paramountcy in the event of transfer of power See *TP*, VII, No 39, pp 83-87 and No 44, pp 95-103

APPENDIX XI

STATEMENTS BY M A JINNAH DURING THE PERIOD 20 FEBRUARY TO 2 JUNE 1947

XI.1

MUSLIMS MUST PLAN THEIR OWN UPLIFT, DECLARES JINNAH[1]

KARACHI, Feb 21 "There is only one road for the progress of those Muslims in the villages who are steeped in poverty and live in sordid conditions—that is—organise themselves with absolute self-reliance, join the Muslim League and draw up a programme for their own uplift," said Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing a large gathering of Muslim residents of Malir this evening, on the eve of his return to Karachi tomorrow

Mr Jinnah referred to the conditions in the suburbs, and asked them what they had done to improve the villages and provide the amenities of life He said it was no use blaming the Ministry The Muslim residents themselves in every village should organise, draw up plans, and try to execute them

Unless the component parts were rightly set, the over-all position could not be expected to be good Only through the proper development of village units could the Muslims work out the salvation of their Province and their country Muslims must develop the art of self-reliance, unity and organisation

PERIOD OF SHAME

Mr Jinnah, said that the past 10 years were a period of shame for Sind The Muslims could not establish a stable Ministry, and the Hindus, with the help of a few renegade Muslims, were making and unmaking the Ministries After 10 years, the Muslims had regained power

The League Ministry had an eight point programme They were not so much concerned with the people who would carry out the programme, as with the programme and the output themselves The League High Command would see that they were implemented, and the Sind Muslims would also maintain a careful watch over the Ministry on its obligations to the people He referred to the strength the Muslim League had developed, and the strength the organisation gave to its members

Mr Jinnah pointed out that, a year before the League decided to renounce titles, none would dare to do so and they would shiver to contemplate its consequences, but when the League decided on that course, hundreds did renounce at once, and the Premier Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, was the first to renounce his knighthood

In conclusion, Mr Jinnah appealed to his hearers to unite and organise —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 23 February 1947

XI.2

LEAGUE WILL NOT YIELD AN INCH IN DEMAND FOR PAKISTAN[1]

We will be generous to all, whatever Hindus do,
Says Jinnah
Quaid-i-Azam's warm tribute to Bihar Muslims' Sacrifice

KARACHI, Feb 24 "The Muslim League will not yield an inch in their demand for Pakistan," declared Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, addressing a group of Bihar Muslims in their refugee camp last evening

He added "Whatever the Hindus may do, we shall ever remain generous and good to all Our demand is just and is the only way to liberate the 100,000,000 of Muslims in India The sufferings that the Muslims had undergone in Bihar and elsewhere only show more clearly that we should have a separate State of Pakistan"

Mr Jinnah said "Nations are built through sacrifices, and I am really proud of the Bihar Muslims who had sacrificed so much Their sacrifices will not go in vain They have certainly brought our goal of Pakistan nearer and shown our readiness to make any sacrifice for its attainment"

Mr Jinnah addressed the Biharis for a few minutes and then spent about half an hour in their camps talking to a number of them He inquired into the arrangements made for their stay here and assured them of every help in money, food, cloth and medical aid that he and the Muslim League could possibly provide

Mr Jinnah presented Rs 5,000 for the relief of Bihar Musalmans

Addressing a meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League here yesterday, Mr Jinnah referred to the history of the past

decade when the Muslims in India and specially in Sind were politically backward, and observed "But only in this short time we have succeeded in awakening the Muslims Among our achievements one is that we have today our own stable majority Government here It is up to us now to see that we control this Government and make it truly responsible

Mr Jinnah added "Although an eight-point programme has been drawn up for the welfare of the people, yet this is not enough We have still much to accomplish We find ourselves still unprepared for the task that awaits us We have yet a lot of ground to cover We must cultivate unity, discipline and faith, and our masses must be educated and organised Only then can we become a truly great nation commanding a place of honour amongst the nations of the world

"All this we can do and much more can we achieve, if only we do not go astray from the path laid down by the greatest Prophet—Muhammad [PBUH] You must remember that we lost our position in the world, because we, for some reason or other , could not follow in his footsteps "—API and OPI

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 February 1947

XI.3

NO GROUNDS FOR CO-OPERATION, DECLARES JINNAH[1]

Pakistan the only solution

BOMBAY, March 12 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, said today that there was no other solution which would do credit and honour to the Muslim millions of India except Pakistan Speaking at a party given in his honour by the Bombay Provincial Muslim Journalists' Association, Mr Jinnah said, "There is no other course open, we must organise ourselves in every department of our life

"We have got to stand on our own legs, our ideology, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles and programme, are not only different from the Hindu organisations, but are in conflict

"It is obvious, therefore, that the two cannot be put together and made to work There is no common ground for co-operation or harmonious working

"I have been preaching this for nearly 10 years There was a time

when it was said that I was holding fantastic ideas There was a time when the idea of Pakistan was laughed at, but let me tell you this, there is no other solution which will do credit and bring honour to our people

"Do not allow any outsider to come in and create trouble or differences in our ranks It is our business, our house, and it is our duty to put it in order, and not the business of outsiders "

Mr Jinnah said that attempts were being made on "the other side" to create differences among the Muslims and place obstacles in the way of the attainment of Pakistan, but to a very great extent these obstacles had been flattened out

POWER OF PRESS

Referring to the profession of journalism, Mr Jinnah said "You have great power You can guide and misguide people You can make or mar the biggest personality The power of the Press is great, but you must remember that this power which you are wielding is a trust Look upon it as a great trust, and remember that you are guiding honestly and sincerely the progress and welfare of your nation At the same time, I expect you to be completely fearless "

Mr Jinnah said he welcomed criticism

"If I go wrong, or if the League goes wrong in any direction of its policy or programme, I want you to criticise it honestly as its friend, in fact, as one whose heart is beating with the Muslim nation "

The League President referred to the growing strength of the All India Muslim League, and said "It has moved from strength to strength, no matter what comes in its way It is difficult to break the ice in the initial stage, but once it is broken, you can swim in the ocean as free men Let us move on and move together and, *Insha'Allah*, we shall have Pakistan "

Mr Aziz Beg, President of the Bombay Provincial Muslim Journalists' Association, welcoming Mr Jinnah, said that the causes which led to the formation of the Association were the same as those responsible for the creation of the All India Muslim League and of the demand for Pakistan —API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 14 March 1947

XI.4

QUAID-I-AZAM'S APPEAL TO JAM'IYYAT MUSLIMS[1]

Join League and achieve Pakistan
This is no time to raise domestic issues

NEW DELHI, April 12 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in reply to a suggestion from Maulana Hifzur Rahman, General Secretary of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind, for a conference of all Muslim parties to evolve a common basis for the unity of Indian Muslims, says "I have made it clear that any Muslim who is willing to join the League, whatever may have been his views in the past, is welcome and I would welcome everyone of the members of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind "

Mr Jinnah adds "This is not the moment for us to be involved in the solution of our domestic problems when the external danger is facing us I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to you to join the Muslim League without delay and make your contribution to the Muslim national cause for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan That can only be done by unity amongst ourselves and by loyally supporting the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative representative organisation of Muslims of India "

Maulana Hifzur Rahman suggesting a conference of all Muslim parties, said that it was necessary in view of His Majesty's Government's Statement of February 20, to transfer power to Indian hands by June 1948 He further added that according to the Holy Quran without such consultation no decision of any Muslim organisation, however strong and representative it may be, can politically be entitled to be called a *shara'i* or lawful decision

The Jam'iyyat, he concluded, would be ready to co-operate in any method of consultation suggested by Mr Jinnah

Mr Jinnah in reply said "In view of the new situation that has arisen by virtue of the White Paper published by the British Government on February 20, 1947[2], and having regard to the grave issues which we have to face immediately, I agree with you that complete unity among the Musalmans is necessary and I have emphasised that more than once, particularly, in course, of the last two or three weeks, and I have appealed to every Musalman to join the Muslim League

This is not the moment for us to raise any issues concerning domestic differences and it should be for us to settle them as an organised body, according to new constitution and rules This is not the moment for us

to be involved in the solution of our domestic problems when the external danger is facing us

"I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to you to join the Muslim League without delay and make your contribution to Muslim national cause for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan That can only be done by unity amongst ourselves and by loyally supporting the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative representative organisation of the Muslims of India

"I have made it clear that any Muslim, who is willing to join the League, whatever may have been his views in the past, is welcome and I would welcome every one of the members of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind

"I do hope that this will receive your earnest attention as I really do not see any difficulty, in the light of new development that has taken place and the attitude of the various important political Hindu organisations, in your responding to my appeal, as I note that you have emphasised and appreciated how important it is for us at this critical moment to stand together unitedly"—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 13 April 1947
[2]No 1, Vol I, Part I

XI.5

PAKISTAN ALWAYS A FRIEND TO BURMA[1]

NEW DELHI, April 26 The assurance that Pakistan would always be a close friend of Burma was given by Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, to U Chan Htoon, Constitutional Adviser to the Government of Burma, who had an interview with him this week

The Burmese leader told Pressmen that he discussed with Mr Jinnah a report which appeared in the Press stating that some Muslims of Buthidaung and Maungdaw in the Arakan had claimed those two districts for Pakistan Mr Jinnah told him he had clarified the position of the Muslim League in regard to this question in a joint statement issued by him and U Aung San in January last

Mr Jinnah added "Please tell U Aung San and the Burmese leaders that they have my whole-hearted support and best wishes in their struggle for freedom We are all in the same boat, and fighting for our

freedom God willing, you and we may soon be free "

Mr Jinnah also told U Chan Htoon that he had always told the Muslims of Burma that they must identify themselves completely with the Burmese in their efforts to secure freedom If the Muslims had any grievances they must settle them amicably with the Burmese because Burma was their home He exhorted the Burmese to treat them justly and fairly as their own kith and kin for that was the way to keep them all together and happy

"Pakistan is coming nearer and nearer to realisation," Mr Jinnah told U Chan Htoon, and added, "Bengal is your neighbour I can assure you that Pakistan will always be a close friend of Burma "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 27 April 1947

XI.6

JINNAH'S MESSAGE TO HYDERABAD CONFERENCE[1]

NEW DELHI, May 15 Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, who had been invited by the Majlis-i-Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, Hyderabad, to attend their annual session has sent the following message to the organisers of the session

"I regret, I am unable to participate in your conference owing to the talks which are now going on in Delhi I wish your conference every success Your conference is taking place at the most critical juncture in the history of Hyderabad, Muslim India and all the peoples of this great subcontinent May you be guided alright to take decisions at this critical moment "—API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 17 May 1947

APPENDIX XII

GENESIS OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL, ASSAM AND THE PUNJAB

XII.1

Richard Casey[1] *to Archibald Wavell*

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 19-21[2]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
17 December 1944

My dear Lord Wavell,

[*Paras 1 to 6 omitted*]

7 In conversation with Muslims, I find no dearth of questions to ask about "Pakistan" I often say that I would feel much happier in my mind on their account if I could be assured that they had taken into account the essential economic and financial problems of "Pakistan" Usually they become rather embarrassed when one asks if a number of very practical economic and financial matters have been worked out satisfactorily Actually, I suspect that they have done practically no work on this aspect of things at all I have no reason to believe that the conception of "Pakistan" has advanced beyond the stage of political wishful thinking I realize that it has proved a very valuable bargaining counter—but I hope that Mr Jinnah will compromise before Pakistan turns into a tiger that he is riding

8 Some adequately equipped person might, with advantage, write a book on the "Economic Consequences of Mr Jinnah" on a famous parallel

9 My present belief is that the problem of "Pakistan" represents the biggest (and, indeed, practically the only) hurdle standing in the way of the constitutional settlement of the Indian problem

I realize that the Congress is basically responsible for the growth of the Pakistan idea, by the way they have treated the Muslims—but equally do I believe that, unless the Pakistan idea is squashed (and some other means of satisfying the Muslims substituted for it), it is likely so to delay the implementing of independence for India that Anglo-Indian relations will suffer grievously

I believe that a considerable amount of work will have to be done on the Muslims if they are to be weaned away from the Pakistan idea

If it were your wish that I should pursue the matter here in Bengal,[3] I believe that I might be able to influence a certain section of the

Muslims here away from the Pakistan idea by discreet conversations in the course of the next six months or so—and I believe that I could do so without raising any ill feeling or running the risk of being accused of taking sides I fully realise the risk of any of us being able to be accused of being partisan Indeed, I stressed this in paragraph 18 of my letter of November 6th [4]

10 In particular—I believe that the idea of the possibility of a plebiscite amongst the Muslims of Bengal only (i e to the exclusion of the rest of the population of Bengal) should be debunked as quickly as possible It cannot be defended on any democratic or other grounds that I can think of

11 Also—I believe that if the Muslims could be got to realise that the inclusion of Greater Calcutta in "Pakistan" is a complete impossibility—then the idea of "Eastern Pakistan' would receive a great blow The Muslims do not want a sylvan retreat They must be made to realise that Calcutta is more than the capital city of a province—that it is an All-India city that happens to be in Bengal

12 I don't think that I have made it clear in earlier letters that the conception of "Eastern Pakistan" held by Nazimuddin (and so, I imagine, by the Muslim League in Bengal) is not the standard idea of a Muslim State He paints the picture of a wholly autonomous sovereign state with a bare Muslim majority of population, in which Muslims and Hindus would live in amity and share the responsibility for the business of Government (and all else) in approximate proportion to their numbers He would expect the benefits to be derived from such a state to become so clear to the Hindus, after a relatively short time, that they would become as keen about its continuance as the Muslims—and, indeed, that contiguous areas (even with a Hindu majority) would knock at the door of "Eastern Pakistan" and ask to be allowed to throw in their lot with them

13 As I have said, I believe that fanciful conception has been arrived at without any real investigation of the prospective economic position of " Eastern Pakistan" Close objective examination of a problem is not a notable feature of Muslim thought in this Province

14 Nazimuddin's conception of "Eastern Pakistan" would seem to me to have all the disadvantages of a small State that would not be an economic unit—and to have none of the advantages of a National Home for the Muslims that seems to me to be the only tangible reason advanced publicly for its creation

15 However, this conception is interesting because it seems to show that they are groping after a state in which Hindus and Muslims would live together in amity, rather than upon any belief that the interests of the two communities are irreconcilable The basis of that community

of interests can only be the general feeling in Bengal, shared by both Hindus and Muslims—(1) that Bengal is and always has been a region apart,—(2) that it has never had a "fair deal" from India,—(3) that All-India politics and administration are increasingly dominated by Bombay and Madras, and by the provinces nearer Delhi

16 One can sum all this up, not unfairly I think, by saying that the Bengalis are suffering from "Centrophobia"

17 The point here is that, although Nazimuddin may continue to shout for Pakistan, his belief that he may get the Hindus to agree to the idea of an independent Eastern Indian State (in which the Muslims will have scarcely any effective majority) suggests that his support for Pakistan is a bargaining counter, and that what he is really after is a guarantee that a Hindu-ridden Centre shall not have any effective control over the welfare of the people of Bengal

18 All this has relevance to the question whether there is either advantage to be gained or prospect of success in a definite attempt to argue the Muslims out of their demand for Pakistan and to provide them, as an alternative, with "safeguards" for what they really want I would be grateful to have your views on this

19 As you agreed to my discussing my letter to you of November 6th with the other Governors here recently, I am sending copies of this letter to the Governors of the U P , Bihar, Orissa and Assam

Yours sincerely,
R G CASEY

H E

Passages marked 'X' [as indicated in note 3] Draft will be submitted

E M JENKINS[5]
23/12[/44]

An interesting letter Governor said much of this to me verbally

W[AVELL]
23/12 [/44]

Copy sent to Sir John Thorne[6] with d o

Copy sent to the Governor of the Punjab with d o from H E

[1]Governor of Bengal

[2]Also see *TP*, V, No 151, pp 307-310

[3]The sub-para here and para 18 had been sidelined and marked X in the original

[4]Casey had stated that the British will "have to be completely neutral," otherwise if they "come down on the Hindu side or the Muslim side," they will make more enemies than they had at that time See *TP*, V, No 91, p 182

[5]Private Secretary to the Viceroy up to 1945, Governor of the Punjab from April 1946

[6]Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council

XII.2

Note by George Abell[1]

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 23

29 December 1944

1 Mr[2] Casey's letter of 17th December[3] below I kept this to discuss with Mr Menon whom I have seen to-day He tells me that he has heard that Mr Casey is somewhat indiscreet in discussions with visitors, many of whom are extremely clever and know all that is to be known about the political situation For instance, he has been told that Sir B P Singh Roy[4] saw the Governor The Governor tried to sound him on his views as to a possible new move Sir B P Singh Roy said that it was no good asking him such a question if there was no intention of doing anything He as a political leader would only give his views if the Governor had been authorised to ask him for them No doubt he put it more politely than I have expressed it The Governor, according to Mr Menon's story, said that he was authorised to ascertain the views of political leaders

2 Mr Menon does not pretend to vouch for the truth of the story but he says that Mr Casey does not realise that any utterances of his in private conversation is public property the next day and that a remark like that quoted might cause a good deal of misunderstanding

3 Mr Menon also makes the obvious point that Pakistan thrives on opposition of which it gets enough already from the Congress and the Mahasabha It is not based on logic or on practicability but on sentiment and this is why it is strengthened rather than weakened by criticism Mr Menon still believes that Mr Jinnah himself regards Pakistan as a bargaining counter and would be prepared to cash in on it when he had secured the best terms possible at the Centre I told him I doubted this and was afraid that the slogan was running away with Mr Jinnah

4 I put to Mr Menon my suggestion that if no other move is possible it might be worth while to appoint an expert commission of non-Indians to examine the consequences of Pakistan, economic, constitutional and strategical Such a commission would have also to examine certain claims on behalf of the Pakistan advocates, e g to the Ambala division of the Punjab and, far more important, to Calcutta Mr Menon's first reaction to this was unfavourable for the reason given in para 3 above, but he promised to think it over further

5 I think the draft reply to Mr Casey should be a little cautious Draft for consideration

G E B ABELL
29-12-44

I w[ou]ld not worry too much about Mr Menon's criticism India is one large Sounding-Board and from the district upwards conversations with officials are distorted and misrepresented But one can't run country without them I have tried an alternative draft which is less cautious than DPSV's [5]

E M JENKINS
30-12-44

I agree generally but please speak

W[AVELL]
30-12-44

H E approves my d[ra]ft [6] Issue

E M JENKINS
30-12-44

[1]Deputy Secretary to the Viceroy up to November 1945, thereafter Private Secretary to the Viceroy
[2]Full stop has been added here and hereafter to conform to the general format of the *Jinnah Papers*
[3]See No XII 1
[4]Revenue Minister, Bengal, 1938-1941, President, All India Liberal Federation
[5]Deputy Private Secretary to Viceroy
[6]No XII 3

XII.3

Archibald Wavell to Richard Casey

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 24-25[1]

SECRET

NEW DELHI,
1 January 1945

My dear Casey,

Many thanks for your letter of 17th December[2] about the political situation and Pakistan I agree that there is little constructive thinking about politics The suggestions put to me by politicians are usually that we should take some isolated step, such as the release of the Working Committee, with no idea of what the next move should be, or that we should immediately re-establish ministerial government in the Provinces now under Section 93, without apparently securing the cooperation of the parties first It is clear that without British help the Indians cannot do much for themselves At present they are stuck

2 Pakistan, or rather the communal suspicion represented by it, is the main obstacle to constructive thinking The Muslim League will not agree

to perpetual Hindu domination through a strong central Government The bulk of the Hindus—both Mahasabha and Congress—do not see why the Muslims should get more than their fair share on a population basis The minorities have no desire to be crushed by one or other of the big communities Pakistan is the extreme expression of Muslim suspicions and fears, which are real and to some extent justified

3 I do not believe that Pakistan will work It creates new minority problems quite as bad as those we have now, and the Pakistan State or States would be economically unsound On the other hand, like all emotional ideas that have not been properly thought out, it thrives on opposition Some of the abler Muslims may regard it is [*sic* for as] a bargaining counter, but for the mass of the Muslim League it is a real possibility and has a very strong sentimental appeal We cannot openly denounce Pakistan until we have some thing attractive to offer in its place In the Punjab, Sikandar Hayat Khan[3] and, I am told, Fazl-i-Husain before him, saw that something could be made of local patriotism and the national feeling that exists in a Province with a common language and a way of life of its own Their attempt to align political parties on economic and not on communal differences was in part successful, and is being kept up by Khizr Hayat[4] Khan It is clear that you have the same kind of feeling in Bengal though it is less highly developed The answer may be to exploit this local patriotism, but it could be done only by leaders of strong character and great determination, for the religious and social pressures in Indian politics are still very strong On a long view neither Bengal nor the Punjab seems to have anything to gain by separation, even if separation were economically sound Both have narrow Muslim majorities, which might in course of time get narrower still In both the Muslims can, if they try, dominate the Legislature and the Government Separation gives them nothing new (except freedom from the Centre), but saddles them with acute minority problems which may make orderly Government impossible The driving force of Pakistan comes from the Provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority, and not from the prospective Pakistan itself Freedom from Central control may sound attractive, but it might lead to economic subjection far worse than anything the Muslims fear now

4 Until we have something to offer in place of Pakistan, I do not think you should risk being represented as openly hostile to it, but I see no harm whatever in your asking your Muslim visitors sympathetically how they propose to deal with some of the obvious difficulties, and whether there is not some solution short of partition The more we can get educated Muslims to think about all this, the better They cannot really expect to carve out their new States on a purely Muslim plebiscite, nor, if they think it out, can they expect to take over Calcutta as a Muslim capital or make an

economic success of the rural areas which really are Muslim or predominantly so

5 I am sending a copy of this letter to Hallett,[5] Rutherford,[6] Lewis,[7] and Clow,[8] since you sent them copies of your letter

All best wishes for 1945 and I hope you will continue with equal success the good work you did in 1944

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

Copy sent with H E 's compliments to Governors of U P , Bihar and Orissa on 2 1 45

Copy sent to Governor of the Punjab with a letter from H E

Copy sent to Sir John Thorne with d o

[1]Also see *TP*, V, No 174, pp 345-346
[2]See No XII 1
[3]Correct spelling of the name is Sikander Hyat
[4]Correct spelling of the name is Khizar Hayat
[5] Governor of U P
[6] Governor of Bihar
[7] Governor of Orrisa
[8] Governor of Assam

XII.4

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 34-36

23 July 1945

H E

Your Excellency asked this morning whether Jinnah had attempted to define Pakistan The only authoritative attempt at a definition is in the Muslim League's resolution passed at Lahore in 1940, which runs as follows

"Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitution or plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz that geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the North-West and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign "[1]

The concluding words, as Coupland[2] has pointed out, are far from clear, as it cannot have been intended that the "constituent units" should be autonomous and sovereign

2 Between April and July 1944 Rajagopalachari[3] put forward a formula which was apparently intended to give substance to the League resolution of 1940 The relevant part of this formula runs as follows

> "After the termination of the war a Commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India wherein the Muslim population is in an absolute majority In the areas thus demarcated a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign State separate from Hindustan such decision shall be given effect to without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either State "

We made a rough estimate of the effect of this formula on 10th July 1944, and the maps[4] at flags 'H' & 'L' show roughly how it would work out

3 During the Gandhi-Jinnah talks[5] of September 1944 the Rajagopalachari formula was first examined In the long correspondence between Gandhi and Jinnah, the latter kept on reverting to the 1940 resolution, and rejected the Rajagopalachari formula and a variant of it put forward by Gandhi on the grounds—

(1) that Gandhi did not accept that the Muslims of India are a nation,

(2) that he did not accept that Muslims have an inherent right of self-determination,

(3) that he did not accept that they alone are entitled to exercise this right of theirs for self-determination,
(The point of this was that according to Jinnah's half-expressed ideas the plebiscite in the Pakistan areas must be of Muslims only According to Rajagopalachari and Gandhi it must be of the whole population)

(4) that Gandhi did not accept that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east comprising six Provinces, namely Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon as indicated in the Lahore resolution

As far as I can make out, the Gandhi-Jinnah talks only clarified the Lahore resolution to the extent of showing that, in Jinnah's mind, Pakistan consists initially of Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province,

the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam, that the question whether these Provinces are or are not to form separate sovereign States must be decided only by the Muslims resident in them without reference to the wishes of the other inhabitants, but that there may be certain boundary adjustments "to be agreed upon". This is not really a definition, as the sketch maps at flags 'H' & 'L' show. It is only in the districts coloured red that the Muslims have an absolute majority. It is evident therefore that the "adjustments" would not be unimportant matters of detail, but vital to the whole Pakistan conception. Does Jinnah, for instance, really mean that, because in eastern and parts of central Bengal the Muslims are in an absolute majority, a Muslim vote alone is to transfer Calcutta to a Muslim sovereign State? Does he really mean that the predominantly Hindu and Sikh districts of the central and eastern Punjab are similarly to be included in a Muslim sovereign State on the vote of the Muslims of the Punjab only? Does he really mean that because the Muslims have an absolute majority in the Sylhet district of Assam, all the other Assam districts are to be included in a Muslim sovereign State on a Muslim vote?

4. It seems to me that the nearest we can get to Pakistan is something on the lines of the first part of the Cripps Offer,[6] namely, an Indian Federation or Union with a right granted to individual Provinces to contract in or out as they please. The Rajagopalachari formula was an attempt to bring Jinnah into the open. It failed, and I do not think that any other attempt is likely to succeed at present.

For your own comments[7] on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks and Jinnah's views[8] on Pakistan see flag 'Q'.

F. M. JENKINS
23.7.45

Thank you. It would obviously be difficult to bring J[innah] into the open over this, but we may have to try some day.

W[AVELL]
23/7/45

[1]The wording of this resolution is somewhat different from the one reproduced in Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, Karachi, 1970, p. 341.

Professor (Sir) Reginald Coupland of Oxford University, author of *A Report on the Constitutional Problem in India*, Oxford University Press, 1942-43.

[3]Chakarvarti Rajagopalachari, popularly known as C.R., was a Congress Leader who assisted Gandhi in the latter's talks on his formula with Jinnah in 1944. He was Governor-General of India from June 1948 to January 1950.

[4]Not available with the original.

[5]The Gandhi-Jinnah talks on C.R. formula failed to yield any results.

[6]See No. II.2.

[7&8]Not available with the original.

XII.5

Bertrand Glancy[1] *to Archibald Wavell*

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 38-40[2]

SECRET
No 561

BARNES COURT, SIMLA,
16 August 1945

Dear Lord Wavell,

[First two paragraphs omitted]

There has been a good deal of political activity on all sides We have, as you know, removed provincial bans on Congress, though not on the Congress socialists and are steadily reducing the number of those detained or restricted The reactions of Congress leaders have not been very encouraging, Nehru and various others have been openly expressing their sympathy with those who committed acts of sabotage in 1942 Sikh political leaders are as usual divided amongst themselves, their one unifying bond being opposition to Pakistan

Muslim Leaguers have been indulging in much propaganda, wholesale vilification of Congress and of the Unionist Government in the Punjab Jinnah and his supporters are loudly clamouring for general elections, a matter about which Congress appears to be comparatively lukewarm Since Jinnah succeeded by his intransigence in wrecking the Simla Conference[3] his stock has been standing very high with his followers and with a large section of the Muslim population He has been hailed as the champion of Islam He has openly given out that the elections will show an overwhelming verdict in favour of Pakistan I must confess that I am gravely perturbed about the situation, because there is a very serious danger of the elections being fought, so far as Muslims are concerned, on an entirely false issue Crude Pakistan may be quite illogical, undefinable and ruinous to India and in particular to Muslims, but this does not detract from its potency as a political slogan The uninformed Muslim will be told that the question he is called on to answer at the polls is—Are you a true believer or an infidel and a traitor? Against this slogan the Unionists have no spectacular battle-cry, they can point no doubt to their consistent support of the war effort, to the various reforms they have introduced, such as the vast reduction of agricultural indebtedness, and to their extensive post-war program for the benefit of the Province But all this may carry little weight against the false and fanatical scream that Islam is in danger If Jinnah contrives by this campaign to consolidate his position

still further, it seems to me that the difficulty of finding any satisfactory solution of the Indian problem will be greatly enhanced Since my return from Delhi I have discussed the general situation with a wide variety of people, non-officials and officials, Indians and Europeans, the consensus of opinion is that, if Pakistan becomes an imminent reality, we shall be heading straight for blood-shed on a wide scale, non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are not bluffing, they will not submit peacefully to a Government that is labelled "Muhammadan Raj" Hence it appears to me to be of vital importance to take action, before it is too late, to deflate the theory of Pakistan If it is held to be impracticable to arrange for some kind of conference or commission to examine, with special reference to post-war planning, whether we should or should not cater for one co-ordinating Central Government for the whole of India, then I am strongly in favour of something on the lines of the suggestion which Clow made recently in Delhi[4]—that some kind of clarifying announcement with respect to the partitioning of India should be given out by, or with the approval of, High Authority Possibly this could take the form of a question and answer in the House The Cripps' offer[5] speaks of the right of a "Province" to remain aloof from the "Indian Union" Is the word "Province" to be rigidly interpreted to signify a Province as now defined, does it mean that, if in an existing Province there is a large contiguous area (of the size say of a Division) in which the majority are against separation, the inhabitants must be liable to severance from the Indian Union regardless of their wishes? If the reply to this question is in the negative, it will give the people in this Province very seriously to think For in the Punjab there are two neighboring divisions (Ambala and Jullundur) out of our total of five, in which there is not one single district with a Muslim majority, and to this extensive area can be added the adjoining and very important district of Amritsar The citation of this as a practical illustration might be of great help Action on these lines would at least provide the Unionist Party with a rallying cry against Pakistan something on which the elector could definitely bite No Punjabi, however uninformed, would contemplate with equanimity so shattering a dismemberment of the Province involving in effect the disappearance of the word "Punjab", which has been held in honour for the last two thousand years I am of course entirely in favour of Muslims being given adequate representation and all possible safeguards at the Centre This, it seems to me, will amount to true Pakistan as

opposed to the sinister and insensate variety which Jinnah and his supporters advocate

Yours sincerely,
B J GLANCY

[1]Governor of the Punjab
[2]Also see *TP*, VI, No 29, pp 71-72
[3]The Simla Conference was held in June 1945 Its failure was announced by Wavell on 14 July 1945 According to Wavell, ' Real reason for breakdown is contained in Jinnah's concluding words", namely, "the League's fear was that Congress would make use of interim arrangement to consolidate their position and gradually strangle League and Pakistan" Wavell also noted "There is genuine fear among Muslims (other than Nationalists) of Congress and Congress propaganda and conviction that Congress would combine with other minorities in any interim government to settle finally with League ' See *TP*, V, No 604, p 1248
[4]See *TP*, VI, No 2, pp 19-20
[5]No II 2

XII.6

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 41[1]

SECRET/MOST IMMEDIATE NEW DELHI,
No 1337-S *19th August 1945 (1800)*

Superintendent Series My telegram[2] 1333-S of 18 August I do not know what H M G intend, but first paragraph of your 18211[3] indicates that elections are to be part of [a] comprehensive approach to Indian problem If so, H M G may have in mind formation of some constitution-making body shortly after all elections are completed, perhaps next summer I think I should warn you that in any such plan our policy on the Pakistan issue will require most careful consideration Party attitudes have hardened since 1942, and Jinnah now seriously demands immediate grant to Muslims of right of self-determination and separation of Muslim majority provinces from rest of India by plebiscite of Muslims only Muslims are most unlikely to cooperate in or to recognise any constitution-making body unless this right is conceded Non-Muslims in Muslim majority provinces will not accept separation even on general plebiscite In very recent letter to me Governor of Punjab says—"If Pakistan becomes an imminent reality, we shall be heading straight for bloodshed on a wide scale, non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are not bluffing, they will not submit peacefully to a government that is labelled "Muhammadan Raj" He goes on to point out that in the Punjab, of five divisions, two (Ambala and Jullundur) have no repeat no districts with a Muslim majority, and that

there is not a Muslim majority in the Amritsar district of the Lahore division. His conclusion is that choice lies between Indian Union of a kind not at present acceptable to Muslims and partition of Punjab with devastating effect on the future of the Province[4] Problem in Bengal will be similar

2 I am clear that it would be most unwise for H M G to announce their long term intentions in any detail until they have formed definite conclusions on the Pakistan issue An announcement made without full consideration might prejudice the entire success of any long term plan

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 39, pp 93-94
[2]Wavell in his telegram had mentioned about continuation of his present Executive Council, formation of National Development Council and elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures See *TP*, VI, No 36, pp 84-85
[3]Pethick-Lawrence suggested that decision about the future of Viceroy's Executive Council and formation of National Development Council may be reserved He approved the holding of elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures Ibid , No 35, pp 83-84
[4]See No XII 5

XII.7

Archibald Wavell to Bertrand Glancy

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 42
[Extract]

No 40/5 *19 August 1945*

I agree with much of what you say about the crude idea of Pakistan,[1] and am considering a special reference to the Secretary of State[2] about it

[WAVELL]

[1]See No XII 5
[2]See No XII 8

XII.8

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 43-A[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

No 31 *20 August 1945*

2 I have been dealing with your telegrams about the political situation, and before this letter goes I hope I shall know the terms in

which H M G wish me to announce the elections I am clear that if another attempt is to be made at a long term solution, there would be little point in an immediate reconstruction of my Executive Council so as to make it more efficient and reliable The new Members could do little without some security of tenure and this it would be impossible to give them I am not sure that I have stressed sufficiently the importance of a clear policy on Pakistan when a long term solution is attempted I have sent you a special telegram about this because your colleagues, including Cripps, may not appreciate how the Party attitudes have hardened since the Draft Declaration of 1942[2] was put forward An immediate announcement repeating the 1942 Draft with or without modifications might make Jinnah and the Muslim League refuse to cooperate, and even raise their demands If the modifications were such as to satisfy Jinnah, they would certainly not satisfy the Hindus and Sikhs, and they might refuse to cooperate A cut and dried announcement would almost certainly prejudice the success of any long term plan, and there are other dangers also As you will have seen from the proceedings of the Governors' Conference, Glancy is most apprehensive about the effect of the Pakistan idea in its crude form on the Punjab Jinnah would expect to take over the whole of the Punjab subject to minor adjustments But of the five Commissioners' Divisions, two (Ambala and Jullundur) have no district with a Muslim majority, and in the Amritsar district of the Lahore Division the Muslims are outnumbered by the other communities Glancy does not believe that the Punjabi Hindus or Sikhs would accept permanent inclusion in a Muslim State, and thinks that if they thought Pakistan was coming, there would be an open rebellion He suggests that H M G should make it clear that they are not going to force under Muslim rule substantial areas e g whole Commissioners' Divisions which are predominantly non-Muslim, or, in other words, that Pakistan involves the partition of the Punjab He feels that partition would be a disaster, and that if the Punjabis were faced with the alternatives of an Indian Union which included real safeguards for the Muslims, or Pakistan with the partition of the Province, they would choose the former[3] I will try to send you, perhaps by this bag, a more detailed study of the problem But it is evident that H M G must be most cautious in any immediate announcement they wish to make It is easy to say that the Muslims cannot be allowed to hold up the settlement, but they are too large a proportion of the population to be by-passed or coerced without very grave danger

W[AVELL]

[1]Also see *TP* VI, No 47 pp 106-107
[2]See No II 1
[3]See No XII 5

XII.9

John Colville[1] to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f43B[2]
[Extract]

20 August 1945

Report No 48

4 Jinnah is reported to be firm in his determination to have no truck with anyone till the principle of Pakistan is conceded and it is said that he will welcome elections as he believes that they will strengthen his position I feel strongly that we must have a showdown on Pakistan soon, some effort must be made to define it and subject it to scrutiny Who the scrutineers are to be it is hard to say but it should not be impossible to find a committee or tribunal of such eminence that Jinnah would hesitate to refuse to have his case stated to it

[1]Governor of Bombay
Also see *TP*,VI, No 40, pp 94-95

XII.10

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 44A

27 August 1945

MEMORANDUM

H E

These are the Pakistan papers[1] Y[our] E[xcellency] wished to see

The two Statements[2] at the end of the memorandum give the material on which the argument is based

E M JENKINS
27/8/45

Thank you I agree with your conclusions and would propose the Archangel Gabriel for the inquiry

W[AVELL]
27-8-45

[1]See Enclosures 1 and 2
[2]Statements 1 and 2 of Enclosure 2

Enclosure 1 to No XII 10

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 44B-45[1]

PRIVATE/SECRET
No 592/14 *21 August 1945*

Dear Pethick-Lawrence,

I mentioned in my weekly letter[2] the delicacy of the Pakistan issue and the views of the Governor of the Punjab about it, and said I would try and let you have by the same bag a fuller statement of my own views

2 I enclose an extract from a letter[3] of 16th August from the Governor of the Punjab to me, together with a memorandum[4] of my own The memorandum deals only with the Punjab, which is the most difficult of the Pakistan Provinces The position in Bengal is similar, but the Punjabis are tougher than the Bengalis, and the Sikhs, who were the rulers in the Punjab before we annexed it, would fight rather than see their Holy Land pass under permanent Muslim rule

3 I am sure that the Pakistan idea is stronger in the Muslim minority Provinces than in the Pakistan Provinces At first sight this may seem surprising, but the Muslims in Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab are already well on top, and with a little forbearance can keep their minorities fairly contented They would gain little or nothing by Pakistan, which would create for them large and perhaps uncontrollable minority problems In Bengal the Muslims, though numerically dominant, are inferior to the Hindus in wealth and education, and they too would probably lose more than they would gain by Pakistan Assam is not really a Muslim majority Province, and its inclusion in Pakistan seems to me very doubtful

4 I have tried to bring out in my memorandum the danger of an attempt at a quick solution Since I took charge as Viceroy it has been quite clear that on the Pakistan issue the Muslims and the other communities are at present irreconcilable The object of the Simla proposals was to by-pass the Pakistan issue and to get the parties working together in the Central Government in the hope that after some inside experience they would take a more realistic view As things are now we cannot evade the issue But we cannot safely deal with it just as an incidental part of some precise long-term plan, for the communities will not discuss any such plan unless they are first satisfied about Pakistan and in the present state of feeling it would be quite impossible for us to satisfy them I think there is much to be said

for the Governor's view that the crudity of Jinnah's ideas should be exposed, and it seems to follow that some inquiry into the possibilities of Pakistan is a necessary preliminary to any further constitutional discussion I have always wished to avoid an inquiry of this kind, as I believe Jinnah would boycott it, and it would give rise to much communal feeling But I am sure that until we have cleared the ground and can put forward counter-proposals based on logical and convincing arguments we cannot now make much progress

Yours sincerely,
[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 51, pp 113-114
[2]No XII 8
[3]See No XII 5
[4]See Enclosure 2

Enclosure 2 to No XII 10

MEMORANDUM

PAKISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 48-53[1]

The official definition of Pakistan is still that contained in the Muslim League's resolution passed at Lahore in 1940, which runs as follows

"Resolved that it is the considered view of the Muslim League that no constitution or plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz , that geographical contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are in a majority as in the North-West and Eastern zones of India should be grouped together to constitute independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign "

The concluding words, as Coupland has pointed out, are far from clear, as it cannot have been intended that the "constituent units" should be sovereign

2 As far as I know, Jinnah has only once given any explanation of this definition Towards the end of his correspondence with Gandhi in 1944 (in a letter of 25th September) he stated as one of the major differences between them that Gandhi did not accept

"that Pakistan is composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces namely Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon as indicated in the Lahore resolution "

The "geographical contiguous units" of the resolution are evidently the provinces named above, and it is probable that the "readjustments", though they may be considerable, would not in Jinnah's mind amount to partitions

3 This means that Jinnah expects to take over the Punjab as a unit—possibly less the whole or a part of the Ambala Division The procedure he contemplates would be in four stages

first the acceptance by H M G of the inherent right of the Muslims as a separate nation, to self-determination,
second agreement with H M G as to the "territorial readjustments",
third a plebiscite of Muslims only within the "readjusted" Punjab, and
fourth on the basis of the Muslim plebiscite the inclusion of the Punjab as an autonomous (but presumably not sovereign) unit in North-Western Pakistan, the other units in which would be Sind, Baluchistan, and the North-West Frontier Province

This is what has recently been described as "Pakistan in its crude form"

4 The Punjab is divided into 29 Districts which are grouped in five Divisions of five or six districts each (Multan, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Jullundur, and Ambala) The official language of the Province is Urdu, but the language spoken by the great majority of the people is Punjabi, the dialects of which differ considerably from one another but are closely connected The only large block of non-Punjabi speakers is the Ambala division, where most of the villagers speak Sanskritic dialects other than Punjabi

Statement I appended to this memorandum gives population figures for the Punjab as a whole from the Census of 1941 The total population (both sexes and all ages) is 28 4 million, made up of 16 2 million Muslims and 12 2 million Hindus and "Others" On these figures alone it would be impossible to accept Jinnah's plan, for it would be unjust to give 16 2 million people the right to settle in perpetuity the future of another 12 2 million

Statement II gives the figures by Divisions, and shows that the position is even more difficult than that In three of the five Divisions the Muslims are in a majority Two of these "Muslim majority" Divisions (Multan and Rawalpindi) are Muslim country, with a population

of roughly 11 million, made up of roughly 9 million Muslims and 2 million Hindus and "Others" The third (Lahore) is much more mixed, and of its total population of 7 million, 4 million are Muslims and 3 million Hindus and "Others" The Lahore Division includes Amritsar, and in the Amritsar district the Muslims are not in a majority In two other districts (Lahore and Gurdaspur) the Sikhs own much of the land and enjoy a political and economic position disproportionate to their numbers

The Punjab thus consists of

(i) a predominantly Muslim area (the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions) in which there are roughly 2 million Hindus and "Others",

(ii) a "mixed" area (the Lahore Division) in which, for practical purposes, the Muslims and the rest may be regarded as nearly equal (the Muslims number about 4 million to 3 million of the rest), and

(iii) a predominantly non-Muslim area (the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions) in which the Muslim minority numbers roughly 3 million

On this analysis it is clear that Jinnah's plan for a Muslim plebiscite would be unjust not only to a large number of non-Muslims, but to a large block of predominantly non-Muslim country Nor do any "territorial readjustments" seem feasible The separation of the Ambala Division from the rest of the Punjab is not a solution, for it leaves in Pakistan the Jullundur Division, and almost the whole of the Sikh "Holy Land" which comprises several districts in the Lahore and Jullundur Divisions The separation of the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions from the rest of the Punjab would not give a satisfactory Muslim unit and would certainly not appeal to the Muslims Finally, a partition with the boundary running through the Lahore division would lead to endless minority problems in the two new units, and would cut right across a homogeneous Punjabi speaking area As Coupland has pointed out, the cities of Lahore and Amritsar are only 25 miles apart, and to plan the boundary of two sovereign States between them would be an extremely awkward and perhaps an impossible arrangement

5 I am clear therefore that the Punjab cannot be included in Pakistan as it stands, or with "territorial readjustments", on a Muslim plebiscite Jinnah's plan is unjust in its application to the Punjab, and its acceptance would lead to something like civil war

6 If His Majesty's Government reject Jinnah's plan— as I think they must—they must consider very seriously what to offer in its place, and how to make their announcement The Muslims are too numerous and too influential in India as a whole to be disregarded, and our handling of them is vital to a settlement of the Indian problem

7 Before examining possible offers by H M G I think some appreciation of the strength and influence of the Pakistan idea is necessary The wide popularity of this idea among Muslims is based upon (i) its Islamic appeal, which is common to all provinces, and (ii) a genuine dread of Hindu domination, which is for obvious reasons stronger in the non-Pakistan than in the Pakistan Provinces In the Punjab, successive Muslim leaders (Fazl-i-Husain, Sikander Hyat Khan, and Khizar Hayat Khan) have realised that stable government is possible only if there is a genuine partnership between considerable sections of the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs The Muslims inevitably dominate the Cabinet, and have much to gain by such a partnership On the other hand, they have much, perhaps everything, to lose by advertising their strength, for a united Hindu-Sikh opposition aided by a few Muslim renegades could make orderly government impossible A sensible partnership has existed since 1920, but it can continue only if the Muslim leaders abstain from extreme policies, of which Pakistan is one There is therefore a small but influential body of Muslims who understand the political realities and do not really want a radical change But they dare not say so openly, for the uninstructed Muslim sentiment about Pakistan is intensely strong, and there is little doubt that in the Punjab as elsewhere Jinnah will win most of the Muslim seats at the next elections The immediate situation is therefore likely to be one in which Jinnah will press his extravagant Punjab demand, and if it is rejected will accuse H M G of disregarding a clear mandate from the Muslim electorate On a longer view, educated Muslim opinion may gradually appreciate the impracticability of Pakistan in its crude form

8 H M G will certainly be in a most difficult position, for they can make no counter-proposal which is likely to satisfy both Muslims and non-Muslims The possibilities seem to be

(i) a loose form of Federation, to which all Provinces, and later all States, would be required to accede, and in which Central powers would be reduced to a minimum, and Muslims would be given equality with all other communities in the Central Executive, or

(ii) a Federation of a tighter kind, but with provision for Provinces and States to come in or stay out, or to secede after coming in, if they so desired

I doubt if (i) would be acceptable from Jinnah's point of view It would be opposed by most of the Hindus But it (or something like it) is really the only solution for the Punjab

Jinnah would certainly oppose (ii)—which is a reversion to the draft declaration[2] of 1942—because we could not accept a Muslim

plebiscite, and the decision of the Punjab to come in or stay out, whether taken by vote of the Legislature or by general plebiscite, would have to be based on a majority so substantial as to ensure that the Hindus and Sikhs were not hostile The Hindus would object to this solution on principle, and it would not be conducive to peace in the Punjab

9 The timing and form of any announcement by H M G of their views on Jinnah's demands, and of any counter-proposals, are of the highest importance I think it would be most unwise for H M G to commit themselves in any way without mature consideration If they condemn Jinnah now, his hands will be strengthened, and any counter-proposals put forward now (whether related to the prospective results of the elections or not) will almost certainly be rejected by the Muslims or the Hindus and Sikhs, or all of them, before they are even discussed We are now in the position which the Simla proposals were designed to avoid, and before we can make any progress we must attack the Pakistan issue by itself and in earnest The Punjab is a good example of its complexity, and if H M G intend a long-term plan, I suggest that before they make any counter-proposals a thorough enquiry—perhaps by a Parliamentary Committee—into the practicability of Pakistan should be made In this matter time is on the side of commonsense, and if there is an interval during which the Muslim League are in office in the Punjab under the present constitution, I think the experience might be valuable

[WAVELL]

STATEMENT I
(Figures from Census, 1941)

PUNJAB

Muslims	16,217,242
Hindus (including Scheduled Castes)	7,550,372
Others (including 3,757,401 Sikhs)	4,651,205
Total (Hindus and Others)	12,201,577
Total Population of the Punjab	28,418,819

STATEMENT II
(Figures from Census, 1941)

PUNJAB DIVISIONS

PART A—DIVISIONS IN WHICH MUSLIMS ARE IN A MAJORITY

Divisions	*Total Population*	*Muslims*	*Hindus*	*Others*
Multan	6,365,817	4,801,565	884,355	679,897
Rawalpindi	4,700,958	4,020,141	414,670	266,147

Divisions	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Others
Lahore	7,218,001	4,199,658	1,201,062	1,817,281
Total	18,284,776	13,021,364	2,500,087	2,763,325

[Total of Hindus and Others] 5,263,412

Notes

(1) Muslims are in a majority in all districts in the Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions Sikhs have a considerable interest in the Canal Colonies of the Montgomery[3] and Lyallpur[4] districts of the Multan Division

(2) Muslims are in a minority in the Amritsar district of the Lahore Division, and Sikh influence in the Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts is very great

PART B—DIVISIONS IN WHICH MUSLIMS ARE IN A MINORITY

Divisions	*Total Population*	*Muslims*	*Hindus*	*Others*
Jullundur	5,438,581	1,877,742	1,950,802	1,610,037
Ambala	4,695,462	1,318,136	3,099,483	277,843
Total	10,134,043	3,195,878	5,050,285	1,887,880

[Total of Hindus and Others] 6,938,165

Note Muslims are in a minority in all districts in the Jullundur and Ambala divisions

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 51, pp 114-119
[2]No II 1
[3]Now called Sahiwal
[4]Now called Faisalabad

XII.11

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 54[1]

SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No 1378-S

23 August 1945
(1800)

SUPERINTENDENT SERIES/PRIVATE

Your private telegram No 459 of 21st August[2] has been discussed by Home Member, Political Adviser, Reforms Commissioner and my Private Secretary They advise (a) that Draft Declaration is less likely to be accepted now than it was in 1942, and (b) that the Pakistan idea

must be dealt with by itself as the major obstacle to a settlement before other matters are discussed They do not think that an announcement of any consequence can be made until the elections are over, nor do they think that after the elections a "political" Executive Council should be formed under the present constitution unless conditions are unexpectedly favourable After the elections an inquiry should be made by an individual of acknowledged eminence, e g the present Master of the Rolls,[3] into the Pakistan issue on wide terms of reference which should not repeat not mention Pakistan but should cover the treatment of minorities in constitutional planning As soon as this inquiry is complete an attempt should be made to establish a transitional Federation by making the minimum amendments in the 1935 Act The task of framing the permanent constitution should then be placed upon the new transitional government

2 My advisers realise that these suggestions which are put forward at very short notice lead up to no easy solution and may involve most elaborate Parliamentary legislation But they are convinced that until Pakistan issue has been dealt with no comprehensive offer by H M G would have any chance of acceptance I agree with their conclusions

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 59, p 142
[2]Pethick-Lawrence in his telegram had asked Wavell's advice about the holding of elections He suggested that the Provincial Legislatures may be used as an electoral college to elect a constitution-making body to which States may also be invited See *TP*, VI, No 50, p 112
[3]Baron Wilfrid Arthur Greene

XII.12

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 64-66[1]

MEMORANDUM BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

SECRET COPY NO 34 — INDIA OFFICE,
I B (45)6 — *31 August 1945*

I circulate for the consideration of my colleagues the attached note by Lord Wavell

P[ETHICK]-L[AWRENCE]

NOTE BY THE VICEROY ON PAKISTAN

The draft declaration of 1942[2] proceeded on the assumption that

partition would in the last resort provide a solution of the Hindu-Muslim question Is that assumption sound?

2 Jinnah expects to secure for Pakistan the following provinces, subject to territorial adjustments

North West Sind, Baluchistan, North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab

North East Bengal and Assam

There is no indication that Jinnah would accept any but minor territorial adjustments

According to Jinnah the fate of the Provinces must be settled by a plebiscite of Muslims only

3 Before His Majesty's Government announce a policy based on the 1942 offer[3] they should show

(a) what territorial adjustments they would contemplate in the absence of agreement, and

(b) whether the option would be decided bv general plebiscite or by Muslim vote only

4 A decision on (a) would be exceedingly difficult, particularly in the Punjab and Bengal

Punjab Two of the five divisions have no single district with a Muslim majority The population of the Punjab is

Muslims	16 2 millions
Hindus and others	12 2 millions
Total	28 4 millions

It would be unjust to give 16 2 million people the right to settle in perpetuity the future of another 12 2 millions The Province consists of—

(i) A predominantly Muslim area in the west,

(ii) A mixed area in the centre, and

(iii) A predominantly non-Muslim area in the east

If a dividing line on a communal basis were to be demarcated it would probably have to come between the two important cities of Lahore and Amritsar, which are only 25 miles apart Much important Sikh country would still remain in the Muslim area

On a plebiscite of the whole population, the Punjab would quite possibly not vote for Pakistan

Bengal Population—

Muslims	33 millions
Hindus and others	27 millions
Total	60 millions

Here again it would be unjust to give the 33 million Muslims the power of final decision for the whole Province It is open to doubt

which way a plebiscite of the whole population would go, and though territorial adjustments might be less difficult than in the Punjab, the Muslim protests would be violent if Calcutta, which is a predominantly Hindu city, was not included in the Muslim portion

5 Sir S Cripps stated in a letter[4] to Jinnah that "a province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population" This proposal was rejected by the Muslim League in a resolution of the 11th April 1942[5]

6 The intentions of His Majesty's Government and the nature of the secession safeguard which they are offering to the Muslim minority, will not be clear unless the points in paragraph 3 are dealt with by His Majesty's Government before the Constituent Assembly is set up

7 The Governor of the Punjab in a recent letter[6] discussed the probably [sic for probable] effect of what he called "crude Pakistan" i e Pakistan without considerable territorial adjustments He said "Since my return from Delhi I have discussed the general situation with a wide variety of people, non-officials and officials, Indians and Europeans, the consensus of opinion is that if Pakistan becomes an imminent reality we shall be heading straight for blood-shed on a wide scale, non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are not bluffing, they will not submit peacefully to a government that is labelled "Mohammedan Raj"

8 I do not think there is at present any clear scheme of partition which can be announced by His Majesty's Government as their notion of the ultimate safeguard for the Muslims Nor can such a scheme be prepared immediately and without consultation with Indian opinion

W[AVELL]

[1] Also see *TP*, VI, No 82, pp 188-190

[2] The relevant part reads as follows His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to"
(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides
With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down" See *TP*, VI, note 1, No 82, p 189

[3] See No II 1

[4] See Annex

[5] See *TP*, I, No 606, pp 748-751

[6] See No XII 5

Annex to No XII 12

Stafford Cripps' Secretary to M A Jinnah[1]

2 *April* 1942

You said on the telephone this morning that Press reports did not give a clear picture of the method by which it was proposed that a Province should decide to opt out of an Indian Union set up in accordance with the procedure laid down in His Majesty's Government's draft declaration In reply I am desired to say that the proposition which Sir Stafford Cripps put orally to yourself and the other leaders is that a Province should reach its decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in If the majority for accession to the Union is less that 60 per cent, the minority would have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population

Sir Stafford has received no objections to this proposition from any quarter, but he does not propose that it should be formally announced in writing at present If another method of achieving the same result was to be agreed to later between the leaders of Indian opinion, it could be substituted for his own, provided that it could achieve what is essential, namely, to procure a genuine impression of the wishes of the majority of the Provincial population, and provided also that it was administratively practicable

[1] *TP*, VI, Annexure 1 to No 37, p 90

XII.13

George Abell to Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 75-83

CARDIGAN COTTAGE, MARLBOROUGH, WILTS,

22 *September* 1945

My dear Jenkins,

This Pakistan enquiry The original draft announcement[1] included a paragraph about it but it was omitted after discussion Menon was against an enquiry (other than a confidential secretariat one) on the ground that any announcement would give rise to the allegation that HMG[2] were on their old tack of exploiting the communal wrangle

According to Holburn's[3] first report to the *Times* of reactions

Durga Das has welcomed the absence from the statement of anything open to this objection

On the other hand the Congress want to know, according to Holburn, what H M G will do about partition in the absence of agreement They cannot very well have it both ways Nor can HE or HMG be fully prepared to make up their minds next summer if nothing more than a secretariat enquiry into partition is made now

I do not think Menon could produce the sort of report required, nor could he be quoted

So it does seem that something more should be done during the cold weather How would it be to appoint a committee composed of

Sir H Dow,[4]

Sir B N Rau,[5]

Sir Md Zafrullah Khan[6]

with E P Moon[7] as Secretary?

Dow would be the best of the Governors on this job— and we could say H Lewis was excluded by his previous connection with the Reforms Office

Zafarullah might very well refuse to serve, but his unorthodox religious beliefs would not matter, and he is the only Muslim (barring perhaps Hydari[8]) I know with the intellectual equipment to compete with the rest The Committee would be of very high mental calibre indeed

Pendy Moon's choice would annoy the Punjab Government because it was his breach of confidence with them that led to his departure But I have been reading his little book *Target for India* and he certainly has the right outlook He both faces the undeniable facts and shows the right awareness of Indian sensitiveness Whether he could be persuaded to serve I do not know—I suspect he would, but I haven't met him

The terms of reference might be something on the following lines

"To examine, as a preliminary to the discussions with representatives of the provincial legislators, possible modifications of the draft declaration of 1942 which might make it more acceptable to Indian opinion"

The Press would have to be carefully handled before any such Committee was publicly set up No doubt there would be a good deal of deliberate misrepresentation, and Jinnah might gain added strength from the cry "Pakistan (Islam) in Danger" But Jinnah will use that cry anyhow, and to hell with press reactions (after reasonable attempts to make them favourable)[1]

There are obvious difficulties but they will all occur to you and I need not write a long letter The more I think about it the more heartily I agree with your thesis, and the views of most of the Governors, that we must really face up to the Pakistan issue We *must* be in a position next summer (a) to give the maximum help in searching for an acceptable modification of the Cripps offer and (b) to make up our minds whether there is any compromise solution that can be imposed by HMG in the event of a breakdown

I know what a menace the leisured correspondent is So don't take this too seriously

Yours ever,
GEORGE [ABELL]

[1]Wavell made the broadcast on 19 September 1945 conveying HMG's decision to hold elections to Provincial and Central Legislatures, convene a Constitution-making body and set up a new Executive Council See *TP* VI, No 116, pp 282-283

[2]In the original text, the letters HMG appear in certain documents with full stops and in others without full stops

[3]Holburn was the correspondent of *The Times* in NewDelhi and Durga Das was Joint Editor of the *Hindustan Times*

[4]Governor of Sind, 1941-1946

[5]Officer on Special Duty in Governor-General's Secretariat (Reforms)

[6]Judge, Federal Court of India, 1941-1947

[7]Served in the Indian Civil Service, 1929-1944, and resigned Was later Secretary, Development Board, Government of India

[8]Governor of Assam

XII.14

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 30[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET
No 35 *23 September 1945*

10 It is customary for the Viceroy to address the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta at their annual meeting during December, and the speech is regarded as politically important This year the annual meeting takes place on 10th December, and I have been invited to speak as usual I am inclined to think that I might say something about the Pakistan issue e g that while HMG sympathise with the desire of Muslims for a "homeland" of their own and for freedom to develop their own religious, educational and cultural ideas, it would

be impossible to accept any plan which involved placing in a separate Muslim majority state a large minority belonging to the other communities I might also speak rather more plainly than is customary about the attitude of the Congress to India's war effort Any international status that India may acquire in the near future will be due largely to the soldiers who fought against the Axis and who kept the Japanese out of India and to the workers who made munitions for the Allies, and not to those who did their best to hamper our war effort

These are only preliminary ideas If my speech includes anything of political importance I will of course inform you well in advance so that you may let me know the views of the Cabinet I am sure that sooner or later we must say something about the limitations of Pakistan, and the question is when this should be done The other point is less important, but I think there is a good deal of uneasiness, both among soldiers and among civilians who supported the war effort, at the present attitude of the Congress, and I do not want it thought that India's achievements during the war years count for nothing with HMG, or with our Allies, and that we are going to hand over our supporters to those who glorify Subhas Chandra Bose and the rioters and saboteurs of 1942

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 121, p 296

XII.15

Archibald Wavell to Andrew Clow

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 84-A
[Extract]

No 547/11 *25 September 1945*

6 I have not thanked you myself for your interesting note on Pakistan[1] which was forwarded to me in London I did my best to make the situation quite clear to the Cabinet, and I think they understand that while the Pakistan demand is based on a genuine Muslim fear of Hindu domination, Jinnah's plan as it stands will simply add to our minority problems

[WAVELL]

[1]It was sent by Clow to Colville, Acting Governor-General on 23 August 1945 See *TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 64, pp 148-151

XII.16

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 85

29 September 1945

H E

Letter below[1] from George Abell I very much doubt if a committee of the kind he has in mind would fill the bill Few people in this country read political literature which is distasteful to them and I think Sir Hugh Dow, Sir B N Rau and Sir Zafrulla Khan would be written off at once as a trio of "old sweats", who can be shown to be prejudiced in one way or another My own idea was to secure the services of some really eminent individual who knew nothing at all about India and could not, even in this country, be said to have committed himself to any point of view The Cabinet as far as I remember did not like the idea of any formal enquiry and I think we must now go ahead on the lines already settled Menon is I understand preparing material for a more detailed study of Pakistan and the other outstanding issues I quite agree with George Abell that by the time the elections[2] are finished our own ideas must be clear and HMG must know how far they can and should go in overruling recalcitrant parties or meeting the Pakistan demand

E M JENKINS
29-9-45

We must clear our minds and those of HMG on the Pakistan issue as early as possible, but I agree that George [Abell]'s proposed committee will not do

W[AVELL]
30/9[/45]

[1]See No XII 13

[2]Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were held in November-December 1945 and the ML won all the thirty Muslim seats For Provincial Assemblies, elections were completed by April 1946 and the ML won 439 out of a total of 494 Muslim seats i e 88 8% The ML had fought the elections on Pakistan issue See Z H Zaidi, 'Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937-47 in Philips and Wainwright, eds, *The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935 1947*, London, 1970, p 272 Also see No XIII 3

XII.17

Evan Jenkins to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 86

No 592/14 *29/30 September 1945*

My dear George,

Many thanks for your letter of 22nd September[1] about the Pakistan enquiry I am showing it to His Excellency I am not at all sure myself whether an Indian committee, however able, would fill the bill My own view was that the only hope was to appoint one very eminent person who knew nothing at all about India There would then be a faint chance that some attention would be paid to him

I have telegraphed to Turnbull[2] asking him to fix you a passage on or about the 29th October and I hope this will be all right

Yours ever,
E M JENKINS

[1]See No XII 13
[2]Private Secretary to Secretary of State for India

XII.18

Evan Jenkins to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 89

No 592/14 *4/5 October 1945*

My dear Menon,

I send in original a letter dated 4th October[1] from Wint[2], with its enclosure It would be amusing to see delegations from Pakistan and Hindustan voting in silence

Yours sincerely,
E M JENKINS

[1]Not available
[2]Frank Guy Atherton Wint was a journalist and author, attached to External Affairs Department, Government of India

XII.19

Guy Wint to Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 92

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, [NEW DELHI],
15 October 1945

Dear Jenkins,

In the absence of Caroe,[1] I send you a memorandum which I have seen, and which may perhaps be worth while reading

Yours,
GUY WINT

[1]Sir Olaf Kirkpatrick Caroe, ICS, Secretary, External Affairs Department, Government of India, later Governor of NWFP

Enclosure to No XII 19

Memorandum[1]

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 93-94

10 October 1945

THE NEXT STEP IN INDIA

[*First two paras omitted*]

[3] Further, it is difficult on the basis of the facts we have to hope that Mr Jinnah will cooperate with the other parties in a Constituent Assembly unless he has at least some assurance that the principle of Muslim homelands will be accepted in advance It is vain to hope that Muslims elected from provincial legislatures, unless they have the authority of the Muslim League, will be in a position to speak for the community or enter into binding agreements Unless therefore a procedure of bringing the parties together on some minimum basis of agreement is evolved before the Constituent Assembly meets there is some danger of the whole plan proving abortive

[4] On what basis can such a plan of minimum agreement be evolved? It seems to me clear that if we are to evolve a constitution through discussion in any body however constituted, two main decisions will have to be taken in advance (1) So far as the Muslims are

concerned the principle of a Muslim homeland should be accepted subject to territorial adjustment to meet the claims of the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab and of Hindus in Bengal and to the boundaries of the new States being settled and drawn by a commission of impartial experts presided over by a judicial officer of the highest standing In view of the commitments of both Indian and British political parties it would seem obvious that the experts should be drawn from the Dominions i e Canada and Australia while the presiding officer may be someone like Lord Greene (2) It should also be laid down so far as the States are concerned that the Monarchal form of government and the continuation of existing dynasties will not be open to discussion in the Constituent Assembly

[5] In regard to the first it is obviously necessary to secure the acceptance of the Congress informally to this proposal before Mr Jinnah is approached There is no reason to think that the Congress will turn down such a proposal considering that Mr Gandhi's offer to Mr Jinnah last year was not very different in principle It is true that the verbal warfare of election may lead the parties to take extreme lines but while the logic of words may lead to a stiffening of attitude on both sides the greater force of the logic of facts will not be altered by the election speeches Further, Mr Gandhi has recently made the public statement that his offer to Mr Jinnah is based on his own conviction and not as a matter of political exigency or negotiation If the Congress leader agrees to the suggestion put forward above then a public offer to Mr Jinnah by H M G making it clear that the boundaries of the Muslim homelands will be settled by an International Tribunal which will be expressly directed to examine the position of the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab and the Hindus in Bengal will lift the whole question into the realm of practical solution

[6] It is obvious from what has been stated above that a process of continuous thinking and careful appraisal of situation have to be undertaken at the top both in India and in England The urgency of the question and the requirements of an early decision would seem to indicate the necessity of the Viceroy being suitably assisted in this work by some one of standing and experience As the head of the administration of a great Empire the Viceroy's own normal duties are more than ordinarily heavy It cannot be expected of him that he should devote the necessary time to the study of these technical problems or keep in personal touch with the daily developments in the political situation What form the assistance which is undoubtedly required should take is a matter for consideration Perhaps the most

useful suggestion would be that His Excellency should have attached to him a Constitutional Adviser who will act as the liaison between the political leaders and the Viceroy's House and also work out the different problems for the consideration and final decision of the Viceroy It is necessary that if such an appointment is to serve the purpose in view it should be held not by a Secretariat officer but by a political figure of eminence with experience of delicate negotiation, a thorough understanding of constitutional issues and widely respected by all classes for political integrity The preliminary work of organising the Constituent Assembly, of negotiating with party leaders on the procedure to be followed, working the main items of a tentative agenda and numerous other essential details of preparation can be entrusted to him without H E being bothered about them

[1]Prepared by K H Panikkar, Prime Minister of Bikaner Copy sent to V P Menon

XII.20

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 96

17 October 1945

H E

Mr Wint's letter below[1] He does not say who wrote the paper he submits—he is always very mysterious in these matters— but it is probably by Panikkar The main points taken in the paper are

first, that before the Constituent Assembly meets H M G must—

(a) accept "the principle of a Muslim homeland subject to a territorial adjustment to meet the claim of the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab and of Hindus in Bengal and to the boundaries of the new States being settled and drawn by a commission of impartial experts", and

(b) exclude from discussion in the Constituent Assembly any radical changes in the constitution of the States,

secondly, that Your Excellency should have from now on a Constitutional Adviser of high standing, and

thirdly, that the preparation of the first draft of the proposed treaty will need great care if suspicions are not to be aroused

2 I disagree on the first point I do not believe that "a Muslim

homeland "is possible I think that any commission of experts that may be appointed would have to consider and report on the possibilities of such an idea and should not be committed in advance to accept it

There is a lot in the second point and Mr Menon and I think that as soon as Sir B N Rau is available he might usefully be employed on special duty to deal with the new constitutional work In the meantime I understand that Mr Menon is going to prepare a list of the subjects to be dealt with and to get the material ready We have something like six months in hand but there is much difficult and detailed work to be done

The third point seems to be covered by the second We shall need at least one constitutional expert of high standing besides Mr Menon

3 I will acknowledge[2] Wint's letter

E M JENKINS
17-10-1945

Probably Pannikar [Panikkar] who would probably like the job of Constitutional Adviser I spoke about the matter of some sort of definition of Pakistan at an early date

If we have two Constitutional Advisers, one should be a Muslim if possible?[3]

W[AVELL]
17-10-1945

[1]No XII 19
[2]Not printed
[3]Menon undermined this suggestion See No XII 23 and No XII 25

XII.21

Evan Jenkins to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 98-99

NEW DELHI,
CONFIDENTIAL *18 October 1945*

My dear Menon,

Wint has just sent the enclosed anonymous paper (return requested) entitled THE NEXT STEP IN INDIA [1] His Excellency has seen it and would like your views particularly on the suggestion for the appointment of a Constitutional Adviser

2 His Excellency would also like us to consider the desirability of some authoritative announcement, to set at rest the growing fears of the minorities in the Pakistan provinces He doubts if HMG would in any circumstances agree

(a) to the transfer of solid blocs of non-Muslims to a Muslim sovereign state, or
(b) to the exercise by the Muslim majority provinces of the right to secede contemplated by the Cripps proposals[2] on a bare majority vote of the legislature or the electorate

He thinks it might be possible to clarify these points in reply to an arranged question in Parliament, e g a member might ask with reference to head (c) (i) in the Cripps offer whether the intention of HMG was that the decision not to accept the new constitution should be taken by a bare majority in the provincial legislature and if not by what means the wishes of the people of the provinces concerned will be ascertained, and what the position would be of any solid bloc of people inhabiting a particular area who did not wish to stand out of the new constitution

3 As you know we have considered this point before and have felt that generalisations about Pakistan will not carry us much further On the one hand it seems silly to concede Pakistan if we think it administratively impracticable, on the other it would be imprudent to attempt to define our intentions until some authoritative enquiry has been made on which a definition can be based, I rather think that the latest view of Sir Stafford Cripps is that the provinces must be taken as they stand and that no other arrangement is really suitable

Yours sincerely,
E M J[ENKINS]

[1]Enclosure to No XII 19
[2]No II 2

XII.22

Archibald Rowlands[1] to Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 100

NEW DELHI,
20 October 1945

My dear Evan,

I mentioned to you about a recent conversation I had with Panikkar

about a possible solution of the political problem He has now reduced his views to writing and, in case you have not already seen his Memorandum,[2] I enclose a copy

Yours ever,
ARCHI[BALD ROWLANDS]

[1]Finance Member, Viceroy's Executive Council
[2]See Enclosure to No XII 19

XII.23

V P Menon to Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 102A-102B

SECRET
D O No R 187/45

NEW DELHI,
20 October 1945

My dear Jenkins,

Please refer to your letter No 592[1] of yesterday's date [*sic* for 18 October 1945] with which you forwarded an anonymous paper relating to the "next step in India "[2]

2 The first question which you have asked me is about the appointment of a Constitutional Adviser The function of this Adviser is to act as a liaison between the Viceroy and the Indian political parties and he is supposed to be a political figure of eminence with experience of delicate negotiations Apparently the intention of the author is to have a non-official gentleman, he does not say whether the appointment should go to an Indian or to a non-Indian I cannot think of a non-official Indian of eminence who would be acceptable to both the principal parties in the dispute Nor do I think it is going to be easy to find a Britisher who will fulfil this qualification Besides, the appointment of a non-Indian is bound to arouse suspicion and criticism as being contrary to our accepted policy of leaving it to Indians themselves to frame the future Constitution of the country

3 There is another consideration which is of great importance in this connection The Indian constitutional issue is the biggest problem which the Viceroy has to tackle and one of the biggest problems facing His Majesty's Government It has therefore been handled by the Viceroy himself all along It was in order to enable him to deal personally with constitutional issues that Lord Linlithgow decided to transfer the

Reforms Office from the Government of India to his own Secretariat. If there are to be any contacts with political leaders, the policy has been either for the Viceroy himself to interview them or for the P.S.V. to see them on behalf of the Viceroy. It is my view that this is the procedure which is most acceptable to Indian public opinion and that Indian leaders would prefer to have contacts direct with H.E. rather than through an intermediary.

4. H.E.'s contacts with political leaders at the time of the Simla Conference undoubtedly created a considerable amount of goodwill throughout the country, and I feel sure that this is going to be an asset of very great value to us in the talks which H.E. will have with representatives of the Provincial Legislatures after the general elections. I cannot but think that the appointment of a Constitutional Adviser, however eminent, will detract from this and for this reason alone I would strongly deprecate a suggestion of this nature. This is definitely a case where too many cooks will spoil the broth.

5. On the second question regarding the desirability of some authoritative announcement to set at rest the growing fears of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces, my views are as follows. When the question was discussed in the Cabinet Committee when H.E. was in London, Sir Stafford Cripps suggested that a referendum of the whole population would be preferable, but H.E. made it clear that the Muslims and the Sikhs would refuse to accept that principle. There was then some discussion as to whether any steps should be taken to make it clear that the Muslim League claim that the issue should be settled by the vote of the Muslim community only could not be entertained. Certain members of the Committee wanted this to be included in the statement which H.E. proposed to make along with the H.M.G.'s declaration. On the other hand others felt that it was too important to be dealt with in that manner. In the end H.E. said that if it were proved that difficulty and misunderstanding were arising on this issue the opportunity of some public statement should be taken by him to make the position clear.

6. The Muslim League election propaganda is based on the issue of Pakistan. In other words they claim that if the Muslim community votes in favour of the Muslim League at the next general elections, the League will be entitled to ask for Pakistan to be constituted on the basis of the existing Provinces without any further investigation or plebiscite. The issue therefore is what H.M.G.'s intentions are with respect to this broad claim that the issue of Province-wise Pakistan is to be decided upon the vote of the Muslim community. There is no

doubt as to what the answer should be so far as this particular issue is concerned because there can be no question of transferring solid blocks of non-Muslims in existing provinces to a Muslim sovereign State against their own wishes and merely upon the strength of the Muslim votes No enquiry is needed to make such an announcement An enquiry may be needed at a later stage if circumstances drive us in the end to consider the question of constituting Pakistan without the solid non-Muslim blocks, or, to put it briefly, to consider the feasibility of a truncated Pakistan The time for such an enquiry has not yet arrived For the present I can see no objection to a brief announcement of H M G 's intentions in answer to a question in Parliament The question may be put in the form "What are the intentions of H M G regarding the Muslim League claim that the issue of constituting Pakistan on the basis of existing Provinces should be decided upon a vote of the Muslim community alone?" The answer that suggests itself is that it has never been H M G 's intention to allow such a claim

7 An announcement on the lines suggested would not only reassure the minorities but will also prevent the Muslim League from complaining afterwards that they were under a misapprehension about H M G 's real intentions Beyond an announcement limited to this particular purpose I am not in favour of H M G coming into the open at this stage either as to the expediency of Pakistan or the right of non-accession or secession In making this announcement we shall not be breaking any new ground or bringing in any new principle

Yours sincerely,
V P MENON

[1] No XII 21
[2] Enclosure to No XII 19

XII.24

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 103[1]
[*Extract*]

PRIVATE/SECRET NEW DELHI,
No 39 *22 October 1945*

8 During my tour in the Punjab I was told that Muslim League propaganda about Pakistan was having a disturbing effect The League

speakers are apparently saying that these elections will decide whether there is to be Pakistan or not, and that if the League win in the Pakistan Provinces no further vote by the legislature or plebiscite will be needed Statements of this kind cause considerable alarm not only to the Muslim Unionists but to the Hindus and Sikhs, and I am taking advice on the possibility of an announcement by you—perhaps in reply to an arranged question in Parliament on H M G 's attitude We clearly could not agree to permit any Province to stand out of the new constitution, or to secede at a later stage, on the result of elections to the Provincial Assembly or of a purely Muslim plebiscite The question is not an easy one, and I will telegraph or write to you about it separately when I have made up my mind If it is decided to make a statement on the subject in Parliament, it would not be necessary for me to pursue it in my Calcutta speech [2]

[WAVELL]

[1] Also see *TP*, VI, No 157, pp 377-378
[2] See No XII 14

XII.25

Note by Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 104-A

22 October 1945

H E

I referred to Mr Menon for opinion Mr Panikkar's paper entitled THE NEXT STEP IN INDIA,[1] and took the opportunity at the same time of asking his views on the desirability of an announcement about Pakistan His opinion is below

2 I agree with him that Mr Panikkar's proposal for a Constitutional Adviser is unsuitable and need not be considered further In Indian conditions the Viceroy has to reply for advice on controversial politics on permanent officials, and the introduction of non-officials, who would inevitably have party prejudices or affiliations of some kind, would not help

3 On the Pakistan issue, Mr Menon is in favour of an announcement The decision is not easy for we have to balance against the advantage of reassuring the minorities the disadvantage of alienating Jinnah and the Muslim League I have tried to summarize the case in a draft[2] to the Sec[retar]y of State I have come to the conclusion that an announcement is desirable provided that we remember that the Draft Declaration of

1942[3] is the basis of the discussions next year and that we must not at this stage attempt to modify the Declaration though we may within reason explain it The Muslim League assertion that Pakistan is to consist of certain Provinces as they stand is not contrary to the terms of the Declaration which gave the right to stand out of any new Constitution to existing Provinces On the other hand, the claim for a Muslim plebiscite is ridiculous, and although the denial of this claim will annoy Jinnah, it is fairer to Jinnah to deny it now than to let him assume its validity throughout the elections and tell him afterwards that we are quite unable to accept it

E M JENKINS
22 10 1945

(Perhaps Menon should see the draft if H E approves it generally)

E [M JENKINS]
22 10 45

I think this is all right—Show it to Menon and perhaps Thorne should see it

W[AVELL]
23/10[/45]

[1]See Enclosure to No XII 19 Also see Nos XII 21 and XII 23
[2]See No XII 29
[3]No II 1

XII.26

Evan Jenkins to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 105

TOP SECRET
No 592/14

NEW DELHI,
23 October 1945

My dear Menon,

H E asks me to send you for comment the draft[1] of a letter from him to the Sec[retar]y of State on the Pakistan problem which we have discussed H E would like you to show this draft to the Hon'ble the Home Member[2] when you have seen it yourself and to obtain his comments

Your sincerely,
E [M JENKINS]

[1]See Nos XII 25 and XII 29
[2]Sir John Thorne, ICS

XII.27

Master Tara Singh to Clement Attlee
(Copies to others)

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 105B-105C[1]

AMRITSAR,
23 October 1945

Dear Major Attle[e],

I must draw your attention to the fact that communal feeling is steadily deteriorating in the Punjab The cry of Pakistan is being raised more and more loudly by Muslim Leaguers who openly assert that, in accordance with the Cripps Offer,[2] the whole of the Punjab as constituted to-day will be liable to separation from the Indian Union if there is a bare majority in favour of such separation The Muslim population in the Province is about 56% Non-Muslims, especially Sikhs, are quite determined to resist—if necessary, by force of arms—being included in Pakistan, or being put under any sort of communal domination In two out of the five Divisions in the Punjab, there is not one district with a Muslim majority If we separate the Muslim territory conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and added to Punjab proper, the Muslims do not form the majority of the population of the Punjab I most earnestly request, on behalf of the Sikhs, that His Majesty's Government should clarify the Cripps Offer by announcing that the term province as used therein, does not mean a province as delimited to-day, but that efforts will be made to meet the Sikh demand of having an effective voice in the Government of the Province which is their homeland In support of this demand of the Sikhs, I quote below a portion of the speech of the Secretary of State for India in the British Parliament delivered on 28 4 42

"On the other hand, the particular method which we suggest for arriving at a constitutional settlement, more particularly on the present provincial basis, both for settling up a constitution-making assembly and for non-accession is not meeting with sufficient support for us to press it further It may be that alternative methods might arise which might form a better basis for the definition of boundaries and might give representation for smaller elements such as Sikhs whose natural aspirations we appreciate"

An announcement of this nature would help very materially to make clear the position to the average voter and prevent his being

misled by false propaganda In view of the rapid deterioration in communal feelings, very early action is necessary in order to minimise danger of widespread bloodshed All I am asking is that His Majesty's Government should, in the interest of fairplay and peacefulness, lose no time in elucidating the Cripps Offer for which they are themselves responsible

I am,
Yours truly,
TARA SINGH
(MASTER)

Copies to -
(1) His Excellency The Viceroy for India, New Delhi
(2) His Excellency The Governor of the Punjab, Lahore
(3) His Excellency The Commander-in-Chief in India, New Delhi
We might send a copy of this to S[ecretary] of S[tate] with next letter

E M JENKINS
27 10 45

Yes
W[AVELL]
27/10/45

Copy sent to Mr Turnbull on 31 10 45

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 177, pp 424-425
[2]No II 2

XII.28

V P Menon to Evan Jenkins

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 106

NEW DELHI,
D O No 5189-R *24 October 1945*

My dear Jenkins,

Please refer to your letter No 592/14[1] of the 23rd October I think the proposed draft exposes more surface than is required for dealing with the immediate problem I think we should not make a positive statement of our intentions If "a vote representing the opinion of all communities in the Province" is intended to mean that the vote should

represent a majority of each of the communities in the Province, we shall be attacked by the Muslim League on the ground that even the inconsiderable Hindu minority in a Province like Sind can veto the decision of an overwhelming Muslim majority If, on the other hand what is meant is that the vote should be that of all the communities combined, then it means that a substantial Hindu majority can be forced into secession by the vote of a narrow Muslim majority without any territorial readjustment This will probably not reassure the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab The position at present is that we have not reached any clear decisions as to how the right of an area to opt out of the new Constitution is to be exercised It may be that this issue will have to be discussed with Provincial representatives in connection with the setting up of a Constitution-making body I therefore suggest that it would be best to leave out the last part of the answer as also the last part of the question (the words "of the people of the Province generally") to which it is a reply

2 I have consulted Thorne and enclose a copy of his minute [2]

3 I return the original draft

Yours sincerely,
V P MENON

H E

I write these amendments (which I have shown in red in the draft) May be accepted

D[ra]ft[3] may issue

E M JENKINS
24 10 45

Draft approved

W[AVELL]
24/10[/45]

[1]No XII 26
[2]Enclosure
[3]No XII 29

Enclosure to No XII 28

Copy of Minute by John Thorne

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 107

24 October, 1945

I accept Mr Menon's suggestion, and I do not oppose the proposal to arrange a Parliamentary question and answer

At the same time, I am of opinion that this will be represented, with some reason, as an instance of H M G 's tendency to foster division by shifting its weight from time to time from the Congress side to the Muslim League side in this instance the weight is thrown against the Muslim League This sort of accusation is inevitable so long as the only two Big Ideas are (1) Unified India and (2) Pakistan, both of them to my mind impracticable

J A T[HORNE]
24 10[45]

XII.29

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 108-110A[1]

SECRET
No 592/14[2] *25 October 1945*

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2 The Muslim League are preparing to fight the elections, both central and provincial on the Pakistan issue, and their speakers have made it clear that by Pakistan they mean in the North-West the present provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Punjab, and in the North-East the present provinces of Bengal and Assam In view of Jinnah's repeated statements that the decision of any Province to join Pakistan is to be based on a plebiscite of the Muslims only, the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces believe that if Jinnah's definition of Pakistan is accepted, they will be compelled to become subjects of a Muslim State During my recent visit to the Punjab I found considerable uneasiness about this, especially as the attitude of the Muslim League seems to be that the forthcoming elections will decide the matter once and for all, and that when they are over, Pakistan will become an immediate reality

3 I have considered carefully the desirability of making a statement to reassure the minorities, who, in the absence of some comfort of this kind, may become dangerously heated The decision is not an easy one, because the discussions which I am to undertake after the elections are to be based on the Draft Declaration of 1942, and it would clearly be most unwise to say anything now which appears to modify it In so far as the Muslim League contemplate the separation from the

rest of India of the Muslim majority Provinces as they stand, they are within the terms of the Draft Declaration They can say that the Draft Declaration gave any Province of British India the right to reject the new Constitution, and that their plan is simply that the Muslim majority Provinces should exercise this right On the other hand, the suggestion that the right will be exercised by the Muslims alone without reference to the wishes of the other communities is not founded on anything in the Draft Declaration and, as the India Committee held, is entirely unacceptable I think that it would be a good thing to make it clear now that His Majesty's Government cannot agree to the future of any Province being decided by the vote of a single community I realise that any announcement of this kind will be treated by the Muslim League as directed against them, and may prejudice Jinnah's attitude to the discussions after the elections But if H M G's position on this particular issue is not defined, Jinnah might well say after the elections that we had let him go to the electorate on a false assumption which we had not troubled to correct, and that the Muslim League had been treated unfairly

4 The best way of making an announcement of the kind I suggest might be a reply to an arranged question in Parliament on the following lines

To ask the Secretary of State for India[3]

Whether, with reference to head (c) in the Draft Declaration of 1942, which is to be the basis for further discussions between the Viceroy and the political parties in India after the forthcoming elections, it is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the right of any Province to refuse to accept a new Indian Constitution should be exercised by the vote of a single community in that Province

Reply

It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government that the right referred to should be exercised by the vote of a single community

A reply of this kind does not commit us to any modification of the terms of the Draft Declaration or to any definition of the boundaries of Pakistan It merely states that we do not intend that the constitutional future of any Province should be determined by any one of the communities

[*Para 5 omitted*]

Yours sincerely,
WAVELL

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 167, pp 401-402

[2]The draft of this document was sent to Menon on 23 October 1945 under the direction of Wavell See Nos XII 25 and 26 For reply see No XII 28

[3]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

XII.30

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR,R/3/1/105 f 103-A[1]

[*Extract*]

PRIVATE/SECRET *2 November 1945*

3 I have just received your separate letter[2] about the proposed question and answer on our attitude to Pakistan to which you refer in paragraph 8 I will consider this as speedily as I can

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 184, p 430
[2]No XII 29

XII.31

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 115-117[1]

SECRET INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL, *9 November 1945*

Dear Wavell,

I have given most careful thought to the proposal in your letter No 592/14 of 25th October[2] that we should make a statement in reply to an arranged question in Parliament, to make it clear that the right of a province not to enter the Indian Union contemplated in the 1942 Declaration[3] would not be exercised by the vote of a single community in that Province

I fully appreciate the arguments which you put forward and the danger of the electorate being misled by the Muslim League I do not, however, feel that Jinnah could legitimately accuse us of allowing him to make a false assumption in this connection We have said nothing to justify him in asserting that we accept his views on this subject and one of the points which the Muslim League made in their resolution rejecting the Cripps' offer was that it did not provide for the option to be exercised on a plebiscite of Muslims only

I am afraid I have come quite clearly to the conclusion that it would be mistaken to make a pronouncement of the kind which you propose In our discussions when you were at home, you emphasised the great

practical difficulties of the provincial option provision under the Cripps offer, and one of the main objections which you raised to the proposal put forward here that we should state now that the Cripps offer would be implemented, was that this would be an assertion that the fate of large minorities in the Punjab would be decided by a plebiscite on the lines proposed by Cripps, and that this would be violently resented by the Hindus in the Punjab and particularly by the Sikhs The upshot of our discussions was that instead of a firm reiteration of the Cripps offer as our policy, we stated that it was our intention to convene, as soon as possisble, a constitution-making body, and that as a preliminary step you were authorised to undertake discussions "To ascertain whether the proposals contained in the 1942 Declaration are acceptable, or whether some alternative or modified scheme is preferable" I feel that it would be [a] fundamental mistake, having made provision for discussion to ascertain how the 1942 proposals can be modified with the best hope of arriving at an agreed constitution, now to make a statement on a particular provision in the 1942 proposals which excludes what one party to the dispute has announced as being its desire But apart from this, your draft question and answer, and I think also any possible variant with the same effect, does by implication say that it is the policy of His Majesty's Government that there shall be a provincial right of option It is true that this is a provision in the Cripps offer, but as the object of the preliminary discussions is to see whether that offer can be modified with advantage we should not, in my view, say anything now which will reiterate that provision This is the more so to my mind, because you emphasised so strongly to us the practical difficulties of provincial option I think that a statement which implies that provincial option was a part of our intentions will greatly increase the difficulties of discussing any alternative to it which might be more acceptable to the Congress, such as an option exercisable by smaller areas

I have considered the possibility of giving an answer on somewhat different lines, repeating the essentials of the Declaration[4] of 19th September 1945 But it would be exceedingly difficult to draft words which would be sufficiently specific to meet your point and sufficiently general to prevent further rejoinders and interrogations both here and in India

[*Last para omitted*]

Your sincerely,
PETHICK-LAWRENCE

I think Y[our] E[xcellency] will probably have to accept this But Mr Menon might advise us in the first instance

E M JENKINS
15/11/45

H E

I think S[ecretary] of S[tate] is perhaps right

W[AVELL]
15/11/45

Copy to Mr Menon for comments

G [E B ABELL]
15/11[45]

Copy sent to R[ao] B[ahadur] V P Menon on 16 11 45 for comments

[OFFICE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 202, pp 466-467
[2]No XII 29
[3]No II 1
[4]Wavell in his broadcast of 19 September 1945 had delineated HMG's policy on elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures, convening of a Constitution-making body and the formation of a new Executive Council See *TP*, VI, No 116, pp 282-283

XII.32

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/105 f 121

21 November 1945

Y[our] E[xcellency] suggested in your letter to the Sec[retar]y of State of the 25th October [1945][1] that there might be an arranged question and answer in Parliament to the effect that the right of any province to refuse to accept a new Indian Constitution would not be exercised by the vote of a single community The Sec[retar]y of State in his reply of the 9th Nov[embe]r[2] expressed doubts about this proposal, and Y[our] E[xcellency] at the time noted "I think S[ecretary] of S[tate] is perhaps right" Mr Menon's advice was asked for, and he also agrees that the proposal should be dropped Draft to Sec[retar]y of State for approval

(G E B ABELL)
21 11 1945

Approved Should we let Glancy know?

W[AVELL]
21/11/45

Issue and note for next letter to Punjab

G [E B ABELL]
21/11[45]

[1]No XII 29
[2]No XII 31

XII.33

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 126[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET
No 47 *18 December 1945*

4 I expect you have noticed Jinnah's interesting statement on Pakistan I send a cutting from the *Statesman* of the 12th December[2] in this bag The important point he made was that after Pakistan had been admitted "there will also doubtless have to be frontier adjustments where primarily Hindu and Muslim lands are contiguous to the Hindustan or Pakistan States, as the case may be" I fear that the adjustments Jinnah would contemplate are very minor ones compared with the adjustments the Congress would expect, which are of the nature almost of half provinces But this statement of Jinnah suggests that he may not refuse to negotiate, and that at least is satisfactory

[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 296, p 655
[2]Annex

Annex to No XII 33

INDIAN PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED IN TEN MINUTES—JINNAH

MSS Eur D 714/72[1]

BOMBAY, December 10—"Patchwork methods will not work at this stage in India's destiny What is needed is real statesmanship and real effort to face facts," said Mr Jinnah to an Associated Press of India special correspondent

"We could settle the Indian problem in 10 minutes if Mr Gandhi would say "I agree that there should be Pakistan I agree that one-fourth of India, composed of six provinces, Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab, NWFP, Bengal and Assam with their present boundaries should constitute Pakistan State" After that it would be a simple matter to sit down as friends and work out the details of a friendly and neighbourly life between the two great nations of this subcontinent

"Canada and the United States live together Why can't Hindus and

Muslims, granted there may have to be many adjustments? It is possible that there will have to be exchange of populations, if it can be done on a purely voluntary basis There will also doubtless have to be frontier adjustments where primarily Hindu and Muslim lands are contiguous to the Hindustan or Pakistan States, as the case may be All that can come but first it is necessary to take the present provincial borders as the boundaries of the future Pakistan

"Our Pakistan Government will probably be a federal government modelled on the lines of autonomous provinces with the key power in matters of defence and foreign affairs etc, at the Centre But that will be for the constitution-making body, our constitution-making body, to decide

"I personally do not doubt the sincerity of the British Government but I do doubt the sincerity of those who profess to see any hope of a settlement outside the granting of full Pakistan to the Muslims of India"

[1]The *Statesman*, 12 December 1945 Also see *TP*, VI, Annex to No 296, pp 658-659

XII.34

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 135[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

4 January 1946

3 I was certainly interested in Jinnah's statement[2] on Pakistan One cannot tell precisely what he envisages, but so far as it goes his admission that there will have to be frontier adjustments is a move in the right direction, as if we do come to having Pakistan, considerable adjustments of that kind seem to me to be inevitable

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 331, p 734
[2]See Annex to No XII 33

XII.35

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 137[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/TOP SECRET

11 January 1946

2 I think it will be important that you should let us have as soon as possible, your actual proposals for defining the genuinely Muslim areas, if that should become necessary They will need a lot of thinking about

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 351, p 775

XII.36

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 136[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

15 January 1946

6 I send with this letter a note of a conversation between Jinnah and Wyatt[2] of the M Ps Delegation [3] This is interesting evidence of Jinnah's uncompromising attitude though of course it is possible that what he says is intended only as a preliminary bid In any case the reported conversation shows very clearly that I must know my ground before I start discussions about the composition of the new Executive Council

7 There is also some evidence, provided again by Wyatt, as to the probable attitude of Nehru Wyatt had a four-hour discussion with Nehru on the 10th January [1946], in which Nehru conceded that the British Government might have to declare for Pakistan but said that there must be a plebiscite in border districts to confirm it He did not accept the present election results as sufficient, since he maintained that Muslims did not know what they were voting for Granted, however, (a) a plebiscite, and (b) territorial readjustments so that solid blocks of Hindu territory were not included, he accepted Pakistan Nehru added that if negotiations broke down Congress would start the biggest-ever

mass movement. Asked about his recent speech when he said that he would not sit at the same table with the Muslim League to discuss a settlement, Nehru waved it aside and said that he did not of course mean that

Possibly Congress hope that a truncated Pakistan would be unacceptable Anyhow, Nehru seems to realise that the Congress must give up its claim to represent the Muslims

[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 357, pp 795-796
[2]Woodrow Lyle Wyatt, M P, was Member of Parliamentary Delegation to India, 1946
[3]Annex

Annex to No XII 36

Note by Major Rankin[1]

SECRET *8 January 1946*

WOODROW WYATT/JINNAH TALK[2]

Woodrow Wyatt had a long talk with Jinnah today, the substance of which he repeated to me as follows

1 *Interim Government*[3]

Jinnah will not take part in any interim Government without—

(a) a prior declaration accepting the *principle* of Pakistan, tho' he would not ask at that stage for any discussion or committment on details

(b) Parity of the Muslim League in the Government with all other parties, i e, out of 14 portfolios 7 must be Muslim League This he said follows from acceptance of the principle of Pakistan

2 *Constitution-making Body*

Jinnah will insist on 2 C M Bs [Constitution-making Bodies] The drawing of the frontier between Pakistan and Hindustan would be a matter for negotiation between the two C M Bs, he quoted rather vaguely as precedents the drawing of the Chekoslovak-Polish and Yugoslav-Italian frontiers after the last war He did not envisage "predominantly non-Muslim areas like the Ambala Division" remaining in Pakistan but insisted that Pakistan must be "a living state economically and culturally"

3 Any attempt to impose a unified constitution or to accept a majority decision by a single C M B would be resisted, if necessary by force

4. Pakistan would remain within the Empire with a British Governor-General British Industry and Commerce would be encouraged in order to develop Pakistan which would be far behind Hindustan economically

5 Relations with Hindustan would be purely diplomatic there would be no common currency, transportation system, army, etc

6 All this was said in very definite fashion, and Wyatt received the impression (no doubt as he was intended to) that Jinnah would not budge from this position Jinnah thought the Hindus would accept it as it would give them three-quarters of India "which is more than they have ever had before"

C W B RANKIN

[1]Major Charles Winter Brown Rankin was Assistant Private Secretary to the Viceroy
[2]*TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 357, pp 798-799
[3]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

XII.37

V P Menon to George Abell

IOR,R/3/1/105 f 138

MOST SECRET
No R 205/46

NEW DELHI,
23 January 1946

My dear Abell,

When Rau and I discussed the "breakdown" provisions with you, you wanted suggestions for demarcation of the Pakistan areas The accompanying note[1] embodies our suggestions on the question of demarcation What sort of Constitution the demarcated areas are to have is a different matter upon which Sir Stafford Cripps did not commit himself very definitely His statements on this subject, when put together, amount to this

> "Two contiguous Provinces may form a separate Union"
>
> "A new Dominion may be formed out of two or three non-acceding Provinces provided it is physically possible"
>
> "We propose to respond to the request of the non-acceding Provinces, which may be that they want separate Dominions or may be that they want one"

What kind of Constitution Sir Stafford Cripps would have been prepared to consider for the areas that we have suggested for Pakistan is therefore difficult to gather, and until there is a properly co-ordinated scheme, it might be wiser not to commit oneself to the grant of any particular form of Constitution for the demarcated areas In this connection I would invite attention to paragraphs 28 to 31[2] of the Secretary of State's memorandum No IB(45) 13 dated 9 9 45 and the minutes[3] of the discussion thereon at the fifth meeting of the India and Burma Committee dated 11 9 45

Yours sincerely,
V P MENON

[1]See Enclosure
[2]See Annex I
[3]See Annex II

Enclosure to XII 37

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 139-141

MOST SECRET

NOTE ON
DEMARCATION OF "PAKISTAN" AREAS

The total population of British India is about 296 millions, of which Muslims form about 79 millions or about 27 per cent

The Muslim League claims that the Western Zone consisting of the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, and British Baluchistan, and the Eastern Zone consisting of Bengal and Assam are predominantly Muslim and should therefore be formed with a separate independent State, "Pakistan" The total population of the Western Zone is about 36 millions, of which about 22 millions are Muslims and 14 millions non-Muslims The latter thus form about 38 per cent of the total population The Eastern Zone has a total population of about 70 millions, of which about 34 millions or 49 per cent are non-Muslims The non-Muslims in both Zones are thus a substantial minority, moreover, there are considerable blocks of territory in each Zone where they form the majority of the population If Muslims, who form about 27 per cent of the total population of British India, can validly claim separation of the predominantly Muslim Zones from British India, it is difficult to deny the counter-claim of the Sikhs and Hindus, who form a much larger percentage of the population of these Zones for separation from "Pakistan" of the blocks of territory in which they predominate In fact, "Pakistan" will have to satisfy at least two tests

(1) Each Zone must form a continuous block of territory in which the Muslims predominate

(2) The non-Muslim population in each Zone (who may be assumed to be hostile to "Pakistan") should not be much more than 27 per cent of the total population

The extreme form of "Pakistan" claimed by the Muslim League does not satisfy the second condition Even the exclusion of Assam from the Eastern Zone would not materially alter the case, for this would bring down the non-Muslim population of that Zone to about 45 per cent, while the percentage in the Western Zone would still be 38 Thus even a "Pakistan" consisting of the predominantly Muslim Provinces with their existing boundaries cannot be defended

The next suggestion is that the Western Zone should consist of Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan, and the Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan Divisions of the Punjab, and the Eastern Zone of the Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong Divisions of Bengal This obviously satisfies the first of the above two conditions, we have to see if it satisfies the second The total population of the Western Zone on this basis works out to about 26 millions of which about 7 millions or a little over 26 per cent are non-Muslims The corresponding figures for the Eastern Zone are 37 millions, 11 millions, and 30 per cent The second condition also is therefore almost satisfied Two objections may be urged against this proposal, from opposite quarters in the West it includes in "Pakistan" the district of Amritsar which is not only predominantly non-Muslim (of a total population of 1 4 millions the Muslims number 66 million and non-Muslims 74 million) but is also particularly sacred to the Sikhs, and in the East, it excludes from "Pakistan" the vital port of Calcutta

It is not possible to meet the latter objection even by a district-wise partition, for the Calcutta "district", even considered by itself, is largely non-Muslim, of a total population of 2 1 millions, only about 5 million, or under 25 per cent, are Muslims The only result of a district-wise partition in Bengal would be to exclude the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri from "Pakistan" and to include therein the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore, which would merely cut across the existing Divisional boundaries without any compensating advantage

The Sikh objection in the Western Zone can be met, to some extent, by excluding the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur from "Pakistan" These two form a compact block, whose total population is a little over 2 5 millions of which a little under 1 25 millions—i e a little under 50 per cent are Muslims This form of partition will cut across existing Divisional boundaries, but has the advantage of meeting the most

serious of the Sikh objections, though not all of them, for, whenever the line may be drawn, there will still be some Sikhs left on the wrong side If the existing Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan Divisions are included in "Pakistan", the number of Punjab Sikhs in "Pakistan" would be about 2 2 millions and in "Hindustan" about 1 5 millions, with the exclusion of the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur, the corresponding figures would be 1 5 millions and 2 2 millions, so that the majority of them would now fall in 'Hindustan", although a substantial minority would still be left in "Pakistan" On the whole, the best plan may be to exclude these two districts from the Western Zone' so that the net result would be to include in "Pakistan"

(a) Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan and the Lahore, Rawalpindi, and Multan Divisions of the Punjab *minus* the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur
(b) The Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong Divisions of Bengal

Annex I to No XII 37

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee, Paper I B (45)13

L/P & J/10/20 ff 63-72[1]
[Extract]

INDIA OFFICE,
9 September 1945

FUTURE OF NON-ACCEDING PROVINCES

28 The Draft Declaration [Cripps' Offer][2] accorded "the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides", and went on to state that "With non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union"

29 The Sapru[3]-Jayakar[4] memorandum[5] took exception to this as part of their objection to the division of India Questioned at Press conferences[6] Sir S Cripps made these points

(a) There is no question of the British Government financing a new Dominion Financial stability will not be a pre-requisite, but the Provinces will have to decide, before they decide not to accede, whether when they have not acceded they can support themselves financially

(b) Whether the non-acceding Provinces will continue to be governed by the Government of India Act, 1935, is a matter for their own choice They would naturally be so governed at the immediate outset after the new Union comes into being

(c) Two contiguous Provinces may form a separate Union—but not two widely separated areas

(d) Presumably two new Unions would decide to effect a mutual rearrangement of boundaries and an exchange of population so as to get the larger majority in each

30 In regard to the first part of the Draft Declaration quoted above (paragraph 28) the present constitutional position of a province presupposes the existence of a Central Government for the whole of British India (whether the Governor-General in Council or a Federal Cabinet), and it is difficult to see how, when this has been replaced by a new constitution, the Province could retain its present constitutional position

31 Again, the subsequent passage of the Draft Declaration presumably means that any non-acceding Province can claim the status of the major Indian Union and therefore that there might be two or several mutually independent Unions But clearly there are difficulties A group of Provinces in the North West combining into a Pakistan might justifiably claim full "Union" status, but is it conceivable to contemplate conferring similar status on, say, a small Province like Assam if it should stand out in isolation? Is it conceivable that such an area, considering its geographical and economic position, could maintain an independent status in relation not only to neighbouring Indian territories but also to the outside world? Or would it, voluntarily or by force of circumstances, accept the control of its foreign relations, and therefore to some extent of its internal affairs, by the major India Union? The same fate would doubtless fall to it in respect of defence, for it could hardly look to His Majesty's Government to support it against its neighbours

[1] TP, VI, No 101, pp 238-239

[2] No II 1

[3] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Law Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1920-23, President, All-India Liberal Federation, 1923

[4] Mukund Ramrao Jayakar, Member, Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a leader of the Moderates

[5] The Memorandum suggested transfer of power to Central Government by complete non-officialization of Government and without reservation of any portfolios, including that of Defence It opposed the creation of "more than one union" but suggested that for a province opting out of the Indian Union, the method of bare majority cannot be adopted and that the majority required for any session on this question should not be less than 65 per cent of the Indian Members of the Lower House " See TP, I, No 526, pp 643-647

[6] See TP, I No 440, pp 537-551

Annex II to No XII 37

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee I B (45) 5th Meeting

L/P & J/10/20 ff 5362[1]

[Extract]

10 DOWNING STREET, S W 1,
11 September 1945, 3pm

FUTURE OF NON-ACCEDING PROVINCES

The Committee took note[2] that in the declaration of 1942 the right of any Province of British India that was not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it was desirable, had been accepted The declaration had also recorded that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree with any non-acceding Provinces which might so desire upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA pointed out the practical difficulty of the situation that might result if three or four Provinces were to stand out For how long was such a state of affairs to continue? Presumably at that point the Provinces which had acquired Dominion status would fall to be handled by the Dominions Office and by a separate form of Government? It would, on the other hand, presumably be necessary to retain the Viceroy, and the whole machinery of the Government of India, temporarily in respect of the balance It would also clearly be necessary to retain the Crown Representative in respect of such States as might decide not to accede?

LORD WAVELL agreed with the Secretary of State and illustrated the intricacy of the administrative problems which would arise by the example of the railways

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE suggested that the period for which it would be necessary to retain special arrangements for non-acceding Provinces need not necessarily be so very long We should proceed to call a Constituent Assembly to cover their case once the situation arose

After further discussion *The Committee* accepted the force of the difficulties referred to by the Secretary of State for India, but felt that they must be faced

[1] *TP*, VI, No 105, pp 256-257
[2] Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

XII.38

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 142A

TOP SECRET
No 592/14

NEW DELHI,
24 January 1946

My dear Menon,

Thank you for your top secret d o No R 205/45 of 23rd January[1] about a possible demarcation of the Pakistan areas

2 The question may arise whether even if it proved necessary for H M G to state what they regarded as a reasonable delimitation of Pakistan, there should not be some plebiscite either in the whole area or in the boundary districts to confirm the decision

3 The Congress would probably wish to insist on a plebiscite of the whole adult population or at any rate the adult male population H E is inclined to think that any plebiscite would probably lead to disorder and wants to consider whether there is no form of local option which could be reasonably exercised through persons already elected, e g MLAs or elected members of District Boards The difficulty about this is of course that representation may not correspond with population figures He would be grateful for advice on this point

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]No XII 37

XII.39

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 142B[1]
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

25 January 1946

4 I have circulated to some of my colleagues what you say in your letter in regard to Wyatt's conversations with Jinnah and Nehru,[2] together with the note of his conversation with Jinnah which you appended [3] This is, I am afraid, technically contrary to the principle that what you say in these letters is private, but I thought that in this particular case you would have no objection I realise, of course, that

what Jinnah and Nehru may have said to Wyatt will have been framed to produce the impression which they wished to produce and does not in any way commit them I should think that more importance attaches to what Jinnah said than to what Nehru said if only because Jinnah is pretty well a dictator, whereas Nehru when it comes to the point will be subject to the strains and stresses which may develop inside the Congress On one point I am not very clear and that is whether what Nehru said suggested that there need only be a plebiscite in the border districts only, or in the whole Muslim area, as he appears to have followed this remark by saying that the results of the present election were not sufficient because the Muslims did not know what they were voting for I am very conscious of the dangers which you emphasised when you were here in August of any sort of plebiscite

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]Also see TP, VI, No 379, p 842-843
[2]See No XII 36
[3]See Annex to No XII 36

XII.40

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 143

29 January 1946

We have promised the Secretary of State to let him have proposals about the demarcation of Pakistan areas in the event of its being necessary for HMG to make an award on this subject

2 Mr Menon has sent in the note[1] below which was prepared I believe by Sir B N Rau I agree generally with the conclusions but have asked Mr Menon to state

(a) what form of local option could be allowed, and
(b) what he would propose to do with the Sylhet district of Assam which is predominantly Muslim and adjoins the Muslim areas of Bengal

3 As regards (a), we want to avoid a plebiscite if possible and the Secretary of State agrees with this view I think however that any demarcation by HMG would have to be ratified by some form of local option in the areas within the boundaries fixed for Pakistan The difficulty is that representation on elected bodies e g Legislatures and District Boards is usually weighted in favour of minorities, and this means that the result of

a vote by MLAs or by District Boards concerned might give a different result from a straight plebiscite

4. As soon as Mr Menon has answered my queries I will draft a recommendation on this subject, show it to Home Member and then submit it to Y[our] E[xcellency]

G E B ABELL
29 1 46

H E
I agree

W[AVELL]
30/1/46

[1]Enclosure to No XII 37

XII.41

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 144

TOP SECRET
No 592/14

NEW DELHI,
29 January 1946

My dear Menon,

This is in continuation of my d o No 592/14 of the 24th January[1] about a possible demarcation of Pakistan areas

2 I am not sure what you intend to do about Sylhet district in Assam Do you propose that this should also go into Pakistan?

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]No XII 38

XII.42

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 145[1]

TOP SECRET/IMPORTANT
No 248-S[2]

29 January 1946
(Received 30 January 1946)[3]

SUPERINTENDENT SERIES

It would help me to know when I may expect to receive your

recommendations as regards definition of genuine Muslim areas if we are compelled to give a decision on this and also your proposals as regards the treaty on which I understand your officials have been at work Time is getting very short and if*[4] proposed Mission is to have as much freedom of negotiation as I should* like it will be desirable for them to have discussed these issues particularly with others here before leaving I hope therefore that you can let us have your views on both these matters, at any rate within a fortnight

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

(1) We can do easily enough
(2) may be difficult, I will ask R[eforms] C[ommissioner] to advise

G E B ABELL
30 1 [1946]

H E
We have been working on a Treaty for some time past and surely ought to be able to give an outline

W[AVELL]
30 1 [1946]

Copy sent to R[ao] B[ahadur] Menon with d o

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, No 387, pp 860-861
[2]No 2090 is also mentioned in the Telegram besides No 248-S
[3]"TOO" i e Time of Origin is mentioned as 2256 and "TOR" i e Time of Receipt 0945
[4]Asterisks in the original

XII.43

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 146

TOP SECRET
No 592/14 *30 January 1946*

My dear Menon,

I enclose a copy of a telegram[1] just received from the Secretary of State

2 H E would like to send off his note about the definition of genuinely Moslem areas in the next two or three days I hope you will be able to reply by then to my queries about local option and about Sylhet District

3 What about the work on the Treaty? Can Sir B N Rau produce a preliminary report in a fortnight? H E hopes that this will be possible and thinks it should be done

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]No XII 42

XII.44

V P Menon to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 147-148

TOP SECRET

NEW DELHI,
31 January 1946

My dear Abell,

Please refer to your three D O letters No 592/14 of the 24th,[1] 29th[2] and 30th[3] January

2 *Your letter of the 24th Jan* [4] The question of a plebiscite appears to us to be premature at this stage Taking, for instance, a plebiscite on the widest basis possible, namely, the Provincial basis, what is the sort of question that we are going to ask the Provinces? Suppose we ask the N W F P Legislature to state whether it would like to have the whole of the Province included in Pakistan or not Upon this the Legislature might well ask a number of relevant questions To mention the most vital of them—Is Pakistan, in however truncated a form, going to be recognized as an independent Dominion in charge of its own Defence and External Affairs? Unless this question is answered—and it is a question which only H M G can answer—the members of the Legislature may very well say that it is impossible for them to state whether the Province should be included in Pakistan or not The Legislature may ask other questions for example, whether the Province will continue to get from the Pakistan Centre the annual subsidy which it now gets from the present Centre These questions we may perhaps be able to avoid by saying that we are not in a position to answer them, because the answer will depend upon the details of the Constitution for Pakistan which no one has yet worked out But the vital question as to the status of Pakistan, however truncated it may be, is one which we cannot avoid, if it is decided to hold a plebiscite of any kind immediately So far as present investigations go, (e g those of Coupland and Mody & Matthai)[5] they show that Pakistan, and particularly a

truncated Pakistan, will be unable to look after its own defence, and we shall therefore be unable to answer the question satisfactorily without further investigation It is for this reason that we consider the question of a plebiscite premature at this stage

3 All that can be said at this stage is that whatever kind of Pakistan may ultimately emerge, certain areas will most probably be left out of it if the principle of self-determination is applied The note sent to you on the 23rd instant[6] may be taken as an indication of the probabilities of the case As you point out, before a final decision can be taken in the matter, some kind of plebiscite may have to be held, not only for the border areas, but also for others, for it is conceivable that even the N W F P may vote against Pakistan for financial reasons For the purposes of H E's "breakdown plan" it is perhaps unnecessary to go beyond an indication of the probable decision

4 I recognize however, that Jinnah himself may force the issue, when he is informed of the two principles enunciated in H E's "breakdown plan" Jinnah may ask—"Assuming that I accept these principles, will H M G grant the Pakistan areas the status of an independent Dominion, even in matters of Defence and External Affairs?" This is really the hardest question that arises in this connection The problem of demarcation in a manner satisfactory to Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims is difficult enough, but the harder question is whether, when we have made the demarcation, we are in a position to promise independent Dominion status to the demarcated areas

5 *Your letter of the 29th Jan* [7] What we proposed in the note on the "Demarcation of Pakistan areas" sent to you on the 23rd instant[8] was what we considered the most convenient basis of demarcation Other lines of demarcation are doubtless possible For example, Sylhet, which is a predominantly Muslim district, can on that account be included in Pakistan, but this will raise the question whether Assam minus Sylhet can continue as a Governor's Province It was in order to avoid this question that we left Sylhet out The Province of Assam taken as a whole is of course predominantly non-Muslim so that there can be no question of including the whole of it in Pakistan

6 *Your letter of the 30th Jan* [9] A draft of the proposed Treaty so far as it relates to Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Services and Relations with Indian States is ready It is of course only a first attempt in an unexplored region and will have to be examined by the Departments concerned So far as the Protection of Minorities is concerned, a good deal of material has been collected to work it into the draft will not be possible until there is some sort of indication as to the form of

the new Constitution Rau hopes to send the first draft in the course of next week

Yours sincerely,
V P MENON

Discussed with Mr Menon & Sir B N Rau
P[revious] p[apers] please

A[BELL]
30/1[/46]

[1]No XII 38
[2]No XII 41
[3]No XII 43
[4]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[5]Sir Hormasji Peroshaw (Homi) Mody (Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1941-43) and Professor John Matthai (of Madras University, Member/President Indian Tariff Board and a Director of Tata Sons Ltd) disagreeing with the Sapru Report suggested, in a Minority Report, that Muslims should be allowed to exercise self-determination in Muslim Provinces See *TP*, VI, No 324, pp 718-719
[6]No XII 37
[7]No XII 41
[8]No XII 37
[9]No XII 43

XII.45

George Abell to John Thorne

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 149-151

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL *1 February 1946*

No 592/14

My dear Sir John,

In connection with H E 's political plans which you have seen the Secretary of State wants to know what demarcation of the "genuinely Muslim" areas H E would suggest if pressed on the matter I enclose a copy of a note[1] prepared by Sir B N Rau and approved by Menon Would you be good enough to let me know as soon as possible whether you have any comments?

2 I think we might put something on these lines to the Secretary of State now, that there are obviously serious issues which have to be considered before negotiations begin It looks as though the results of the elections in the N W F P may make that Province an area like Assam, i e one which would wish to accede to the Indian Union but is

likely to be cut off by a large block of Pakistan, if Pakistan comes into existence

3 Also with the Muslim League hold on Sind rather uncertain and with the possibility of an anti-League coalition in the Punjab it does not look as though it will be possible to take it for granted that even the Muslims of North-Western India are solid in favour of Pakistan If this is to be tested various questions arise, e g how it is to be tested, and what would be done with the unit which did not agree with the rest, e g the N W F P Obviously each part of prospective Pakistan would want to know what the other parts are going to do and this would affect their choice They would also want to know what kind of constitution they would get if they opted for Pakistan

4 It occurs to me also that though the general principle of H E 's award on the Pakistan issue could be explained to Jinnah himself in confidence and though this would enable him to let him know where he stood in negotiations it might not be so easy to announce the award in any terms we have thought out so far The demarcation, if you approve of that suggested by Sir B N Rau and Menon which seems to me sensible, would divide the homelands of the Sikhs into two parts I am not sure that we could stand up to the civil disturbance and the disruption in the Army and Police which might follow on an announcement of this kind if made without qualification Perhaps we should say, if an announcement is to be made, that Mr Jinnah has been told that if the demand for Pakistan is pressed HMG cannot in any case agree to more than the area demarcated going into Pakistan, it might have to be less because it will be necessary to decide the Sikh question on which negotiations between the parties will be essential

5 On the issue of the sort of constitution that will be offered to Pakistan the answer will presumably be Dominion Status if they want it, but there would have to be some conditions attached If for instance Pakistan turned out in the end to consist only of the Western half of the Punjab and if Sind and the N W F P wanted to join the Union of India, Pakistan would be an odd sort of Dominion

6 Similarly the isolated N W F P might ask what constitution it would have and whether it would be a separate Dominion For financial reasons the N W F P would obviously have to tack on to some more prosperous neighbour, but I think we are brought up against the necessity of deciding what is the minimum amount of territory that must accede to Pakistan before Pakistan can be recognized as a separate Dominion The defection of the N W F P would I suppose hardly be fatal The right way to treat the N W F P would be to compel it to

join Pakistan if Pakistan came into existence But it seems to me that if both the N W F P and Sind object to joining Pakistan HMG should not be bound to recognize Pakistan

7 All I ask for at the moment is your opinion on the demarcation suggested by Rau and Menon, and I should be grateful if I could have this soon, but you may care to think over the other difficult problems as I am afraid we shall have to express an opinion on them soon and it may be that a conference of the Governors concerned would be advisable even at this stage before election results are known It looks also as though H E the Commander-in-Chief should know H E's intentions in view of the possible reaction of the Sikhs

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]Enclosure to No XII 37

XII.46

Note by I D Scott[1]

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 153-154

2 February 1946

There are one or two points in Menon's letter of 31st January[2] which require clarification

2 He seems to envisage that the Legislature of each Muslim-majority province would be required to vote on adherence to Pakistan or not I do not think this is a practicable approach Failing agreement between the parties HMG will have to accept the principle of Pakistan, possibly subject to a confirmatory vote by a majority of all Muslim MLAs taken together, but not subject to acceptance or rejection by any particular province A plebiscite of the adult population is not really practicable either Nor is it possible to withhold acceptance of Pakistan because we may consider it would be difficult for such a state to ensure its defence

3 With reference to Menon's note sent with his letter of the 23rd January on the demarcation of Pakistan areas,[3] it does not necessarily follow that because Muslims in British India are about 27% of the total population therefore Pakistan can only include a maximum of 27% of non-Muslims There must clearly be a line drawn somewhere and I suggest that while his first criterion (that each zone must form a continuous

block of territory in which the Muslims predominate) should be accepted, the second, namely, that non-Muslim population should not much exceed 27% is too legalistic an approach Once the decision has been taken to form a separate state or states of Pakistan then other considerations than merely population percentages will have to be taken into account, and I am strongly of opinion that we should not commit ourselves beforehand as to where the actual boundaries will be drawn Acceptance of the principle of Pakistan is what the Muslim League want, and we can legitimately therefore, if the Congress and the League fail to reach agreement and H M G so decide, accept this principle and put on the two parties the onus of delimiting the frontiers as well as working out the separation of all other matters which have hitherto been dealt with on an all-India basis The figures which Menon quotes in his note[4] for the North-Western Pakistan show that he has not taken into account the tribal areas of the North-West Frontier, which are almost exclusively Muslim, and which should be included The population of the North-West Zone would then come to 28¾ millions out of which about 7 millions would be non-Muslims, i e almost exactly 25% If the Jullundur Division of the Punjab were included (which would have the advantage of putting nearly all the Sikhs together) the relative figures of Muslims and non-Muslims in the North-West Zone would come to 30¾ millions against 10½ millions, that is to say the non-Muslims would form about one-third of the total population If the Muslim League could give the Sikhs satisfaction as to internal autonomy it may be that they would be willing to enter a Pakistan of this description, but that would be a matter for the Muslims and the Sikhs to decide among themselves

4 Regarding the Eastern Zone it is necessary to include Sylhet in the Muslim zone as it is very predominantly a Muslim district, and the biggest district, of Assam That would bring the proportion of non-Muslims in the Eastern Zone postulated by Menon to something like 28%

5 I suggest therefore that the draft[5] below should be issued to the Secretary of State

I D SCOTT
2-2-1946

[1]Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy
[2]See No XII 44
[3]See No XII 37
[4]Ibid
[5]See Enclosure to No XII 50 For final telegram see XII 53

XII.47

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 155

TOP SECRET

No 592/14 *4 February 1946*

My dear Menon,

Would it be reasonable, at a pinch, to ask the Muslim MLAs of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab to meet together and consider whether the Muslims really want Pakistan?

Could such a method of local option be justified in spite of the existence of a non-League Ministry in Sind and (prospectively) a Congress Ministry in the N W F P ?

If it could, the reason would, I suppose, be that owing to the composition of the provinces and the weightage given to minorities the Muslim League have no chance of showing their real strength in any of the three legislatures in question

I should be grateful for your views and those of Sir B N Rau—you will remember I raised the matter on Friday And perhaps you could get your office to prepare a statement showing how the Muslim representation in these three legislatures compares with the proportion of Muslims in the population

From the projected meeting we should, I suppose, have to exclude any Muslim MLA's elected from the divisions and districts of the Punjab which are earmarked for "Hindustan"

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

XII.48

Francis Turnbull to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 156

INDIA OFFICE, WHITEHALL,
4 February 1946

TOP SECRET

Dear Abell,

Mr Arthur Moore[1] has sent to the Secretary of State recently the enclosed notes[2] of a conversation he had had with Mr Jinnah on the

22nd January I rather gather that Mr Moore has not informed the Viceroy about this conversation as he left Delhi very soon afterwards, but as copies have been supplied to the Secretary of State and other Ministers here I think His Excellency ought to have a copy of the report

Yours sincerely,
F F TURNBULL

[1]Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, 1933-42
[2]Enclosure

Enclosure to No XII 48

Notes of a Conversation held by Arthur Moore with Jinnah at his house

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 157-159B[1]

NEW DELHI,
22 January 1946

[*Para 1 omitted*]

[2] We then discussed the possibility of progress this year in the constitutional field I reminded Mr Jinnah that on the last occasion when we had talked (in Calcutta early in 1942) he had told me that if within the limits on the present constitution, Lord Linlithgow would offer some real power to a coalition war government he would be very willing to serve He replied at once

"Yes, that is true and I meant it too But that was for the war All that is finished The Congress and the League could not work together now in the same government so long as the issue of Pakistan divides us "

[3]. I mentioned that the Congress had repeatedly said that they were prepared to serve in such an interim government under his[2] leadership during the constitution making period Mr Jinnah replied that that was complete humbug Congressmen always insisted that such a government should be responsible to the legislature, that meant that the legislature could turn out the government, and unless the non-Congress members toed the Congress line such a government would be quickly overthrown It would not work at all "We should be fighting like Kilkenny cats[3] all the time "

[*Paras 4 to 8 omitted*]

[9] [Mr Jinnah said]" If the British and the Congress were to recognise the verdict and accept the principle of Pakistan the whole

spirit would change and we should become friends Patel is preaching civil war and trying to scare the British with the prospect of bloodshed but that is all nonsense. If the British declared their decision in favour of Pakistan there would be no trouble, the Hindus would quickly accept it Many of them already want it but they are afraid to say so because of Congress pressure I cannot understand why the Hindus do not all want Pakistan They have everything to gain by such an arrangement All we ask for is two very small parts of the huge sub-continent and they will be left with the rest, controlling perhaps 250,000,000 people They will be relieved of all wrangles and have a good friendly neighbour in Pakistan "

[*Paras 10-18 omitted*]

[ARTHUR MOORE]

[1]Also see *TP*, VI, Enclosure to No 393, pp 875-878
[2]Refers to Jinnah
[3]Kilkenny is a town in the Republic of Ireland to the South-West of Dublin Kilkenny cats refer to an Irish legend in which the two animals continued to fight till only their tails were left

XII.49

George Abell to A E Porter[1]

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 161

TOP SECRET

No 133[2] *5 February 1946*

My dear Porter,

I sent today to Sir John Thorne a copy of a note I wrote for H E on discussion between Jinnah and Major Wyatt about which the latter had told me I enclose another copy[3] of this note for ready reference

2 With reference to the last paragraph of the note H E asks whether Home Department have ever made a study of what the Muslims could or would do if they decided to be violent on not getting their demands? It is obvious that any decisions that H M G may have to take in the absence of agreement between the parties are likely to be unsatisfactory either to the Congress or to the Muslim League or to both If the decision was regarded as unsatisfactory by the Muslim League, and if, as Jinnah suggests, they went all out to get Government to change it, what would the Muslims do? Would the efforts be organized at all? Would it be directed against communications, and if so, which? Would it be against the nearest Hindus or against the British?

3 I doubt whether any such appreciation has been made, but H E would like one prepared as soon as possible

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]Home Secretary, Government of India
[2]Working file No 133/43
[3]Enclosure

Enclosure to No XII 49

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 162

5 February 1946

Major Wyatt has had two long sessions with Mr Jinnah in the last three days

Mr Jinnah maintained his firm refusal to come into any executive council unless the "principle of Pakistan" were first accepted

But

(a) he agreed without hesitation that the Burdwan Division of Bengal could not be included in Pakistan, (Ambala Division had previously been written off)

(b) He said that once the "principle of Pakistan" was admitted he would gladly cooperate in an interim executive council,

(c) he said he envisaged a sort of centre—there would be a British Crown Representative who would "coordinate" the policies of the two federations in such matters as Defence and Foreign Affairs This item (c) related to the final (not the interim) set-up It was not clear that there would be any central legislature—presumably not

All these three points (a), (b) and (c) seem to me to indicate that Jinnah is prepared to concede a lot more than might appear at first sight Mr Jinnah did however tell Major Wyatt that he must at all costs have Calcutta He also said that if H M G refused to admit the Muslims' claim to a separate state the Muslims would make serious trouble and were quite as capable of causing bloodshed as the Congress, he himself would welcome two years' rest in the Aga Khan's palace

G E B ABELL
5 2 1946

Copy sent to R[eforms] C[ommissioner] and Home Member under C/S on 5/2/46

Copy sent to Mr Porter, Home Sec[retar]y with d o

XII.50

George Abell to V P Menon

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 163

TOP SECRET *5 February 1946*

No 592/14

My dear Menon,

I enclose a tentative draft about demarcation of the Pakistan areas I think H E will want to send off this telegram today, and I shall, be grateful if you will let me know whether you have any comments

2 If Sir B N Rau's preliminary report about Treaty Making is ready would you please let me have it

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

Enc Draft about demarcation of Pakistan areas

Enclosure to No XII 50

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Draft telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 165-167

TOP SECRET *5 February 1946*

Superintendent Series Your 2090 of 29th January [1]

If compelled to indicate demarcation of genuinely Muslim areas I suggest we should include

(a) Sind, N W F P, British Baluchistan and the Rawalpindi, Multan and Lahore divisions of the Punjab less Amritsar and Gurdaspur

(b) The Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong divisions of Bengal, and Sylhet district of Assam

2 In the Punjab the only Muslim majority district that would not go into Pakistan under this demarcation is Gurdaspur (51% Muslim) Gurdaspur must go with Amritsar for geographical reasons and Amritsar being the sacred city of the Sikhs must stay out of Pakistan But for the special importance of Amritsar demarcation in the Punjab could have been on divisional boundaries Fact that much of Lahore district is irrigated from Upper Bari Doab Canal with headworks in Gurdaspur district is awkward but there is no solution that avoids all difficulties

3 Greatest difficulty is position of the Sikhs with their homelands

and sacred places on both sides of the border This problem is one which no version of Pakistan can solve

4 The population figures that follow are in thousands The Punjab including Punjab States has a Sikh population of 5,116 Of these under proposed scheme 1,461 will be in Pakistan and the rest in Hindustan Of those in Pakistan a substantial number are in districts which under any arrangement are bound to be in Pakistan e g Rawalpindi (64) and colony districts of Lyallpur (263) and Montgomery (175)

5 We should make it clear in any announcement that this is only an indication of areas to which in HMG's view the Muslims can advance a reasonable claim, modifications in the boundary might well be negotiated and no doubt the interests of the Sikhs in particular would be carefully considered Some such saving clause is indicated by the importance of preventing immediate violence by the Sikhs

7 In Bengal the demarcation can best be done along divisional boundaries If districts were the units Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri would be excluded from Pakistan and Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore included But the abandonment of the existing administrative boundaries would bring no compensating advantages

8 The demarcation (subject to negotiated amendments) having been announced by HMG, the decision whether or not to insist on a separate Constitution-Making Body might reasonably be left to a meeting of the Muslim MLAs of the Areas concerned—Possibly the eastern and western zones would have to sit separately I would hope to avoid a plebiscite since this would give rise to administrative problems and involve grave risks of disorder

9 The decision cannot be left to Provincial Assemblies It is questionable whether in any of them Jinnah could obtain the 60% majority envisaged in the Cripps offer and in some cases even a bare majority might be difficult to obtain The existing Provincial boundaries and the weightage given to minorities make it hard for the Muslim League to form a stable Ministry anywhere, but the fact that the League has so far lost very few Muslim seats shows that the Muslims generally support Jinnah Even those who do not support him usually declare their belief in Pakistan To allow no real opportunity of self-determination for the Muslims would be fatal to the chances of a peaceful solution and unless some such device as a meeting of Muslim MLAs is employed self-determination may be illusory The Pakistan I would offer is small and unattractive compared with what Jinnah wants but at least the Muslims will be in secure control of it

[1]No XII 42

XII.51

George Abell to John Thorne

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 164-A

TOP SECRET

No 592/14 *5 February 1946*

My dear Sir John,

I enclose a tentative draft[1] about demarcation of the Pakistan areas I think H E will want to send off this telegram today, and I shall be grateful if you will let me know whether you have any comments

Yours sincerely,
G E B ABELL

[1]See Enclosure to No XII 50

XII.52

V P Menon to George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 170-172

TOP SECRET

NEW DELHI,
5 February 1946

My dear Abell,

Please refer to your d o letter[1] No 592/14 of the 4th instant The main objection I see to your plan of summoning the Muslim MLA's of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab to decide the question of Pakistan is that Mr Jinnah may construe this as an attempt to go behind his back

2 You asked for the figures of the Muslim representation in the three Legislatures of Sind, the N W F P and the Punjab They are as follows -

	Percentage of Muslim Population	Percentage of Communal Seats held in the Assembly
Punjab	57 07	49 14
Sind	70 74	56 67
N W F P	91 79	72 00

The Lucknow Pact[2] gave weightage to Muslims in the Provinces in which they were in a minority As against this, the non-Muslims were

given corresponding weightage in those Provinces in which they were in a minority. This was roughly translated in HMG's Communal Award of 1932[3] which in addition to the communal seats gave Muslims the right to stand for elections in the special constituencies including land-holders, commerce and industry, planting, mining and universities

3 Turning now to the draft telegram sent with your letter of today[4] and in view of what you subsequently told me over the phone, I think there is a good deal to be said in favour of proceeding districtwise in the demarcation of the Pakistan areas in Bengal One defect of the divisionwise demarcation of Bengal proposed in the draft telegram is that it cuts off Assam completely from the rest of Hindustan In fact, under the proposed demarcation, Pakistan and Hindustan will each consist of two zones, the zones being separated in each case by "foreign" territory Murshidabad district has 56 6 per cent of Muslims, Nadia 61 3 per cent, and Jessore 60 2 per cent These districts may therefore well be added to the Pakistan areas in Bengal Jalpaiguri has only 23 1 per cent and Darjeeling only 2 4 per cent Hence these two districts might stand excluded Dinajpur has 50 2 per cent and it is a nice question whether it should be included in Pakistan or excluded Since we have excluded Gurdaspur from the western zone of Pakistan, we might well include Dinajpur in the eastern zone In any event the exclusion of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling from the Pakistan areas would provide Hindustan with a corridor to the non-Muslim areas of Assam

The inclusion of Sylhet in Pakistan will be consistent with districtwise demarcation but it will raise the question whether what is left of Assam can continue to be a Governor's Province Speaking from memory, there was a resolution in the Assam Legislative Council towards the end of 1925 recommending (a) that Sylhet be transferred to Bengal, and (b) that the status of Assam as a Governor's Province be retained notwithstanding the transfer Since then, however, there may have been changes in public opinion It is by no means to be taken for granted that the Muslims in Assam will be in favour of the transfer of Sylhet from the Province because one result of the transfer would be that in the rest of the Province the proportion of Muslims to the total population would fall to something like 22 per cent

The net result of my present suggestions would be—

(a) So far as the western zone is concerned, I have no comments on your draft telegram

(b) So far as the eastern zone is concerned, I would include Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Dinajpur and Sylhet in Pakistan and would exclude Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri

4 In para 8 of the draft telegram you suggest that the decision whether or not to insist on a separate constitution-making body for Pakistan might reasonably be left to a meeting of the Muslim MLA's of the areas concerned and go on to say that the eastern and western zones would have to sit separately I should however like to point out that the question of setting up a separate constitution-making body will not arise until HMG have decided the preliminary question whether Pakistan as now proposed to be demarcated will have the status of an independent Dominion in all matters including Defence and External Affairs Unless this question is first decided in the affirmative, there will be no occasion for summoning a separate constitution-making body Your suggestion therefore implies that HMG have already decided the preliminary question The point seems to be so important that we must call HMG's attention to the full implications of the present suggestion It must be remembered that the Pakistan now proposed is much more truncated than the one considered by Coupland The problem of Defence and External Affairs therefore arises in a more acute form under the present proposals than under the Coupland plan

5 If HMG not only accept the demarcation now proposed but also decide that they would be prepared to recognize the Pakistan so demarcated as a separate independent dominion for all purposes, then, and only then, would the question of a separate constitution-making body for the demarcated areas arise Assuming that the objection which I have mentioned to your plan is not considered serious, presumably the meeting of the MLA's will be called by the Governor-General, since you contemplate a zonal basis for the meeting There would be about 130 members from the western zone, I suggest that a quieter manner of ascertaining their views would be for each Governor to summon them to a conference, ascertain their opinions, and transmit them to the Governor-General If H E agrees, I suggest that paragraphs 8 and 9 of your draft telegram be suitably modified

6 I am sending herewith the first draft of the proposed Treaty so far as it relates to Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Crown servants and Relations with Indian States The Finance Department are not yet ready with their proposals so far as "Financial obligations between the U K and India" are concerned They have promised Rau to let him have these the day after tomorrow Rau is at present working on the "Provisions relating to Minorities" and will have the first draft ready tomorrow All these, of course, are only first drafts and will require to

be scrutinized again from more than one point of view, but they might be useful to the India Office at this stage

Yours sincerely,
V P MENON

[1]No XII 47
[2]Separate electorates had been conceded to the Muslims by the Indian Councils' Act of 1909 They were retained under the Lucknow Pact of 1916 concluded between the Congress and the League This Pact also provided a fixed proportion of seats in the Indian Legislative Council whereby Muslims and Hindus were given a 'weightage' in areas where they were a minority See C H Philips, ed, *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858 to 1947 Select Documents*, pp 171-173
[3]The British Government through the Communal Award of 1932 fixed the distribution of seats in the Provincial Legislatures among the various communities and interests With some modifications, this allocation was incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935
[4]See Enclosure to No XII 50

XII.53

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 174-175[1]

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE
No 23-SC *6 February 1946 (TOO 2100)*

Superintendent Series Your 2090 of 29th January [2]

If compelled to indicate demarcation of genuinely Muslim areas I recommend that we should include

(a) Sind, N W F P, British Baluchistan, and the Rawalpindi, Multan and Lahore divisions of the Punjab less Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts

(b) In Bengal, the Chittagong and Dacca divisions, the Rajshahi division (less Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling), the Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore districts of the Presidency division, and in Assam the Sylhet district

2 In the Punjab the only Muslim majority district that would not go into Pakistan under this demarcation is Gurdaspur (51% Muslim) Gurdaspur must go with Amritsar for geographical reasons and Amritsar being sacred city of Sikhs must stay out of Pakistan But for this special importance of Amritsar, demarcation in the Punjab could have been on divisional boundaries Fact that much of Lahore district is irrigated from Upper Bari Doab Canal with headworks in Gurdaspur district is

awkward but there is no solution that avoids all such difficulties

3 Greatest difficulty is position of the Sikhs with their homelands and sacred places on both sides of the border This problem is one which no version of Pakistan can solve

4 The population figures that follow are in thousands The Punjab including Punjab States has a Sikh population of 5,116 Of these under proposed scheme 1,461 will be in Pakistan and the rest in Hindustan Of those in Pakistan a substantial number are in districts which under any arrangement are bound to be in Pakistan e g Rawalpindi (64) and colony districts of Lyallpur (263) and Montgomery (175)

5 We should make it clear in any announcement that this is only an indication of areas to which in H M G 's view the Muslims can advance a reasonable claim, modifications in the boundary might be negotiated and no doubt the interests of the Sikhs in particular could be carefully considered in such negotiation Some such saving clause is indicated by the importance of preventing immediate violence by the Sikhs

7 [*sic*] In Bengal the three Muslim majority districts of the Presidency Division must I think be included in Pakistan, though this brings the frontier across the Ganges The demarcation includes in Pakistan all Muslim majority districts and no Hindu majority districts

8 There is no case, consistently with the principle suggested in the breakdown plan, for including Calcutta in Pakistan The Muslims will probably try to negotiate for its being made a free port If the negotiations fail Eastern Bengal's prospects as a separate autonomous State will be seriously affected But the Muslims if they insist on Pakistan, must face up to this problem like that of the Sikhs, and they may have to agree to some sort of a centre in exchange for making Calcutta a free port This would be a welcome development

9 The population figures of Pakistan[3] on this demarcation would be (in thousands)

	East Zone	*West Zone*
Muslims	30,602	18,210
Non-Muslims	14,482	5,666
Total	40,084	23,843

10 Treaty Rau's first draft on Defence, External Affairs, Protection of Crown servants and Relations with Indian States is being sent by the next fast air mail bag Sections on Minorities and Finance will follow shortly

[WAVELL]

[1]Also see *I P*, VI, No 406, pp 912-913

[2]In his telegram Pethick Lawrence had asked Wavell for a definition of genuinely Muslim areas and proposals for a Treaty See No XII 42

[3]These figures were subsequently amended See No XII 57

XII.54

M A Jinnah to Pethick-Lawrence

F 498/11-16[1]

9 February 1946

Dear Pethick-Lawrence,

I thank you for your letter of 21st December, 1945[2], which was delivered to me by the Viceroy's House, in connection with the visit of the Members of Parliament to India I have had free and frank discussion with them as desired by you and I do hope that they will correctly represent the position of Muslim India to you and others I have left no doubt in their minds that the British Government should make an immediate declaration of their policy accepting Muslim India's demand of Pakistan which is the only solution of India's constitutional problem After the principle has been accepted, I am hopeful that the details would not be difficult of adjustment

There is no reason or ground for talking about interim arrangement, now that the war is over Besides, it goes against the fundamental principle which we have repeatedly declared, that, we cannot agree to any arrangement which postulates an all-India government whether interim or permanent Our position was solemnly accepted by the British Government in Parliament, by its declaration, made in August, 1940[3] and we were repeatedly assured by the pronouncements made by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible leaders of Great Britain from time to time The only exception, that we were prepared to make was the exigency of the war and its prosecution successfully, as in that case, the entire attention would have been rivetted to the war effort and all domestic controversies and differences would have been, by common consent, kept in abeyance A caretaker Government already exists under the framework of the present Constitution, viz the Governor-General's Executive Council, and there is no need to tinker with it under the new phraseology of "political Executive Council" Equally, the idea of a single Constitution-making body is fundamentally opposed to the basic principles that the Muslim League has declared times out of number It will be perfectly futile to force such a measure upon Muslim India, as it must result in disaster, not to say that it will be a breach of the solemn declaration of August, 1940 and the repeated assurances of His Majesty's Government to that effect, given from time to time

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my statement[4] I made with

regard to your announcement[5] about the visit of the Members of the Parliament to India and also a copy of the Viceroy's speech addressed to the Central Assembly dated the 28th January[6] and my reaction[7] to it, for your information

Thanking you for your good wishes for the season which I reciprocate, hoping you are well and with very kind regards

Yours sincerely,
[M A JINNAH]

[1]Also available in *IOR*, R/3/1/105 ff 191-192 and *TP*, VI Annexure I to No 444, pp 1011-1012

[2]Pethick-Lawrence had written to Jinnah as well as to Azad In his letter to Azad, Pethick-Lawrence had stated that contact between individuals in UK and India would be advantageous He reported that a delegation of Members of Parliament was to visit India He hoped that Azad will meet the delegation to discuss various matters with them A similar letter was sent to Jinnah See *TP*, VI, No 308, p 673 and No 324, p 720

[3]In his statement issued on 8 August 1940, the Governor-General had assured "that full weight" will "be given to the views of minorities", as "that remains the position of His Majesty's Government" and that they would not be a party "to the coercion of such elements into submission" to a Government "whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life " See *TP*, I, Appendix I, pp 877-879

[4]Jinnah had stated that a permanent settlement was possible on the basis of Pakistan "which is the major issue, and the only solution of India's constitutional problem" as admitted by Cripps to the effect that no agreement was possible till Pakistan issue was solved Jinnah added that Muslim India will not accept framing of a Constitution by only "one Constitution-making body for all India in which Musalmans will be in a hopeless minority and the conclusions are foregone in such an assembly " See *TP*, VI, Annexure II to No 444, pp 1012-1013

[5]On 4 December 1945, Pethick-Lawrence announced that with a view to apprise themselves of the views of Indian leaders, a Parliamentary delegation will visit India soon See *TP*, VI, Annexure I to No 247, pp 561-562

[6]The Viceroy in his speech to the Central Legislature had referred to HMG's determination to establish a new Executive Council, a Constitution making body or Convention on priority basis See *TP*, VI, Annexure III to No 444, pp 1013-1015

[7]Jinnah had reiterated that without acceptance of Pakistan, no solution of Indian problem was possible, as admitted by Cripps, and AIML will not agree to any interim Central Government or one Constituent Assembly and that bitterness during elections was mainly created by the Congress by interfering with Muslim voters See *TP*, VI, Annexure IV to No 444, pp 1015-1016

XII.55

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 181A

14 February 1946

I think it will be a good thing if in a month's time H E wrote to Sir

F Burrows and asked him for his views about Pakistan so far as it affects Bengal Please remind me

[G E B ABELL]
14 2 1946

Office

Resubmitted [on 14 March 1946]

A letter will now go to all Governors N[ecessary] A[ction]

[G E B ABELL]
15/3[/46]

XII.56

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 181-B
[Extract]

PRIVATE/SECRET

15 February 1946

6 I agree that Assam does not look much like a reasonable component of Pakistan If the North West Frontier should return 50% Congress and Jinnah fails to get solid backing in the Punjab, the whole idea begins to look very rickety Whether this will ease our problems or not is perhaps doubtful One has to bear in mind the weightage given to the Hindus in Assam, Sind and the Punjab

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

XII.57

George Abell to Francis Turnbull

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 182

TOP SECRET
EXPRESS
No 378-S *18 February 1946* (TOD-1545)

Superintendent Series Turnbull from Abell Viceroy's telegram 23-SC of 6th February[1] Please correct figures in para 9 as follows

East Zone	Muslims	30,603
	Non-Muslims	13,480
	Total	44,083
West Zone	Muslims	18,210
	Non-Muslims	5,583
	Total	23,793

Copy sent to Reforms Commissioner [V P Menon]

[1]No XII 53

XII.58

Note by George Abell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 183

21 February 1946 (11 30 a m)

His Highness the Aga Khan

Offers his services in connection with the S[outh] Africa deadlock The offer might be acknowledged gratefully but non-committally I doubt whether he would be useful, or acceptable to H M Commonwealth Relations

[G E B ABELL]
20/2/46

He spoke mainly of the necessity of Pakistan and that Jinnah was prepared to concede Amritsar and Ambala and almost all—except Calcutta

W(AVELL)
21/2/1946

XII.59

Archibald Wavell to Henry Twynam[1]

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 184
[Extract]

No 40/7 *25 February 1946*

6 Thank you for your suggestion that if Jinnah is successful in the Punjab, his demand for two constituent assemblies might be conceded provided he agrees that a third constituent body should be appointed at

the same time to explore the possibilities of a treaty of union between Pakistan and Hindustan This is certainly one of the solutions that will be borne in mind

[WAVELL]

[1]Governor of C P

XII.60

Pethick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

Cypher Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 185-186

TOP SECRET/ IMMEDIATE *26 February 1946*[1]
No 4101

[*Paras 1 to 4 omitted*]

5 Failing agreement among Indians some other means of settling the Pakistan issue must be found We do not feel able to take a decision on your own proposal until ground has been tested by first stage of conversations and we shall have to take time to consider our [course] on this central issue in consultation with you

We have it in mind that if this situation arises we might adjourn the conversations and go with you to Simla for some days to consider precise course which we should then take

Conversation would then have to follow with the two main parties in Simla rather than Delhi

[*Paras 6 to 8 omitted*]

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]The original telegram carried the date "Dated 26th rec[eive]d 27th February 1946 (TOO-2231)(TOR-0800) "

XII.61

Olaf Caroe to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/105 f 187
[*Extract*]

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT NO 4 *27 February 1946*

5 The Muslim League, on the other hand, have talked about little

but Pakistan This is not really an intelligible war cry to 90 per cent of their hearers To the average Pathan villager in these parts, the suggestion that there can be such a thing as Hindu domination is only laughable

[OLAF CAROE]

XII.62

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

Cypher Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 188-189

TOP SECRET/IMMEDIATE

No 517-S 3 *March 1946* (TOD 2310 hours)

Superintendent Series Your 4101 of February 26th [1]

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3 The first and most important is the Pakistan issue which will certainly arise at early stage of negotiations I think it is essential that HMG should have some policy on this which is one of the biggest problems which British Empire has had to face They may decide

(a) that the unity of India is of such importance to the peace and general economy both of India and of the world as a whole that they will in no circumstances allow a complete partition of India, i e one without some form of central federation on defence and other essential subjects This may be tenable conclusion but HMG will naturally consider effect on Muslims not only in India but in other parts of world and must be prepared to face consequences

(b) that if it is impossible to persuade Muslims in India to agree to any form of united India, they are prepared to concede independence to the predominantly Muslim portions of India, rather than risk civil war in India and enmity in other Muslim countries

[*Paras 3(c) to 9 omitted*]

[WAVELL]

[1]See No XII 60

XII.63

Francis Wylie[1] to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 f 197

CONFIDENTIAL 823-S /IMMEDIATE

No G-20 *27 March 1946*[2]

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2 This afternoon I granted interview to Chaudhri Khaliquzaman[3] Leader of Muslim League Parliamentary Party in Legislative Assembly I spoke to him of desirability—as I saw it—of forming Coalition Government in this province and took opportunity to emphasise my own position as clarified in correspondence ending with Your Excellency's letter dated March 2nd, No 90/15[4]

3 Offer which Azad has made to Muslim League is (a) two members of party in Cabinet of nine, or (b) three members in Cabinet of eleven In addition Congress would insist on inclusion of two Nationalist Muslims

4 Chaudhri Khaliquzaman's advice to Jinnah will be to reject this offer unless Nationalist Muslims agree to vote with Muslim League on all questions concerning welfare of Muslim community They would be free otherwise to vote as they pleased even on question of abolition of *zamindari* system, question which has been much agitated here recently and about which local Muslims feel strongly

5 Chaudhri Khaliquzaman intends to consult Jinnah and then meet Azad again on April 2nd in Delhi Impression I get is that negotiations for Coalition will fail if only because Muslim League feel that whole issue had better await outcome of visit of Cabinet Delegation

6 Over general political issue in the country Chaudhri Khaliquzaman was much more forthcoming than when I last saw him He now hints that Muslim League might waive full Pakistan demand (a) if predominantly Muslim areas were formed into separate federal units with ports [*sic* for parts] not subject to control by Federal Government, and (b) if they were allowed to retain their own Armed Forces for subsidiary events, major defence of the country to be responsibility of Federal Government

[WYLIE]

Copy sent to R[eforms] C[ommissioner]
Copies sent to Mr Turnbull

[1]Governor of UP

[2]Date in the original document given as 27th (rec[eive]d 28th) March 1946 (TOO 2300)(TOR 0300)

[3]Correct spelling of the name is Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman

[4]Not available

XII.64

Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell to Clement Attlee

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 198-199[1]

MOST IMMEDIATE/TOP SECRET

NEW DELHI,
11 April 1946

INDEX 14 Following for Prime Minister from Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy

We have now met all the major interested parties and we are planning the method of conducting closer negotiations between Congress and Muslim League on Pakistan issue which must be cleared before we can proceed

In our directive we are enjoined to see that any scheme which we accept makes adequate provision for the defence of India and the adjoining areas

There appear to us to be two possible bases of agreement, the first a unitary India with a loose federation at the Centre charged primarily with control of Defence and Foreign Affairs (Scheme A) The second based upon a divided India, the Pakistan element consisting only of the majority Muslim Districts that is roughly Baluchistan, Sind, N W F P and Western Punjab in the North-West and Eastern Bengal, without Calcutta but with the Sylhet district of Assam in the North-East The two divided parts would have a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, but nothing in the way of an actual executive centre (Scheme B)

It is obvious that under Scheme B the defence would not be very effective as the small Pakistan would itself be weak and it would be strengthened only in so far as it could rely upon its treaty with Hindustan There would be no common control of Foreign Policy and therefore common action might easily become difficult or impossible

Under these circumstances before we canvass the possibility of getting agreement on the basis of Scheme B we want your approval for proceeding to do so since, if they accepted, we should be practically committed to agree

Unless we can get agreement we risk chaos in India and no scheme of Defence will then be of any value We are convinced that the overriding necessity is some agreement if it can be attained and that this is the first requirement towards any effective Defence We hope,

therefore, that you will agree to our working for an agreement on the basis of Scheme B if this seems to us to be the only chance of agreed settlement We should of course, ourselves prefer something on lines of Scheme A but this may prove impossible of attainment

We have to see Jinnah on Tuesday and should like your reply not later than Sunday night if you can manage this

The Viceroy in his responsibility as Governor-General after consultation with the Commander-in-Chief fully agrees

T[IME] O[F] O[RIGIN] 111025

Copies to
Mr Turnbull (2)
Mr Blaker[2]
Mr Mottershead[3]
Mr Abell (3 copies)
Sir Wm Croft[4]

[1]Also see TP, VII, No 86, pp 220-221
[2]George Blaker, Principal Private Secretary to President of the Board of Trade
[3]Frank William Mottershead, Principal Private Secretary to the First Lord of the Admiralty
[4]William Dawson Croft, Deputy Under Secretary of State, India Office

XII.65

Clement Attlee to Cabinet Delegation and Archibald Wavell

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/105 ff 200-201[1]

TOP SECRET/PERSONAL
MOST IMMEDIATE [*13 April 1946*]
CABIN NO 8

Following for Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy from Prime Minister

Cabinet considered your Index 14[2] and agreed that, while Scheme A[3] is preferable, you may work for agreement on basis of Scheme B[4] if it seems to be the only chance of an agreed settlement I send you in paragraphs 2 to 7 the views of the Chiefs of Staff for your information and for use in the discussion

2. An agreement involving a loose all-India federation is far better than Scheme B We recognise however that this may be impossible of achievement The alternative of Scheme B in spite of the disadvantages

listed below is better than no agreement at all as this would lead to widespread chaos

3 The disadvantages of Scheme B are as follows Pakistan lies across the two entrances to India from Peshawar to the sea in the West and from the Himalayas to the sea in the East In her lands would lie the responsibility to bar or open the road into Hindustan Air bases from which India can be attacked lie in Soviet Central Asia and in Western China The easiest and quickest routes to the large cities of India from these bases lie over the territories of Pakistan, both in the West and East of India Similarly the air bases from which counter-measures can be taken lie mainly in Pakistan It can therefore be said that the territory of Pakistan is vital to the defence of India as a whole

4 Scheme B would destroy the homogeneity of the Indian army which is now strong and well-equipped and it charged with the defence of all India There would evolve the forces of Pakistan, the forces of Hindustan and the forces of the many Indian States, each weak, each with its own tactical ideas Even if all were acting in common for the defence of India co-operation would be far from easy unless all acknowledged a central directing Authority

5 To operate effectively the communications of Hindustan and Pakistan must supplement each other as they were designed to do Again central control is essential

6 In Pakistan there is almost no industrial development Karachi is at the end of a long and vulnerable railway and Chittagong is in a similarly exposed position To fight a war Pakistan must rely on Hindustan for producing a part of the warlike stores required and for importing and transporting the rest Without a central authority this could not be possible

7 In the case of Pakistan(West) it seems likely that she would tend to identify her interests more with the Muslim lands of Central Asia, weak, unstable and exposed though they may be (Corrupt Group) [than] with Hindustan This might well lead to Pakistan being involved in wars not properly of vital importance to Hindustan, nor to India as a whole For she might through fear engendered by her own weakness uncover the vitals of India by not resisting on the natural battleground of the hills of the Indian frontier

8 To sum up, Scheme B will have to be accepted if the only alternative is complete failure to reach agreement and consequent chaos But India will be confronted by grave dangers as a result of this partition, and, if Scheme B has to be adopted, every effort should be made to

obtain agreement for some form of central defence council to be set up which will include not only Pakistan, Hindustan and the Indian States, but also Burma and Ceylon

Time of Receipt 2330 hrs 13 April 1946

Dist[ri]b[utio]n
Lord Pethick-Lawrence
Sir W[illia]m Croft
Mr Turnbull,
Mr Mottershead
Mr Blaker
Mr Abell (3 Copies)

I D SCOTT
14/4[/46]

H E
This is quite sensible
W[AVELL]

[1]Also see *TP*, VII, No 105, pp 260-261
[2 3 & 4]See No XII 64

XII.66

Text of Resolution passed by AICC

IOR, R/3/1/129 ff 123-124[1]

[NEW DELHI],
6 JANUARY 1947

The A I C C having considered events that have taken place in the country since the Meerut Session of the Congress in November last[2] the statement issued by the British Government on the 6th December 1946,[3] and the statement of the Working Committee of the 22nd December 1946,[4] advises Congressmen as follows

(1) The A I C C endorses the statement of the Working Committee of the 22nd December 1946, and expresses its agreement with the views contained therein

(2) While the Congress has always been agreeable to making a reference to the Federal Court, on the question of interpretation in dispute, such a reference has become purposeless and undesirable owing to the recent announcements made on behalf of the British

Government A reference could only be made on an agreed basis, the parties concerned agreeing to abide by the decision given

(3) The A I C C is firmly of opinion that the constitution for a free and independent India should be framed by the people of India on the basis of as wide an agreement as possible There must be no interference whatsoever by any external authority, and no compulsion of any province or part of a province by another province The A I C C realises and appreciates the difficulties placed in the way of some provinces, notably Baluchistan, Assam, the N W F P and the Sikhs in the Punjab, by the British Cabinet scheme of 16th May 1946[5] and more especially by the interpretation put upon it by the British Government in their statement of 6th December 1946 The Congress cannot be a party to any such compulsion or imposition against the will of the people concerned—a principle which the British Government have themselves recognised

(4) The A I C C is anxious that the Constituent Assembly should proceed with the work of framing a Constitution for free India with the goodwill of all parties concerned, and, with a view to removing the difficulties that have arisen owing to varying interpretations, agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in Sections It must be clearly understood however that this must not involve any compulsion of a province, and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, the province or part of a province has a right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned The future course of action will depend on the developments that take place, and the A I C C therefore directs the Working Committee tc advise upon it whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of provincial autonomy

[1]*TP* IX, No 253, pp 462-463
[2]The plenary session of INC had opened at Meerut on 23 November 1946
[3]No III 2
[4]See *TP*, IX, enclosure to No 222, pp 409-413
[5]No III 1

XII.67

THE PUNJAB PROBLEM[1]

By

Evan Jenkins

The population of the Punjab according to the census of 1941 is distributed approximately as follows —

Commissioners Division	*Muslims*	*Non-Muslims*
	(Round millions)	
1 Rawalpindi }		
2 Multan }	9	2
3 Lahore	4	3
4 Jullundur }		
5 Ambala }	3	7
	16	12
	28	

The Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions may fairly be described as Muslim country, and the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions as non-Muslim country The Lahore Division is common ground, it has a Muslim majority, but it includes a great part of the Sikh "Holy Land" and economic interests which are largely non-Muslim

2 It is evident that no one community can rule the Punjab with its present boundaries except by conquest There has been so much talk about "civil war" that it is worth considering what its consequences would be

In the first place it would cause misery and suffering on a scale unknown in the Punjab for more than a century

Secondly, it might, and probably would, destroy the Punjab economically The Punjab as we know it is largely an artificial creation of Irrigation Engineers During a period of anarchy our vast canal system would not be maintained and parts of it might be deliberately destroyed Without it we could support perhaps two-thirds of our 1947 population, which must be roughly 30 million

Thirdly, it would be inconclusive It is unlikely that any one community could conquer and hold the entire Punjab, and the result of a "civil war" would in fact be a partition, the parties to which would

have destroyed the administrative machine, the irrigation system, and the other props of orderly Government

3 If we reject, as we obviously must, the idea of "civil war", we are left with two peaceful solutions —

(ii) [*sic* for i] an agreed partition of the Punjab between Muslims and non-Muslims, *or*,[2]

(ii) a united Punjab with its present boundaries under a constitution and a Government that all communities will accept

4 Let us first examine alternative (i)—the agreed partition

The Muslims would clearly take the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions

The non-Muslims would take the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions

But it is not clear how the Lahore Division should be divided On population alone Amritsar should go to the non-Muslim State, and the other five districts (Lahore, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura) to the Muslim State But when we get down to details we inevitably find that crude population figures are not necessarily the only criterion Within districts communities are not evenly distributed—city and town populations often have a different communal composition from that of the adjoining countryside, and in some districts the population of *Tahsils* differs widely For example, in Gurdaspur with 590,000 Muslims and 560,000 non-Muslims, the Pathankot *Tahsil* is predominantly non-Muslim while in the other three *Tahsils* the Muslims have small majorities Again even within a *Tahsil* there may be fairly solid commu[n]al blocks—the *Riarki* tract of the Batala *Tahsil* of Gurdaspur adjoins the *Manjha* and resembles it in many ways, though the Batala *Tahsil* as a whole (including Batala City) has a small Muslim majority

The mere settlement of the principles of partition would be extraordinarily difficult, and it is worth considering whether if partition were achieved the Punjab would be the better for it

Let us assume that we have drawn our line—say (for the sake of argument) to include Gurdaspur and Amritsar in the non-Muslim State and Lahore, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura in the Muslim State Before long the following disadvantages will become apparent

(1) Our minorities problem will not be solved Both States (particularly the non-Muslim State) will have considerable and probably discontented minorities Punjabis as a whole will be no safer and no more comfortable than they are now

(2) We shall have cut across a section of Punjabis homogeneous in speech, and in many other ways, to create an artificial frontier for

which geographically, economically, linguistically and socially there is no justification whatever Subjects of the Muslim State will doubtless have to produce passports and undergo Customs examination on entering the non-Muslim State and *vice versa*, although many of them will own property and have near relations on both sides of the frontier

(3) Lahore must go to one State or the other—it cannot be in both But Lahore has been created by all Punjabis and not by Muslims or non-Muslims alone

(4) The non-Muslim State will have the lion's share of our power resources, the Muslim State will inherit the colony districts which are a joint creation of all Punjabis over half a century

(5) We shall have reduced what might be a powerful country to two petty States incapable of real economic development, overloaded with overhead charges, and useful only as "buffers" between the rest of India and the outer world

Partition solves no problems and does not really make sense

5 Let us revert therefore to alternative (ii) a United Punjab

This is not impossible of achievement provided we think as Punjabis, and put our own safety and welfare first It is sometimes said that this condition cannot be satisfied, since the Muslim League and the Congress must take orders from their respective High Commands, leaving the Sikhs as the only independent community capable of thinking and acting as Punjabis To an impartial observer it would seem that this contention is now incorrect By the end of June 1948 one of two things will have happened—a Central Government will have been formed or agreed upon by the Muslim League and the Congress, or there will be (so far as the Punjab is concerned) a vacuum at the Centre In both these positions the only Government suited to a United Punjab is a Coalition supported, if not by all, at least by a large proportion of Punjabis Such a Coalition could "tune in" to a Central Government formed by the Muslim League and the Congress, equally it could administer the Punjab independently if it were called upon to do so

6 If we are to form such a coalition, we must first be clear on certain basic principles

(i) The Muslims must be prepared to negotiate with the non-Muslims as Punjabis, and must be authorised to take their own decisions, further they must recognize that the non-Muslims can reasonably ask for guarantees about their long-term future in the Punjab

(ii) The non-Muslims on their part must recognize that the Muslims are the majority community, and must in certain matters take the lead—not by reason of personal superiority but on account of their

numbers Like the Muslims, Hindus who act on the instructions of a High Command must obtain authority to negotiate for themselves

7 Should negotiations be opened, they would apparently have to cover the following ground

(1) the settlement of the framework (not the details) of the final constitution of the Punjab,

(2) the appointment of a special committee to draw up the final constitution,

(3) after stage (1) but while stage (2) proceeds the formation of a Ministry to carry on *ad interim*

8 (1) *The framework of the final constitution*

The non-Muslims will presumably wish to be sure of the following rights

A *Representation*

(*i*) in the Legislature,

(*ii*) in the Cabinet,

(*iii*) in the Services

These are matters on which preliminary comment would be unprofitable

B *Protection against decisions in the Legislature or the Cabinet adversely affecting a minority community*

C *Autonomy in matters of religion and culture*

Heads B and C are really negative and positive aspects of the same thing

Under Head B there are several possible devices so far as the Legislature is concerned, for example

(*a*) A second Chamber to which all Bills would be referred *plus* any other business in the Lower House in respect of which the majority of the members belonging to any one community voted for such a reference The second Chamber would have to be so constituted that Muslims and non-Muslims in it were equal in numbers

(*b*) A special tribunal to decide on a reference made at the instance of the majority of the members of the Legislature belonging to any one community whether a proposal or measure adversely affects that community or not If the special tribunal decides in the affirmative, the proposal or measure should not be carried save by a majority of the House including a two-thirds majority of the community affected

(*c*) A rule of procedure under which certain special measures should not be carried in the House without a prescribed majority of the members of all communities, e g , measures relating generally to education, religion, etc , or in the case of measures confined to one community without a prescribed majority of the members of that community, e g , measures

relating to the Hindu Law of marriage or inheritance, the composition of Gurdwara Committees, and the like

Experience does not suggest that any safeguard under *Head B* is needed in the Cabinet Cabinets do not work by votes, and in a Coalition resignation is a very powerful sanction

Under Head C It would be possible to set aside annually a sum for expenditure on religious and cultural subjects, to distribute it among the communities on a population basis, and to delegate to the representatives of each community power to spend their share as they thought fit

It will doubtless be recognised that arrangements of this kind perpetuate communal divisions and make them worse, but they are preferable to a partition

9 (2) *Appointment of a negotiating committee* If the communities could decide broadly what devices they will accept, a committee would be needed to work out the details and put them into final shape This cuts across the work of the Constituent Assembly, but at some stage the parties will have to instruct their delegates what line to take, and at present the Muslim delegates are not attending the Assembly at all

10 (3) *Formation of ad interim Ministry* This would follow immediately on the acceptance of the long-term framework The composition of the Assembly would not be changed, but any agreement about representation in the Cabinet and the Services could be introduced at once Neutral referees could be found on minority "protection" issues, and budget allotments for religious and cultural purposes could be made

11 There is little doubt that given goodwill and commonsense the Punjab can be kept in one piece, and governed by a Ministry acceptable to Punjabis

[1]The paper prepared by Jenkins was forwarded to Wavell on 7 March 1947 See *TP* IX, Enclosure to No 501, pp 879-884

[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

XII.68

George Abell to Ronald Harris[1]

Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/130 f 195[2]

IMPORTANT
CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI,
1 March 1947, 9 30 pm
Received 1 March, 8 pm

No 386-S Your 2813 of 28th February[3] Interview with Nehru on

21st February[4] Viceroy's recollection is that Nehru's argument was on lines that HMG has recognised that large bodies cannot be compelled into a constitution against their will, and that it was only logical that large minorities inside a Province e g the Hindus in Bengal and the Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab could also not be compelled into an inacceptable constitution There was some argument on the interpretation of "parts of the country" in the last paragraph of the Statement of December 6th Nehru argued that "parts of the country" could mean "parts of a Province" Viceroy said that that was certainly not the intention of HMG and did not override the original statement in which existing Provinces were treated as a whole Viceroy added that if the statement of the AICC was merely meant to emphasize the obvious truth that any constitution, Provincial, Group or Central, could only be formed with the consent of the great majority of the people, Congress should say so, but that if it implied that a part of a Province could secede during the process of constitution-making, this was entirely inconsistent with the acceptance of the Mission's Plan Viceroy added that it was up to the Congress to make their intentions clear to the League Viceroy does not remember any definite arguments about the Rules of Procedure

[1]Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India
[2]*TP*, IX, No 475, p 828
[3]Harris informed Abell that Pethick-Lawrence felt no need to reply to Nehru's letter for the present See *TP*, IX, No 461, note 3, p 812
[4]See Annex II to No 16

XII.69

Pathick-Lawrence to Archibald Wavell

Telegram, L/P&J/8/663 ff 295-296[1]

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

INDIA OFFICE,
5 March 1947, 11 55 pm

No 3021. Your telegram 408-S[2] Punjab situation

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3 I will consider with my colleagues as soon as possible position in regard to partition of Punjab Obvious difficulty is that such a decision trenches on field of Constituent Assembly but it may be unavoidable It is desirable if possible to avoid discussion on that basis until after meetings of Congress and Muslim League Working Committees

[4] Crucial question appears to be attitude of Sikhs Please let me have

in consultation with Jenkins your suggestions as to character of such a partition which I assume would only be necessary if Sikhs could not otherwise be satisfied On a long-term view best solution would be Sikh/Muslim League agreement giving Sikhs assurances as to their long-term position May it not be desirable to try and secure this before contemplating partition?

[PETHICK-LAWRENCE]

[1]TP, IX, No 495, pp 872-873
[2]Not printed

XII.70

Jawaharlal Nehru to Archibald Wavell

IOR, R/3/1/89 ff 60-61[1]

17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
9 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3 The present position is that any attempt to set up a Muslim League Ministry in the Punjab in the circumstances will not only give rise to grave apprehensions in the minds of the Sikhs, Hindus and certain others in the Punjab, but also lead to conflict Indeed it has led to conflict on a severe scale already, and recent events have made the position worse This apprehension and conflict are obviously due to the fact that the Muslim League openly want to make the whole of the Punjab a Pakistan area and wish to use a League Ministry to that end

4 As I have written to you separately,[2] a proper and fair solution of this difficulty appears to be the division of the Punjab into a predominantly Muslim area and a predominantly non-Muslim area The Congress has recommended this and I understand that the Sikhs are also agreeable to it and indeed desire it

5 I earnestly hope that no steps will be taken in the Punjab which may add to the apprehensions of the non-Muslim League elements in the Province If any such thing is done it can only lead to trouble

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]TP, IX, No 514, pp 906-907
[2]See No 19

XII.71

Note by Archibald Wavell of his Interview with Nehru[1]

[Extract]

SECRET

10 March 1947

1 We began by talking about the situation in the Punjab, and I asked Nehru whether he had any suggestions to offer He said that the situation was very dangerous and disturbing, and was principally due to a struggle between two fairly equally balanced parties to be in power over the whole Province by June 1948 The Province had remained tranquil under an uneasy equilibrium for a long time, but now that that equilibrium was broken, it was going to be difficult to restore it again There was not much prospect of a Coalition Government, since the parties mistrusted one another so profoundly; nor could Section 93 continue indefinitely The only suggestion he had to offer was that there might as a temporary measure be two ministries under the Governor, one for the Eastern part of the Province and one for the Western This would not be intended to prejudice the issue of partition, but might enable the administration of the Province to be carried on temporarily I said that I would have the proposal examined, but I was rather doubtful of its being a practical one Did he propose that there should be fresh elections or that the existing Assembly should split in two parts according to the districts they came from? He did not seem to have thought the matter out very much, but he said that he did not see that an election was necessary, what he proposed was merely a temporary arrangement I said that I thought the difficulties of such a solution were probably insurmountable, and that certainly a Coalition Government for the whole Province would be very much preferable

2 We then had some general talk on the political future, particularly with regard to the possible partition of the Punjab and Bengal Nehru agreed that the Cabinet Mission plan was the best solution if it could be carried through, and that the only real alternative was a partition of the Punjab and Bengal I said that I did hope the Congress would make a really determined effort to get agreement with the League on the Mission plan, and asked what steps had been taken Nehru said that he was intending to have an informal talk with Liaquat Ali Khan as soon as possible and that they expect an official reply from the League to the Congress resolution [2]

Nehru was quite sober and realistic in what he said but did not seem really hopeful of a settlement with the League

W[AVELL]

[1]TP, IX, No 515, pp 907-908
[2]See Enclosure to No 19

XII.72

Archibald Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence

L/PO/10/24[1]

PRIVATE AND SECRET THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI, *12 March 1947*

[*Paras 1 and 2 omitted*]

3 The resolutions of the Congress Working Committee[2] are, I am afraid, unlikely to lead to a settlement between the Congress and the League Chundrigar was reported as having said that there was no need for calling the Muslim League Working Committee together, but he has since denied this report Judging by *Dawn*, there is no inclination on the part of the League to start negotiating with the Congress [3] The resolution proposing a partition of the Punjab has had a very bad reception by the Muslim League It is clear that they expect to succeed to the whole of the Punjab and the whole of Bengal and they quote Cripps' speech in the Commons, and attach significance to his reference to "Provinces" where previously His Majesty's Government in their Statement of December 6th spoke of "areas" [4] I am afraid that any political statement is examined from a legalistic rather than from a practical standpoint

4 There will be great administrative confusion if partition is decided upon at the last moment If the Punjab and Bengal are to be partitioned, or if whole Provinces are to secede from the Central Government, there is an immense amount of administrative work to be done, and if that is not done in time there will be nothing but confusion in June 1948 so far as these Provinces are concerned My successor will have to take a decision on this at an early date

5 Nehru in his last interview with me on the 10th March[5] seemed quite unconscious of these difficulties, and suggested that two ministries on a regional basis should be set up in the

Punjab immediately, he has no conception of the administrative difficulty of such a proposal

[*Paras 6 to 15 omitted*]

[WAVELL]

[1] *TP*, IX, No 526, pp 926-927
[2] See Enclosure to No I 19
[3] At a Press Conference in Bombay on 12 March, Jinnah was reported as saying that there was no other solution which would be a credit and honour to the millions of Muslims of India except Pakistan Jinnah continued "We have got to stand on our own legs Our ideology, our goal, our basic and fundamental principles and our programme are not only different from the Hindu organisations but are in conflict It is obvious, therefore, that the two cannot be put together and work in co-operation There is no common ground for co-operation or harmonious working Let us move on and move together and, *Insha Allah*, (God Willing) we shall have Pakistan" See *TP*, IX, No 526, note 3, p 927
[4] See Enclosure to No I 9
[5] See No XII 71

XII.73

Frederick Burrows to Archibald Wavell

L/P&J/5/154 f 62[1]

[*Extract*]

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,

F J B -21 *19 March 1947*

2 The movement for partitioning Bengal is gathering momentum Hindu opinion is at present very divided For once Sarat Bose and Gandhi see eye to eye, and both condemn the movement, of which Syamaprasad Mookerjee and the Hindu Mahasabha are the chief protagonists Suhrawardy has made a number of speeches on the subject, his line being that Bengal must be independent of the Centre, that Hindu and Muslim Bengalis must work in harmony for the common prosperity of the Province, and that one-party rule in this and other Provinces must end His sentiments have been echoed by two of his colleagues, but I doubt if the rank and file of the Party have the vision to realise that they cannot hope by means of their present political power (which is to some extent the artificial creation of British rule) to dominate the Hindus with whom the economic power still rests and I see that, possibly under pressure from the Party, Suhrawardy has had to "explain" that when he speaks of a League-Congress coalition in Bengal he is assuming coalitions in other (Congress-dominated) Provinces too

[1] *TP*, IX, No 546, pp 985-986

XII.74

Certain Members of the Indian Legislature from the Punjab to Pandit Nehru

R/3/1/157 f 213[1]

2 April 1947

Sir,

We, the undersigned Members of the Central Legislature from the Punjab, beg to submit the following for favour of forwarding the same with your endorsement to H E the Viceroy and to H M G for their urgent consideration and immediate action thereon

Unfortunately, the relations between the Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Punjab were already much strained due to the agitation carried on by the Muslim League for Pakistan, but the recent tragic happenings in North-Western Punjab have very rudely shaken the confidence of the Hindu and the Sikh minorities in the belief that there will be any fair deal for them at the hands of the Muslims in future

The Muslims and Non-Muslims are almost equally balanced and no government can carry on without the support of the three communities Fortunately the population of the Province is so divided that there are distinct and contiguous areas where Muslims and Non-Muslims predominate We have given our anxious and deep thought to this problem after considering all its pros and cons We have come to the conclusion that the only way out of the present dead-lock is to partition the Punjab into two Provinces That and that alone, in our view, can ease the tension in the Province which may increase at any moment We further venture to add that it is no longer a long term constitutional issue, but an urgent and immediate administrative problem which should have first priority Effective steps may, therefore, be taken forthwith to constitute two Provinces out of the present Punjab by passing an *Order-in-Council*[2] or by any other way which may be found suitable We are fully convinced that Partition is the only solution of this vexed problem

We are, Sir,
Your most obedient servants,

(1) PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA, MLA
(2) RAIZADA HANS RAJ, MLA
(3) DIWAN CHAMAN LALL, MLA
(4) SARDAR MANGAL SINGH, MLA

(5) SARDAR SAMPURAN SINGH, MLA
(6) SARDAR SURJIT SINGH MAJITHIA, MLA
(7) S B CAPT HARINDRA SINGH, MLA
(8) S B SIR SOBHA SINGH, MCS
(9) CH SRI CHAND, MLA
(10) SIR BUTA SINGH, MCS
(11) FT LT RUP CHAND, MCS

[1]*TP*, X, No 57, p 88
[2]Emphasis in the original

XII.75

Lakshmi Kanta Maitra to Erskine Crum

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24

16E, FEROZ SHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,
2 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Enclosed is a statement by the non-Muslim members of the Central Legislature from Bengal embodying their considered views on the proposed formation of a separate autonomous province in Bengal within the Indian Union As a few members are now absent from Delhi, it has not been possible to append their signatures just at the present moment, but they would follow

In view of the urgency of the matter, I request you to be so good as to place the statement immediately in the hands of His Excellency the Governor-General for such action as to him may seem fit and proper

An acknowledgment is requested

Yours faithfully,
PANDIT LAKSHMI KANTA MAITRA,
MLA, Central

The Private Secretary to
His Excellency the Governor-General of India
Viceregal House,
New Delhi

Enclosure to No XII 75

16E, FEROZ SHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,
2 April 1947

PROPOSED CREATION OF A SEPARATE AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE IN BENGAL WITHIN THE INDIAN UNION

We the undersigned Members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State from Bengal,[1] deem it our duty to make the following statement on the proposed creation of a separate autonomous province in Bengal

2. We have carefully considered the situation in the country as it has developed during the last ten years The absolute majority of the Muslim Members in the Bengal Legislature has enabled them to completely communalise the entire field of administration in the province, with the result that the cultural and economic life of the minorities has been systematically undermined Besides, the Muslim League Ministry, by adopting the most inefficient, corrupt and reckless methods has well nigh brought the administration of the province to the verge of collapse and disaster

3 The events which have taken place since August last have brought things to a head Criminal misdeeds on an extensive scale, such as arson, murder, plunder, rape, abduction, forced conversion, marriage under compulsion, desecration of places of worship, and destruction of property, committed by the supporters of the Muslim League in Calcutta and various places in the country-side with the consent or connivance of the communal Government in power, have brought us face to face with the outstanding realities of the situation The time has, therefore, come for us to consider what measures are necessary to be taken immediately for protecting the life, honour, liberty, religion, education, culture, language and economic interests of the Hindus and other nationalists of Bengal

4 The urgency of the matter has been further emphasised by the announcement of the British Government of the 20th February last to the effect that British Rule would come to an end by the 30th June, 1948 and that power would be handed over before that date either to some form of "Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people" As the Muslim League has repeatedly declared that nothing short of a sovereign Pakistan would be acceptable to them, their demand includes the transfer of the whole of Bengal to its administration as an

independent State outside the Indian Union This can never be agreed to by the nationalists of Bengal as it is bound to lead to their abject subjection, total loss of freedom and complete cultural effacement Such a fate for the Hindus and other nationalists of the province who have contributed so largely to the advent of freedom in India can never be contemplated with equanimity

5 We, are therefore, confronted by the question, namely, whether to live in freedom or in slavery There is no patriotic or sensible man who will hesitate for a single moment to give the right answer In our view the only solution of the problem lies in the creation of a separate autonomous province in West and North Bengal within the Indian Union

6 We have ascertained public opinion on this momentous issue and are convinced that the overwhelming majority of the patriotic and thoughtful men not only in Bengal but in the rest of India is in favour of such a solution We are, however, aware that there is some objection to this proposal in certain quarters After having given the most careful consideration to their views, we feel bound to assert that their opposition is based on untenable grounds They have not so far put forward any alternative suggestion of a concrete nature, and the few hints thrown out by them are wholly impracticable in the present context of things

7 Of the grounds urged by these critics in opposition to the proposal three deserve notice The first is that the attitude of the supporters of a division of the province is different from that of the great leaders who fought and unsettled Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal This objection is based on a misconception, for the character of the Partition of Bengal in 1905 was entirely different from the division of the province now demanded Lord Curzon tacked on the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions and the Darjeeling District of Bengal to five Divisions of Bihar, one Division of Chotanagpur and one Division of Orissa Another ground was that the solidarity and homogeneity of the people of the two parts of Bengal were sought to be broken by that measure, and that the language, culture and traditions of the Bengalese were in jeopardy But the position has completely changed today The Muslim League now definitely and strongly asserts that the Muslims are a separate nation and that their language, culture and customs are entirely different from those of the Hindus It is also now being claimed that Bengal is the homeland of the Muslims alone The second objection to the proposed creation of a new province is that it will "leave the Hindu Minority of East Bengal to a dire fate" But we feel that this

apprehension is entirely baseless At the present moment the people of West and North Bengal are absolutely powerless to render effective assistance to their persecuted brethren in East Bengal But with full Governmental authority in their hands, they will be in a position not only to assist them in a variety of ways but to prevent any injustice or outrage being perpetrated on them The third objection is that the proposal is anti-national and that communalism is a passing phase This is a wholly erroneous view as it is based on an incorrect appreciation of the situation Far from its being a passing phase, communalism is still growing as is evidenced by the recent tragic events in the Punjab and Bengal as well as by the steps which are being taken even now by the Muslim League to strengthen it It is idle to expect that communalism in India, which has grown steadily during a period of more than sixty years, will die a natural death in the near future

8 We desire in this connexion to invite the attention of the public as well as the Government to the formation in Bengal of an organisation known as the Muslim National Guards which is assuming the character of a private army and is fast becoming a menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province Another serious and disquieting development is the creation by the Muslim League Ministry of an armed Police Force consisting entirely of Muslims recruited from outside the province

9 We fervently hope that the various aspects of the question as pointed out by us, will be fully appreciated by all It is our firm conviction that the emergence of a new province would prove beneficial to the inhabitants of both East and West Bengal and that it will foster and strengthen the nationalist forces

10 We request His Excellency the Viceroy and the Interim Government as well as the Constituent Assembly to take without delay such measures as may be necessary for constituting a separate autonomous province in West and North Bengal as a willing part of the Indian Union

11 Further, in view of the recrudescence of communal disorder and violence in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, it is imperative to take immediate steps to prevent more bloodshed and chaos With this object in view we request that His Excellency the Governor-General be pleased to instal, as an interim and transitional measure, two Regional Administrations with separate Ministries under a common Governor, for the two parts of the province of Bengal

[1]Names of the signatories not given in the original

XII.76

Kalipada Mookerjee to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24

115-E, DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA,
6 April 1947

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Executive Council of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee [BPCC] held on 4th April, 1947 at Kumar Singh Hall, Calcutta, regarding the question of partition of Bengal and the formation of regime and ministry in Bengal in the interim period in the interest of nationalist element and the minority community of Bengal Hope Your Excellency will be pleased to take necessary action in the matter

Yours faithfully,
KALIPADA MOOKERJEE,
Secretary,
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

His Excellency the Viceroy
and Governor-General of India,
New Delhi

Enclosure to No XII 76

THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION HAS BEEN PASSED
BY THE BPCC EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

4 April 1947

1 The Executive Committee of the BPCC believes that India has a fundamental unity geographically, culturally, ethnically and politically and that in the present international setting maintenance of this unity is vitally necessary for the defence of India and for her proper future development so that India can play her due and rightful role in the Comity of Nations

[*Two sub-paras omitted*]

TRANSFER OF POWER

This Committee while welcoming HMG's decision to transfer power

to the people of the country by June 1948 insists that power as a whole should be transferred to the Central Government It also records its disapproval of the clause in HMG's last statement of February 20 that it may transfer power even to the Government of some of the existing provinces as it will break up Indian unity and cut off Bengal from the rest of India and is likely to result in handing over power to some communal party

UNITY OF INDIA

This Committee while wishing for and believing in the unity of Bengal thinks that the unity of India is of more fundamental necessity for India as a whole, and also for Bengal and its people

So this Committee demands that if HMG contemplate handing over its power to the existing Government of Bengal which is determined to the formation of Bengal into a separate sover[e]ign state and which by its composition is a communal party-Government such portions of Bengal as are desirous of remaining within the Union of India should be allowed to remain so and be formed into a separate province, within the Union of India

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

This Committee hereby lends its support to the democratic rights of the people of such portions to remain within the Union of India—which right has been recognised by the Cabinet Mission in its State document of May 16, 1946 as in the last para of Clause 6 and Clause 7 of the said document

While framing the constitution of Bengal even as a province within the Union, if it is not found possible to provide Joint electorate and adult franchise with essential minority safeguards as the basis of the constitution, this Committee further demands that Bengal should be divided into two provinces and such portions as are desirous of framing the constitution on that basis should be allowed to form a separate province of their own

2 This Committee also notes that certain portions of Eastern and South-eastern Bengal, the Garo area, Chittagong Hill Tracts etc are determined to remain within the Union of India Having contiguous connection with other parts of the Indian Union, such portions have their inalienable right to remain within the Union So the Committee expects that in the new constitution effective facilities will be provided for these portions to remain within the Union, if necessary be [*sic* for by] incorporating them with any other province within the Union and contiguous to them

[*Four sub paras omitted*]

XII.77

Frederick Burrows to Louis Mountbatten

L/P&J/5/154 f 56[1]

SECRET
FJB-22

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
11 April 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

[*Para 1 omitted*]

2 The recrudscence of communal trouble in Calcutta and Howrah has been the outstanding event of the past three weeks The disturbances have been described in paragraphs 2, 13 and 14 of the enclosed report of the Home Department, and you will also have received my brief factual telegrams (I may say in passing that these Home Department fortnightly reports can be expected as giving a reliable picture of the political situation in the Province, my Ministry makes no attempt to tamper with them) At no time was the trouble on anything like the scale of last August, either in extent or intensity But it is ominous that, when both the main political parties were genuinely desirous of a speedy restoration of normal conditions, the recurrence of incidents persisted for so long After several days with paractically no incidents, there was a sharp deterioration on the 9th evening, accompanied by a disquieting truculence on the part of the Gurkha armed police There is a history attached to this When, after the August riots, my Ministry proposed to increase the armed police force in Calcutta by 609 sepoys, they pressed for the entire recruitment to be made from Punjabi Mussalmans (Bengalis, whether Hindu or Muslim, have never been much of a success in the Armed Branch) They had justification for their demand in that the existing strength of the Calcutta armed police was then 64 up-country Muslims, 60 up-country Hindus, and 1162 Gurkhas I corresponded with Lord Wavell on the subject last November and eventually agreed to the Ministry's proposal The Gurkhas have been wretchedly housed for years - although rehousing has been on the tapis for a long time, but has been hampered by lack of material, the new force has been much better housed owing to the accomodating spirit of a very rich Muslim Its members have also given themseleves airs as being something more in the nature of a *corps d'elite* than mere policeman, and this has helped to aggravate the Gurkhas The murder of some Gurkha *durwans* on the 9th and an attack on a Gurkha picket, accompanied by the disappearance of one

constable, provoked them still further, and yesterday one company was definitely refusing duty The latest reports, however, are somewhat reassuring

I hope that this dangerous development will scare the Ministers off a similar proposal that has just reached me to strengthen the Bengal Armed Police in the four industrial districts of Howrah, Hooghly, 24 Parganas, and Burdwan, by more than a thousand men of whom at least 70% are to be up-country Muslims I can imagine few proposals more calculated to undermine the morale of the Hindu members of the existing force, and incidentally to strengthen the hands of the partitionists At the same time our sources of recruitment of suitable material for the Armed Branch inside the Province are limited I may, therefore have to agree to recruitment of Punjabi Muslims I propose, in that case, to insist on the dissipation of the new recruits throughout the Province that will be better than having them all posted as a kind of Pakistan Garrison in West Bengal

3 The movement for partitioning Bengal, to which I referred in my 'general' letter of March 19th,[2] continues to gather strength A conference convened by the Hindu Mahasabha at Tarakeswar (Hooghly district) during the Easter holidays was attended by a very large and enthusiastic audience A resolution was passed authorizing Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee to constitute a council of action to establish a separate homeland for the Hindus of Bengal, 100,000 volunteers are to be enrolled by the end of June, the Constituent Assembly are to be asked to appoint a Boundary Commission, and as soon as the area of the new Province has been settled, the Hindu members of the Legislative Assembly in this area are to demand that it should be constituted into a Province, if necessary leaving the Bengal Assembly and forming themselves into a separate legislative body It was emphasised that the new Province should be constituted before the British Government transferred power Another resolution demanded the formation of two regional Ministries as an immediate step to restore peace and order in the Province On the same day as the Tarakeswar Conference the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee also urged the immediate setting up of two regional Ministries, and resolved that if His Majesty's Government contemplated handing over its power to the existing Government of Bengal, such portions of Bengal as wished to remain within the Union of India should be formed into a separate Province The attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha has surprised nobody, but the Muslims have been quick to criticize the manner in which the local Congress leaders have subordinated nationalism to communalism The Communists continue to oppose partition,

as does Sarat Bose's Forward Bloc, but the weight of Hindu opinion has definitely swung against them The Muslim leaders are trying to laugh the movement off as a political stunt to kill Pakistan, but I think they now realise that the partitionists mean business In all the discussions about partition, I have yet to see any reference to section 290 of the 1935 Act, which is the only constitutional method of altering the boundaries of a Province—though I appreciate that some departures from the Act may be necessary between now and June 1948

[*Para 4 omitted*]

[1]See *TP*, X, No 127, p 203
[2]No XII 73

XII.78

Cabinet
India and Burma Committee, I B (47)

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24[1]

28 May 1947

THE FUTURE OF BENGAL

VISCOUNT MOUNTBATTEN drew the Committee's attention to the report in the *News Chronicle* of 27th May[2] of an interview given by Pandit Nehru, in the course of which he had said that Congress could agree to Bengal remaining united only if it remained in the Union of India This statement would no doubt receive the widest publicity in India, and was an example of the tendency of the Indian leaders to make public statements from which they could not subsequently withdraw The Viceroy was afraid that, in view of this development, the prospects of saving the unity of Bengal and securing its establishment as a third Dominion in India had been gravely prejudiced, indeed, he thought that, if Pandit Nehru had completely committed himself, the only means by which the partition of Bengal could be avoided would be by Mr Jinnah's abandonment of his claim to the Province for Pakistan and by its acceptance of a position, similar to that of an Indian State, of quasi-independence in close relationship with one or other of the Dominion Governments If it proved impossible to avoid the partition of the Province, the future of Eastern Bengal would present very difficult problems, since it was clearly not a viable unit This area might possibly submit a claim for recognition as a separate Dominion in order to secure the assistance and backing of His Majesty's Government

The Committee agreed that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Dominion status could not be granted to Eastern Bengal alone, it would have to unite with one or other of the Indian Dominions

[1]Also see *TP*, X, No 553, pp 1014-1015
[2]See Annex

Annex to No XII 78
Extract from the interview of Jawaharlal Nehru given to Norman Cliff[1]

MUSSOORIE,
27 May 1947

PARTITION

[*Question*] *Division of the Punjab and of Bengal being a condition of Congress concurrence in any proposals involving partition, would Congress still concur if the present movements for unity within these two provinces succeeded on the basis of their independence or any other basis?*

[*Answer*] The independence of Bengal really means in present circumstances the dominance of the Muslim League in Bengal It means practically the whole of Bengal going into the Pakistan area, although those interested may not say so

We can agree to Bengal remaining united only if it remains in the Union As a matter of fact, there is an overwhelming feeling in Western Bengal and in Eastern Punjab to separate from Eastern Bengal and Western Punjab

[1]*TP*, X, Enclosure (iii) to No 560, p 1040

XII.79

Frederick Burrows to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24[1]

SECRET GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA,
28 May 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

You will believe me when I say that I was both relieved and delighted to receive your telegram of 23rd May[2] informing me that H M G

had agreed to your having authority to recast the forthcoming statement, so far as Bengal is concerned, in the light of the circumstances prevailing on the 2nd June It is primarily to bring you up to date as regards Coalition prospects in Bengal, as far as I can do so, that I am now writing I say "as far as I can do so" because both Suhrawardy and K[i]ran Shankar Roy have left for Delhi to take the matter up with their respective high commands and the final decision "to coalesce or not coalesce" will now be taken there I can therefore only give you the position as it was this week end when they left Calcutta for Delhi and my own estimate of the prospects Suhrawardy proposes to seek an interview with you on your return at which to give you the final result of his efforts there Should Kiran Shankar Roy also ask to see you and be given an interview it would help you to complete the picture

I should perhaps recall that there have been latterly two sets of negotiations proceeding concurrently—those between Suhrawardy, with some of his followers, and Kiran Shankar Roy and Sarat Bose for the formulation of certain points of agreement as the basis of a future Coalition Government and of a separate constituent assembly formed under its aegis to draft a constitution for the sovereign independent "Free State of Bengal" The other set of negotiations to which, so far as I know, only Suhrawardy and Kiran Shankar Roy are parties, was inaugurated at my suggestion and directed to the formation of a Coalition Government here and now without any binding commitment as to the future constitutional or "international" set up of the Province The two sets of negotiations are not mutually antagonistic in any way but rather complementary I felt that while some progress was undoubtedly being made in the long term negotiations, these had already been in progress since the New Year and finality was not likely to be attained before the critical date of June 2nd It was common ground between the three of us that the object of those negotiations would almost certainly be defeated if it at once became known for certain that H M G had decided to link the possibility of partition in Bengal with any decision to partition India, and we therefore decided to try to secure the immediate setting up [of] a Coalition without any definite commitments but obviously on the basis of a tacit recognition of the ground already covered towards agreement in the discussions to which Sarat Bose and a wider circle on both sides have been parties Suhrawardy and Roy were both impelled to my proposal for a short cut by their conviction that only by getting a Coalition set up in time to avert reference in the statement of June 2nd to the possibility of partitioning Bengal, could we hope to escape a holocaust in Bengal The discussions

in which Sarat Bose has figured are still proceeding and have been the subject of a good deal of discussion in the Press—not all of it unfavourable Documents purporting to be heads of agreement actually reached between the three protagonists have been shown to me from time to time,—I telegraphed a recent edition to you in my No 125-C of the 19th May,[3]—and while I cannot say that finality has been reached even by the principals to the discussion, there is probably enough agreement to justify the formation of a Coalition on that basis now if the High Commands would agree It is true that the formula has not been put to or accepted by either Party's Working Committee in Bengal and that the newspapers controlled, on the one side, by the Mahasabha (which is pressing for partition) and, on the other, by the faction which is critical of Suhrawardy on personal grounds, are strongly critical both of the main idea of an independent but united Bengal and of some of the details (e g joint electorates) But I know for a fact that some of the "rebels" in Suhrawardy's camp have approached Kiran Shankar Roy with almost identical proposals as the basis of a future coalition if only he will deal with them rather than with Suhrawardy, and Suhrawardy claims to have talked over the hitherto hostile Chairman of the Muslim League Party in Bengal, Maulana Akram Khan Suhrawardy has considerable support among his personal followers and I believe him when he says that, if Congress will "play", he is confident he could bring his Party up to support his move for a united and independent Bengal, as they all want at all costs to avoid partition He is not, however, prepared to burn his boats unless he can be assured that Kiran Shankar Roy will be able and willing to bring the Bengal Congress in, with or without the approval of his own High Command Roy for his part has gone so far as to tell me and others that he will resign his position as leader of the Congress Assembly Party in Bengal if the High Command will not listen to him, as he is not prepared to take responsibility for the bloodshed that will ensue, but I must confess I share Suhrawardy's apprehension that, if Nehru and Patel prove adamant, Roy is not the man to move them and Bengal will be sacrificed on the altar of Nehru's All-India outlook

The plan to form a Coalition without firm conditions and, if necessary, in the faces of the respective High Commands has not matured and I doubt if it will do so now as the Provincial parties have not been approached Though Suhrawardy and Roy might get together in Delhi, I doubt if they would defy their respective High Commands without more definite assurance of the support of their parties here But if the High Commands would agree to a Coalition of this kind at once,—either without conditions or on the Suhrawardy-Roy-Bose formula, I am confident that both Suhrawardy and Roy could put it over down here Gandhi is on

the side of avoiding partition and there has been some sign, this last week, of a revulsion of feeling among the Hindus (especially of East Bengal) against partition if it can be avoided Short of the Cabinet Plan of May 1946, partition can only be avoided by maintaining, for the time being at all events, a right to stay out of either Hindustan or Pakistan The reason for this in a nutshell is that the Hindus of Bengal are determined not to surrender their ideal of a link with a Hindu centre (and the protection they think that would afford to a Hindu minority) unless they can be guaranteed that they will not be forced under a Pakistan centre and, lacking that guarantee, they demand partition the Muslims, on the other hand, while not so adamant about joining a North Western Pakistan, are determined not to come under a Hindu-controlled centre To be independent, for the time being, of either Hindustan or Pakistan is the only platform on which they can unite And a united Bengal ought to be a viable proposition in peace time, however defenceless it might prove in war It is something to which we could hand over power with a clear conscience that it represented the greatest measure of agreement of the population and I believe it would offer the best chance now remaining of a peaceful hand over The alternative of partition is politically and economically a deplorable prospect, especially for Eastern Bengal, but as I cannot be sure that Suhrawardy and Roy will bring off Coalition to avert it, I must now deal with this possibility

[*Last two paras omitted*]

[1]Also see *TP*, X, No 554, pp 1023-1027
[2]See *TP*, X, No 525, p 971
[3]The telegram gives text of a memorandum sent by Suhrawardy to Kiran Shankar Roy incorporating, *inter alia*, the formation of the "Free State of Bengal" and immediate formation of a Coalition Ministry as agreed upon between the two See *TP*, X, No 488, pp 905-906

XII.80

Extract from [minutes of] Viceroy's 34th Staff Meeting

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24[1]

31 May 1947

TOP SECRET

ITEM 2 BENGAL

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY referred to a letter which he had received from the Governor of Bengal[2], who asked him to grant an interview to Mr Suhrawardy, and stated that both parties in Bengal were preparing to be attacked if there was a decision in favour of the partition

of that Province Such a situation was in his opinion very likely to lead to serious trouble

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY asked Sir Eric Mieville to arrange for him to see Mr Suhrawardy that afternoon He went on to point out that His Majesty's Government had declared themselves willing to agree to an independent Bengal—in fact willing to agree to any solution for Bengal with which the Leaders of the principal parties agreed However, Pandit Nehru had stated that he would not agree to Bengal being independent [3] Therefore the only profitable line of negotiation at present was to find out whether the leaders would agree to Bengal being given a status similar to that of an Indian State and being allowed to negotiate its own separate agreements with either side

SIR JOHN COLVILLE stated that Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had told him that he considered that the future of Calcutta was the most difficult point of all HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY pointed out that His Majesty's Government had decided that it would not be practicable to declare Calcutta a free city They had also ruled that Dominion status would not be granted to Eastern Bengal independently In his opinion, Eastern Bengal was likely to be a great embarrassment to Pakistan Presumably Pandit Nehru considered that Eastern Bengal was bound sooner or later to rejoin India

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY stated that His Majesty's Government had agreed that the possible transfer of Purnea to Eastern Bengal should not be considered in the present statement but should, like the transfer of parts of Sind, form the subject of separate negotiations and consideration by a Boundary Commission [4]

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

directed Prin[cipal] Sec[retary] to arrange for him to see Mr Suhrawardy that day

[1]Also see *TP, XI*, No 2, pp 1-3

[2]See No XII 79

[3]On 27 May 1947, Nehru strongly reacting to talks about independent Bengal, told Mieville that "there was no chance of Hindus there agreeing to put themselves under permanent Muslim domination " However, he did not "rule out the possibility of the whole of Bengal joining up with Hindustan " See *TP*, X, No 552, p 1013 Earlier Nehru had told the correspondent of the *News Chronicle* that an independent Bengal practically meant "the whole of Bengal going into the Pakistan area" and that the Congress would agree to "Bengal remaining united only if it remains in the [Indian] Union " See Annex to No XII 78

[4]On 20 May 1947, the India and Burma Committee considered "three important proposals for boundary adjustments" made by the Indian leaders—Jinnah's proposal to amalgamate, in case of partition of Bengal, Purnea district of Bihar with continuous Eastern Bengal, Nehru's suggestion to transfer a small part of Sindh to Jodhpur State and Sardar Patel's to transfer part of Kutch State to Bombay Presidency The Committee decided that "these were not matters on which decisions should be taken at this stage Any boundary adjustments of this type should be a matter for settlement after the transfer of power", either by agreement or by an appropriate Boundary Commission See *TP*, X, No 494, p 922

XII.81

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to Eric Mieville
IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/24[1]

SECRET

6 CANNING ROAD, [NEW DELHI],
31 May 1947

Dear Sir Eric,

I have had an interview with Mr Jinnah He asked me if I had seen H E and, may the Lord forgive me, I told him "no" as I did not want him to think H E had seen me [2] (Please show this to H E) He told me that if H.E were to see me tomorrow, I should impress upon him the necessity for ascertaining the wishes of the people on the question of partition[3] by utilising the electoral roll on the basis of 1941 census *He says this is very important,*[4] and he does not know what H E has brought back from London on this point He says that getting the wishes of the present members of the Legislature would not be fair, as the opinion of the Scheduled Castes will not be expressed—and we must not let the Scheduled Castes down He seemed to think that we could create sufficient atmosphere to maintain peace after the announcement I hope the appeal of the Leaders, accepting though not agreeing or even deliberating, will be simultaneous with the announcement in the interests of peace He insists that Calcutta should be a free city,[5] otherwise it will always remain a bone of contention I have made clear to him my views regarding the Commonwealth, and I have every hope—all in good time For this reason I am even reconciling myself to partition (if it is inevitable) and if zone A[6] does not come within the Commonwealth If it does, then, of course, the Congress can have no objection if independent Bengal also comes into the Commonwealth if it does not and Bengal is independent, I shall have to work hard to get it in I wonder if I am clear

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

Sir Eric Mieville

[1]Also see *TP*, XI, No 10, p 20

[2]In fact, Suhrawardy had an interview with Mountbatten on 31 May 1947 which was arranged through Mieville The interview was kept a secret and did not appear in the Court Circular See No XII 80 and also *TP*, XI, No 2, item 2, p 2 and No 91, p 158

[3]See No XII 80 These points were discussed at the Viceroy's Thirty Sixth Staff Meeting on 1 June 1947 but were rejected See *TP*, XI, No 17, item 4, pp 34-35 Mountbatten had mentioned that he "refused to be drawn" into discussion on these points by Jinnah Mountbatten had

deputed Menon to obtain Patel's "agreement to six months' joint control of Calcutta " Patel dismissed the proposition saying "Not even for six hours!" see *TP*, XI, No 91, p 158

[4]Emphasis in the original

[5]See No 437, Vol I, Part I

[6]This refers to Hindu majority provinces of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa, included in Section A of the Cabinet Mission Plan See Appendix III

APPENDIX XIII

RESULTS OF 1945-46 ELECTIONS TO THE CENTRAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF BENGAL, THE PUNJAB, ASSAM, THE NWFP AND SIND[1]

XIII.1

[INDIAN] LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Composition of Parties

Congress	58)	Of
Muslim League	30)	whom
European Group	9)	17 are
Independent Party	10)	nominated
No Party	12)	non-officials
Officials	23	
[Total]	142	

[1]All documents in this Appendix have been reproduced from *IOR, L/P&J/8/470*, except Nos 9, 11, 13, 17 and 18

XIII.2

[INDIAN] LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Composition by Communities (excluding 23 officials whose composition by communities changes from time to time)

	Elected	*Nominated non-officials*	*Total*	*Interests represented by the nominated non-officials*
Hindus	59	9	68	2 represent the Scheduled Castes 2 represent Labour 1 Indian Army 4 open seats

Muslims	32	3	35	1 represents Labour 1 N W F P 1 open seat
Sikhs	3	1	4	[1] is an open seat and is held by a Sikh
Europeans	8	1	9	Represents the Associated Chambers of Commerce
Anglo-Indians	-	1	1	
Indian Christians	-	1	1	
Parsi	-	1	1	Open seat
Officials	-	-	23	
[Total]	102	17	142	

XIII.3

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats 142

Of the above, 102 seats are filled by election, and 40 by nomination Of the 102 elective seats, 48 are allotted to non-Muhammadans and 30 to Muhammadans, the balance being made up of seats allotted to General Joint (Non-Communal) Electorates, Sikhs, Europeans and Special Interests

Party Position after Elections

Party	*Number of Seats*
Congress	56
Muslim League	30
Akali Sikhs	2
Europeans and Independents	14
[Total]	102

XIII.4

[INDIAN] LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
Congress Party

1	Shri Sarat Chandra Bose	*Leader*
2	Mr M Asaf Ali	*Deputy Leader*
3	Prof N G Ranga	*Secretary*
4	Mr N V Gadgil	*Secretary*
5	Shri Mohan La Saksena	*Secretary*
6	Shri Satya Narayan Sinha	*Chief Whip*
7	Sjt Dhirendra Kanta Lahiri Choudhry	*Whip*
8	Sri S T Adityan	*Whip*
9	Seth Govind Das	*Treasurer*
10	Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan	
11	Sri N Narayanamurthi	
12	Sri V Gangaraju	
13	Sri M Ananthasayanam Ayyangar	
14	Sri V C Vellingiri Gounder	
15	Sri R Venkatasubba Reddiar	
16	Sri T V Satakopa Chari	
17	Sri A Karunakara Menon	
18	Sri M K Jinachandran	
19	Sri T A Ramalingam Chettier	
20	Dr G V Deshmukh	
21	Mr M R Masani	
22	Mr Sukhdev Udhowdas	
23	Mr Ganesh Vasudeo Mavalankar (Since elected President)	
24	Sjt B S Hiray	
25	Shri D P Karmarkar	
26	Mr Manu Subedar	
27	Mr Vadilal Lallubhai	
28	Mr Nagendranath Mukhopadhyay	
29	Babu Debendra Lal Khan	
30	Mr Sasanka Sekhar Sanyal	
31	Mr K C Neogy	
32	Sree Satya Priya Banerjee	
33	Mr Ananda Mohan Poddar	
34	Pandit Balkrishna Sharma	
35	Mr Krishna Chandra Sharma	
36	Pandit Sri Krishna Dutt Paliwal	

37. Sjt. Seth Damodar Swroop
38 Pandit Govind Malaviya
39 Shri Sri Prakasa
40 Sirdar Jogendra Singh
41 Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava
42 Raizada Hans Raj
43 Diwan Chaman Lall
44 Mr B B Varma
45 Sri Bhagirathi Mahapatra
46 Sri Jagannathdas
47 Mr Ramayan Prasad
48 Mr Gauri Shankar Saran Singh
49 Mr B P Jhunjunwala
50 Babu Ram Narayan Singh
51 Mr P K Salve
52 Seth Sheodass Daga
53 Mr G B Dani
54 Mr P B Gole
55 Sjt Rohini Kumar Choudhury
56 Mr Arun K Chanda
57 Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava
58 Khan Abdul Ghani Khan

Muslim League Party

1	Mr M A Jinnah	*Leader*
2	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan	*Deputy Leader*
3	Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan	*Secretary*
4	Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth	*Chief Whip*
5	Nawab Siddique Ali Khan	*Assistant Whip*
6	Mr. Ahmed Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer	*Assistant Whip*
7	Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon	*Treasurer*
8	Mr Muhammad Rahmatullah	
9	Mr M J Jamal Moideen Saib	
10	Mr Mohammad M Killedar	
11	Mr Abdur Rahman Siddiqi	
12	Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, O B E	
13	Mr Tamizuddin Khan	
14	Hajee Chowdhury Mohammad Ismail Khan	
15.	Shaikh Rafiuddin Ahmad Siddique	
16.	Shah Abdul Hamid	

17 Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan
18 Khan Bahadur Hafiz M Ghazanfarulla, O B E.
19 Dr Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad, C I E
20 Khan Bahadur Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad
21 Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang
22 Maulana Zafar Ali Khan
23 Mr Hafiz Mohammad Abdullah
24 Nawab Sir Syed Muhammad Mehr Shah
25 Captain Syed Abid Hussain
26 Khan Bahadur Makhdum *Al-Haj* Syed Sher Shah Jeelani
27 Mr Muhammad Nauman
28 Choudhry Md ' Abid Hussain
29 Khan Bahadur Habibur Rahman
30 Mr Ali Asghar Khan

European Group

1	Mr P J Griffiths, C I E	*Leader*
2	Mr C P Lawson	*Deputy Leader*
3	Mr E L C Gwilt	*Whip*
4	Mr R C Morris	
5	Mr H G Stokes, O B E	
6	Mr Geoffrey W Tyson, C I E	
7	Mr M A F Hirtzel, O B E	
8	Mr A C Inskip, C B E	
9	Mr D D H Thomas	

Independent Party

1	Sardar Mangal Singh	*Leader*
2	Lt -Col Dr J C Chatterjee	*Deputy Leader*
3	Mr Madan Dhari Singh M B E	*Secretary*
4	Colonel Kumar Shri Himmatsinghji C I E	*Whip*
5	Choudhury Sri Chand	*Treasurer*
6	Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia	
7	Captain Sardar Harendra Singh	
8	Dr P G Solanki	
9	Sardar N C Vinchoorkar	
10	Dr Sir Vijaya Ananda	

Members who belong to no Party

1 Sardar Sampuran Singh
2 Mr Frank R Anthony
3 Rao Bahadur N Siva Raj
4 Miss Maniben Kara
5 Mr S Guruswami
6 Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Bart , G B E K C I E
7 Rai Bahadur D M Bhattacharyya, O B E
8 Raja Sir Saiyid Ahmad Ali Khan Alvi, O B E , of Salempur
9 Khan Bahadur Sharbat Khan, C I E
10 Raja Bahadur Ramchandra Mardaraj Deo
11 Hony Lt Commander Aftab Ali
12 Rao Bahadur Sir V T Krishamachari, K C I E

[1]Normally Muhammad is not abbreviated as Md or Mohd However, it has been retained here and hereafter in this Appendix as given in the original

XIII.5

COUNCIL OF STATE

Composition of Parties

Independent Progressive Party	8
Congress	6
Muslim League	7
Independent Party	3
No Party	19
Vacant	1
Officials	14
[Total]	58

XIII.6

COUNCIL OF STATE

Composition by Communities

	Elected	*Nominated non-officials*	*Total*	*Interests represented by the nominated non-officials*
Hindus	17	4	21	1 Scheduled Castes 3 open seats
Muslims	10	4	14	1 N W F P 1 Baluchistan 2 open seats
Sikhs	1	2	3	2 open seats
Europeans	2	-	2	
Indian Christians	-	1	1	Indian Christians
Parsis	1	1	2	President Council of State
Vacant	1	-	1	
Officials	-	-	14	
[Total]	32	12	58	

XIII.7

COUNCIL OF STATE

[List of Members]

Independent Progressive Party

The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru	*Leader*
The Honourable Mr P N Sapru	*Secretary*

The Honourable Mr V V Kalıkar
The Honourable Raı Bahadur Srı Narayan Mahtha
The Honourable Sır Suleman Cassum Hajı Mıtha
The Honourable Raja Yuveraj Dutta Sıngh
The Honourable Mr Nıkunja Kıshore Das
The Honourable Raı Bahadur S K Das

Congress Party

The Honourable Mr Govındlal Shıvlal Motılal *Leader*
The Honourable Mr M Thırumala Row
The Honourable Mr Brıjlal Nandlal Bıyanı
The Honourable Mr Susıl Kumar Roy Chowdhury
The Honourable Mr Surput Sıngh
The Honourable F/Lt Rup Chand

Muslım League Party

The Honourable Mr Hossaın Imam *Leader*
The Honourable Syed Mohammad Padshah Sahıb Bahadur
The Honourable Mr Abdool Razak Hajı Abdool Sattar
The Honourable Khan Bahadur Chowdhury Ataullah Khan Tarar
The Honourable Maulvı A Z M Rezaı Karım
The Honourable Hajı Syed Mohamed Husaın
The Honourable Khan Bahadur Keramat Alı

Independent Party

The Honourable Mr M N Dalal *Leader*
The Honourable Mr M Ct M Chıdambaram Chettyar
The Honourable Khan Bahadur Alı Buksh Mohammad Hussaın

No Party

The Honourable Sır N Gopalaswamı Ayyangar, C S I , C I E
The Honourable Sır Shantıdas Askuran
The Honourable Mr J M B Gıbbons
The Honourable Mr H D Townend
The Honourable Chaudhrı Nıamatullah
The Honourable Sardar Sır Buta Sıngh, C B E
The Honourable Maharajadhıraja Sır Kameshwar Sıngh K C I E of Darbhanga

The Honourable Sir David Devadoss
The Honourable Diwan Bahadur Sir K Ramunni Menon
The Honourable Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy
The Honourable Josna Ghosal, C S I , C I E
The Honourable Rai Bahadur Sir Satya Charan Mukherjee, C B E
The Honourable Mr Mohendra Lal Das
The Honourable Raja Charanjit Singh
The Honourable Mr Khurshid Ali Khan, C I E , M B E
The Honourable Sir Maneckji Byramji Dadabhoy, K C S I , K C I E , LL D , Bar-at-Law *President*
The Honourable Brigadier Sir S Hissam-ud-din Bahadur, C I E
The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Sir Sobha Singh, O B E
The Honourable Sardar Bahadur Nawab Assadullah Khan Raisani, C I E

XIII.8

BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats (All seats are filled by election)	250
Number of General Seats (of which 30 are reserved for the Scheduled Castes)	78
Number of Muhammadan Seats	117
The balance is made of seats for Minorities, Special Interests and Women	
[Total]	445

Party Position after the Elections

Party	*Number of Seats*
Congress (including 25 reserved Scheduled Castes seats)	87
Muslim League	114
Krishak Proja (Muslim)	4
Independent Muslims	2
Independent Scheduled Castes (including 4 reserved Scheduled Castes seats)	5
Hindu Mahasabha	1
Hindu Independent	1
Indian Christians	2
Communists (including one reserved Scheduled Castes seat)	3

Europeans	23
Anglo-Indians	4
[Total]	246

(Two by-elections pending, and two European seats not yet filled)

XIII.9

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED TO BENGAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (EXTRACT)

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	General Urban								
1	Calcutta North	1	2	39 025	16 315	42.0	Hemanta Kumar Basu	Congress	16 251
2	Calcutta East	1	3	40 159	12 372	31.0	Jyotish Chandra Ghose	Congress	12 305
3	Calcutta West	1	2	31 029	5 216	17.0	Iswar Das Jalan	Congress	5 157
4	Calcutta Central	1	5	31 967	14 001	44.0	Basantlal Murarka	Congress	13 566
5	Calcutta South Central	1	5	32 416	9 786	30.0	J C Gupta	Congress	9 506
6	Calcutta South	1	2	60 283	20 969	35.0	Satish Chandra Bose	Congress	20 800
7	Hoogly-*cum* Howrah Municipal	1	1	54 825			Bhupati Majumdar	Congress	
8	Burdwan Division North Municipal	1	2	35 652	12 542	35.2	Nikunja Behari Maiti	Congress	11 509
9	24 Parganas Municipal	1	1	55 253			Bipin Behari Ganguly	Congress	
10	Presidency Division Municipal	1	2	51 102	21 165	41.4	Satish Chandra Chakravarty	Congress	19 941
11	North Bengal Municipal	1	2	54 382	24 300	44.0	Manoranjan Dhar	Congress	22 902
12	East Bengal Municipal	1	1	54 151			Kiron Sankar Roy	Congress	
	General Rural								
13	Burdwan Central	2	6	75 588	39 835	52.7	Kanai Lal Das	Congress	33 903
							J Nath Panja	Congress	42 858
14	Burdwan North West	2	5	80 035	30 320	37.9	Banku Behari Mondal	Congress	25 731
							Annanda Prosad Mondal	Congress	32 275
15	Birbhum	2	6	103 231	25 213	24.4	Mihirlal Chattopadhyaya	Congress	24 620
							Nishapati Majhi	Congress	20 252
16	Bankura West	2	7	84 231	39 546	46.9	Ashutosh Mallick	Congress	21 266
							Kanai Lal De	Congress	30 388
17	Bankura East	1	1	43 417			Kamal Krishna Roy	Congress	
18	Midnapore Central	2	3	99 961	42 889	42.9	Krishna Prosad Mondal	Independent	
							Charu Chandra Mahanty	Congress	41 917
19	Jhargram *cum* Ghatal	2	6	64 031	36 394	56.8	Harendra Nath Dolai	Congress	19 060
							Annada Prosad Chowdhury	Congress	40 900
20	Midnapore East	1	3	91 829	50 370	54.9	Rajani Kanta Pramanik	Congress	46 575
21	Midnapore South West	1	1	42 809			Pramatha Nath Bandapadhya	Congress	
22	Midnapore South East	1	1	39 800			Ishwar Chandra Mal	Congress	
23	Hooghly North East	2	5	66 821	22 848	34.2	Radha Nath Dass	Congress	18 768
							Dhirendra Narayan Mukherjee	Congress	26 132
24	Hooghly South West	1	1	58 761			Sukumar Dutta	Congress	
25	Howrah	2	9	103 347	39 632	38.3	Shushil Kumar Banerjee	Congress	40 608
							Arabindu Gayen	Congress	36 099
26	24 Parganas South East	2	6	82 366	48 019	58.3	Hem Chandra Naskar	Congress	38 459
							Bimal Chandra Sinha	Congress	50 345
27	24 Parganas North West	2	4	85 477	49 468	5 9	Ardhendu Sekhar Naskar	Congress	48 272
							Charu Chandra Bhandari	Congress	45 339
28	Nadia	2	6	90 092	32 870	36.4	Purna Chandra Pramanik	Congress	28 054
							Haripada Chatterjee	Congress	30 489
29	Murshidabad	2	6	81 083	32 325	39.8	Shyamapada Bhattacharya	Congress	32 386
							Kuber Chand Halder	Congress	26 958
30	Jessore	2	6	121 760	57 570	47.2	Bholanath Biswas	Congress	41 434
							Bijoy Krishna Sarker	Congress	38 665
31	Khulna	3	11	146 047	79 507	54.4	Rajindra Nath Sarker	Congress	57 724
							Mukunda Behari Mullick	Independent	44 043
							Gobinda Lal Banerjee	Congress	79 218
32	Rajshahi	1	1	62 661			Pravash Chandra Lahiri	Congress	
33	Malda	2	4	70 766	24 296	34.3	Ram Hari Roy	Congress	32 728
							Bir Birsha	Congress	12 796
34	Dinajpur	3	11	148 804	54 626	36.7	Rupnarayan Roy	Communist	35 127
							Harendra Nath Roy	Congress	30 839
							Nishitha Nath Kundu	Congress	46 146
35	Jalpaiguri *cum* Siliguri	3	10	78 552	31 864	40.6	Khagendra Nath Das Gupta	Congress	30 956
							Mohini Mohan Barman	Congress	26 109
							Prasanna Deb Raikut	Independent	13 821

36	Rangpur	3	7	98 548	45 251	41.7	Brojomadhab Das	Congress	46 869
							Rajani Kanta Roy Barman	Congress	29 657
							Nagendra Narayan Roy	Kushatria Samity	23 237
37	Bogra *cum* Pabna	2	7	87 704	43 217	49.3	Haran Chandr Barman	Congress	31 515
							Suresh Chandra Das Gupta	Congress	43 249
38	Dacca East	2	7	94 858	53 686	56.6	Mr Ganendra Chandra Bhattacharjee	Congress	51 808
							Dhananjoy Roy	Congress	31 392
39	Dacca West	1	5	74 632	37 962	50.8	Munindra Nath Bhattacharjee	Congress	33 420
40	Mymensingh West	2	6	98 795	40 468	41.0	Benode Chandra Chakrabarty	Congress	37 983
							Gayanath Biswas	Congress	32 782
41	Mymensingh East	2	8	108 984	55 751	51.2	Amulya Chandra Adhikary	Congress	43 678
							Prafulla Ranjan Sarker	Congress	32 307
42	Faridpur	3	12	172 683	82 002	47.4	Protap Chandra Guha Roy	Congress	70 115
							Dwarika Nath Barury	Congress	51 450
							Pramatha Ranjan Thakur	Independent	29 503
43	Bakarganj South West	2	5	78 976	47 031	59.6	Jogendra Nath Mandal	Scehduled Castes Federation	28,560
							Satindra Nath Sen	Congress	48 560
44	Bakarganj North East	1	4	105 649	72 934	72.4	Monoranjan Gupta	Congress	48 971
45	Tippera	2	6	127 097	65 835	51.8	Dhirendra Nath Datta	Congress	60 146
							Jogendra Chandra Das	Congress	59 051
46	Noakhali	1	3	72 791	38 466	52.8	Haran Chandra Ghose Choudhury	Congress	33 930
47	Chittagong	1	3	74 468	13 286	58.1	Mrs Nellie Sen Gupta	Congress	29 376
48	Darjeeling	1	3	23 628	10 563	44.7	Damber Singh Gurung	Gurkha League	7 659
Muhammadan Urban									
49	Calcutta North	1	2	23 876	13 446	56.3	Mohd Rafique	Muslim League	13 228
50	Calcutta South	1	1	24 947			K Nuruddin	Muslim League	
51	Hoogly *cum* Howrah Municipal	1	2	6 183	4 537	73.4	Mohammad Sarif Khan	Muslim League	4 226
52	Barrackpore Municipal	1	2	6 685	4 300	64.3	Mohd Qumruddin	Muslim League	3 579
53	24 Parganas Municipal	1	1	6 917			Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy	Muslim League	
54	Dacca Municipal	1	2	9 232	3 181	34.5	Nawabzada K Nasarullah	Muslim League	3 149
Muhammadan Rural									
55	Burdwan	1	3	43 190	27 091	62.7	Abdul Hashem	Muslim League	26 105
56	Birbhum	1	1	39 506			*Khan Bahadur Mudassir Hossain*	*Muslim League*	
57	Bankura	1	2	8 378	5 688	67.8	Syed Muhammad Siddique	Muslim League	4 536
58	Midnapore	1	1	26 183			Serajuddin Ahamad	Muslim League	
59	Hoogly	1	1	25 341			Abdul Quasem	Muslim League	
60	Howrah	1	3	25 623	19 210	75.0	Mohammad Idris	Muslim League	19 038
61	24 Parganas South	1	4	26 611	17 566	66.0	Jasimuddin Ahmad	Muslim League	12 678
62	24 Parganas Central	1	4	28 127	18 572	66.0	Ilias Ali Molla	Muslim League	18 406
63	24 Parganas North East	1	4	40 139	27 331	68.1	Khan Bahadur A F M Abdul Rahman	Muslim League	20 867
64	Kushtia	1	2	53 958	26 96[illegible]	50.0	Shamsuddin Ahmed	Muslim League	25 726
65	Meherpore	1	2	39 900	16 730	41.9	Abdul Hannan	Muslim League	16 239
66	Nadia East	1	2	37 634	15 059	40.0	Abdul Mataleb Malik	Muslim League	14 777
67	Nadia West	1	2	36 996	19 556	52.8	Molla Mohd Abdul Halim	Muslim League	19 070
68	Berhampore	1	3	40 511	22 584	55.7	Mohd Khuda Bukhsh	Independent	13 128
69	Murshidabad South West	1	-	48 084	26 037	54.1	Sahibzada Kawan Jah		
							Saiyid Kazim Ali Mirza	Muslim League	24 725
70	Jangipur	1	4	26 916	18 142	67.4	Mortaza Raza Choudhury	Muslim Laegue	17 049
71	Jessore Sadar	1	2	62 328	32 994	52.9	Lutfar Rahman	Muslim League	31 378
72	Jessore East	1	4	58 570	37 034	63.2	Abdul Awal	Muslim League	30 421
73	Bongaon	1	3	34 057	17 069	50.1	Serajul Islam	Muslim League	16 431
74	Jhenidah	1	5	42 979	20 991	48.8	Tafazzel Hossain	Muslim League	19 521
75	Khulna	1	3	38 675	24 084	62.2	Abdus Sabar Khan	Muslim League	21 896
76	Satkhira	1	2	48 051	27 998	58.3	Abdul Ahad	Muslim Laegue	24 681
77	Bagerhat	1	3	57 922	34 078	58.8	Abdul Kasem Fazlul Huq	Krishak Proja Party	16 769
78	Natore	1	2	60 010	16 982	28.3	Kazi Abdul Masud	Muslim League	16 369
79	Rajshahi North	1	3	51 874	23 579	45.4	Maniruddin Akanda	Muslim League	19 137
80	Rahshahi South	1	4	49 673	22 192	44.7	Abdul Hamid	Muslim League	19 210
81	Rajshahi Central	1	3	57 779	22 763	39.4	Madar Bux	*Muslim League*	12 260
82	Balurghat	1	4	48 969	19 644	40.1	Mazaffar Rahman Choudhury	Muslim League	18 112
83	Thakurgaon	1	1	55 787			Hafizuddin Choudhury	*Muslim League*	
84	Dinajpur Central East	1	2	34 202	15 737	46.0	Mohd Abdullahel Baqui	Muslim League	11 715
85	Dinajpur Central West	1	2	39 657	15 677	39.5	Hassan Ali	Muslim League	13 297
86	Jalpaiguri *cum* Darjeeling	1	5	38 245	18 734	49.0	Nawab Musharraf Hossain Khan Bahadur	Muslim League	14 950
87	Nilphamari	1	3	43 317	23 830	55.0	Khairat Hossain	Muslim League	23 360
88	Rangpur North	1	2	39 483	21 638	54.8	*Mohd Owais*	Muslim League	21 372
89	Rangpur South	1	2	41 712	22 896	54.8	Emad Uddin Ahammad	Muslim League	21 673
90	Kurigaon North	1	2	40 521	24 631	60.8	Paniruddin Ahmad	Muslim League	22 964
91	Kurigaon South	1	2	30 015	16 056	53.5	Nazir Hossain Khandakar	Muslim League	13 901
92	Gaibandha North	1	2	35 137	18 783	53.4	Seraj Uddin Ahmed	Muslim League	13 302
93	*Gaibandha South*	1	3	44 710	29 151	65.2	Ahammad Hossain	Muslim League	26 949
94	Bogra East	1	3	39 970	23 501	58.8	Badiazzaman Muhammad Elias	Muslim League	14 500
95	Bogra South	1	2	54 389	22 961	42.2	Muhammad Ishaque	Muslim League	22 295
96	Bogra North	1	3	34 642	20 271	58.5	Mobarak Ali Ahamed	Muslim League	19 683
97	Bogra West	1	4	45 802	31 376	68.4	Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ali	Muslim League	30 894
98	Pabna East	1	5	34 473	19 786	57.4	Dewan Lutfar Rahman	Muslim League	18 777
99	Pabna West	1	1	37 814			Khan Bahadur Abdul Masud Abdul Hamid	Muslim League	
100	Serajganj South	1	3	33 004	16 887	51.1	Abdur Raschid Mahmood	Muslim League	12 901
101	Serajganj North	1	7	31 783	12 197	38.4	Khan Sahib Osman Gani	Muslim League	8 814
102	Serajganj Central	1	3	43 096	18 848	43.7	Abdur Rashid Khotker	Muslim League	17 615
103	Malda North	1	2	44 408	14 153	31.8	Mohd Sayed Mia	Muslim League	13 324
104	Malda South	1	2	53 016	23 011	43.4	Zahur Ahmed Choudhury	Muslim League	19 982
105	Narayanganj South	1	2	38 217	27 536	72.1	Osman Ali	Muslim League	23 588

106	Narayanganj East	1	3	42 884	27 263	63 6	Muhammad Abdul Aziz Maulana	Muslim League	25,682
107	Narayanganj North	1	3	47 182	35,848	76 0	Syed Abdus Salim	Muslim League	33 595
108	Munshiganj	1	3	38 862	22 283	57 3	Muhammad Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri	Muslim League	22 146
109	Dacca South-Central	1	2	33 189	19 529	58 8	Khan Bahadur Abdul Khaleque	Muslim League	19 114
110	Manikganj East	1	3	36 313	20 032	55 2	Khan Bahadur Aulad Hossain Khan	Muslim League	18,588
111	Manikganj West	1	2	32,295	20 529	63 6	Masihuddin Ahmed *alias* Raja Miah	Muslim League	17 929
112	Dacca North-Central	1	3	40,570	21 137	52 1	Fakir Abdul Mannan	Muslim League	18 974
113	Dacca Central	1	3	41 352	22 155	53 6	Abu Taiyab Mazharul Haque	Muslim League	16 460
114	Jamalpur East	1	4	41 608	23 667	56 9	Khan Bahadur Fazlur Rahman	Muslim League	15 628
115	Jamalpur North	1	4	43 350	22,590	52 1	Abdul Karim	Muslim League	15 737
116	Jamalpur West	1	5	31 804	17 747	55 8	A K M Bafatuddin Talukdar	Muslim League	17 012
117	Jamalpur *cum* Muktagacha	1	5	43 634	23 153	53 1	Ahammad Ali Mir	Muslim League	20 691
118	Mymensingh North	1	2	51 878	23 176	44 6	Khan Bahadur Sarafuddin Ahmed	Muslim League	22 856
119	Mymensingh East	1	4	51 075	30 191	59 1	Khan Bahadur Nurul Amin	Muslim League	26 714
120	Mymensingh South	1	2	31 281	20 551	65 7	Maulana Shamsul Huda	Independent	13 907
121	Mymensingh West	1	1	32 731			Abdul Kalam Shamsuddin	Muslim League	
122	Tangail South	1	2	39 464	17 179	43 5	Khurram Khan Panee	Muslim League	16 836
123	Tangail West	1	4	39 679	17 380	43 8	Abdul Hafiz Mirza	Muslim League	15 689
124	Tangail North	1	2	46 471	26 463	56 9	Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Khan	Muslim League	25 782
125	Netrakona South	1	4	46 141	21 703	47 0	Asanali Mukter	Muslim League	21 269
126	Netrakona North	1	5	43 240	19 506	45 1	Moulvi Akabarali	Muslim League	18 791
127	Kishoreganj South	1	4	39 122	19 591	50 1	Md Israil	Muslim League	11 225
128	Kishoreganj North	1	5	46 282	23 910	51 7	Syed Habibul Haque	Muslim League	22 362
129	Kishoreganj East	1	2	47 996	28 871	60 2	Khan Sahib Hamiduddin Ahmed	Muslim League	28 232
130	Gopalganj	1	4	42 842	21 954	51 2	Shamsuddin Ahmed Khandkar	Muslim League	17 021
131	Goalundo	1	2	40 720	19,092	46 9	Ahmed Ali Mridha	Muslim League	15 395
132	Faridpur West	1	2	48 735	23 211	47 6	Khan Bahadur Yusuf Hossain Chowdhury	Muslim League	17 834
133	Faridpur East	1	2	52 961	26 318	49 7	Shamsuddin Ahmed *alias* Badsha Mia	Independent	13 573
134	Madaripur West	1	2	54 774	26 953	49 2	Eskandar Ali Khan	Muslim League	24 154
135	Madaripur East	1	2	51 633	22 164	42 9	Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz Munshi	Muslim League	17 173
136	Patuakhali North	1	6	65 839	31 986	48 6	Abdur Rahman Khan *alias* Nuru Mia	Muslim League	19 314
137	Patuakhali South	1	7	50 826	22 281	43 8	Mohd Shamsuddin Sikder	Muslim League	15 372
138	Pirojpur South	1	3	51 632	24,058	46 6	Khan Sahib Hatem Ally	Krishak Proja Party	12 299
139	Pirojpur North	1	2	42 624	26 524	62 2	Khan Bahadur Syed Mohd Afzal	Krishak Proja Party	19 595
140	Bakarganj North	1	4	39 499	26 633	67 4	Mohd Ariff Choudhury *alias* Dhanu Mia	Muslim League	17 917
141	Bakarganj South	1	4	61 099	35 617	58 4	Abdul Kasem Fazlul Huq	Krishak Proja Party	27 382
142	Bakarganj West	1	6	48 526	26 686	55.0	Moulana Haji Mohd Quasem	Muslim League	13 198
143	Bhola North	1	2	26 765	16 939	63 3	Khan Bahadur Nuruzzaman M B L	Muslim League	12 469
144	Bhola South	1	4	29 426	17 946	61 0	Syed Azizur Rahman	Muslim League	14 992
145	Brahmanbaria North	1	2	46 251	27 996	60 5	Muhammad Rukonuddin	Muslim League	27 698
146	Brahmanbaria South	1	4	39 030	24 571	63 0	Ali Ahmed Khan	Muslim League	23 607
147	Tippera North East	1	3	34 944	21 851	62 5	Tafazzal Ali	Muslim League	21 054
148	Tippera North	1	2	35 527	17 037	48 0	Khan Sahib Mafizuddin Ahmed	Muslim League	16 053
149	Tippera West	1	3	36 927	20 201	54 7	Nowabali	Muslim League	19 209
150	Tippera Central	1	4	42 371	27 493	64 9	Abdul Momin	Muslim League	23 757
151	Tippera South	1	3	57 189	39 735	69 5	Syed Serajal Haque	Muslim League	35 141
152	Chandpur East	1	2	32 467	25 349	78 1	Janabali Mia	Muslim League	24 237
153	Chandpur West	1	2	40,589	27 545	67 8	Khan Bahadur Abidur Raza Chaudhury	Muslim League	27 282
154	Matlabbazar	1	3	24 469	16 279	66 5	Muhammad Abdus Salam	Muslim League	15 600
155	Noakhali North	1	3	49 089	29 940	60 9	Fazlur Rahman	Muslim League	22 990
156	Noakhali Central	1	5	42 902	31 408	73 2	Majibar Rahman	Muslim League	27 597
157	Ramganj *cum* Raipur	1	6	40 920	29 420	71 8	Fazlul Karim	Muslim League	24 336
158	Noakhali West	1	3	41 492	27 985	67 4	Abdul Hakim Mia	Muslim League	24 749
159	Noakhali South	1	3	33 450	18 715	56 0	Abdul Hai	Muslim League	18 592
160	Feni	1	3	49 878	40 221	80 6	Muhammad Habibullah Choudhury	Muslim League	33 996
161	Cox's Bazar	1	3	35 790	22 539	63 0	Kabir Ahmad Choudhury	Muslim League	18 885
162	Chittagong South East	1	2	45 384	16 711	36 8	Ahmad Kabir Chowdhury	Muslim League	16 411
163	Chittangong South Central	1	2	36 560	24 780	67 8	Ali Ahmad Chowdhury	Muslim League	22 571
164	Chittagong North East	1	3	47 203	30 284	64 2	Khan Bahadur Farid Ahmed Chowdhury	Muslim League	26 144
165	Chittagong North West	1	1	43 668			Fazlul Qadir	Muslim League	
Women's General Urban									
166	Calcutta	1	2	94 784	15 409	16 2	Sh Bina Das	Congress	15 285
167	Dacca (General)	1	1	22,230			Sh Ashalata Sen	Congress	
Women's Muhammadan Urban									
168	Calcutta (Muhammadan)	1	1	10 735			Mst Husan Ara Begum	Muslim League	
169	Dacca (Muhammadan)	1	1	3 272			Mst Anwara Khatoon	Muslim League	
Anglo Indian									
170	Anglo Indian	4	8	7 233	3 373	46 7	Mrs Edna May Ricketts	Independent	2 538
							L R Pentony	Independent	2 570
							R F Platel	Independent	2 568
							G C D Wilks	Independent	2 527
European									
171	Burdwan Division	1	1	560			Joseph Arthur Powell	European	
172	Hoogly-*cum* Howrah	1	1	440			Garth Wilkinson	European	
173	Calcutta and Suburbs	4	4	5 915			D C B Pilkington	European	
							Name missing		
							A F Stark	European	
							W C Wordworth	European	
174	Presidency Division	1	1	883			Bruce Smith	European	
175	Rajshahi Division	1	1	488			Wilfred David Simson	European	
176	Darjeeling	1	1	566			D G Smyth Osbourne	European	
177	Dacca Division	1	1	140			John Nelson Smart	European	
178	Chittagong Division	1	1	75			A C Walton	European	

Indian Christian									
179	Calcutta *cum* Presidency Division	1	2	9 547	5 835	61 1	Daniel Gomes	Independent	3 019
180	Dacca Division	1	3	11 116	7 022	63 2	R A Gomes	Independent	3 744
Commerce & Industry									
181	Bengal Chamber of Commerce	7	7	167			F F M Ferugson	European	
							A W Taylor	European	
							R Haywood	European	
							D Gladding	European	
							J R Walker	European	
							H R Hodge	European	
							C W Miles	European	
182	Calcutta Trades Association	2	2	33			H R Norton M B E	European	
							N Stokes	European	
183	Indian Jute Mills Association	2	2	61			D I Duff	European	
							I G Kennedy	European	
184	Indian Tea Association	2	2	296			R A H Stevenson	European	
							F E Corstorphine	European	
185	Indian Mining Association	1	1	50			R B Whitehead	European	
186	Bengal National Chamber of Commerce	2	5	305	282	92 4	A K Ghose	Congress	204
							B C Ghose		181
187	Indian Chamber of Commerce	1	1	80			Debi Prasad Khaitan		
188	Marwari Association	1	1	123			Anandilal Poddar	Congress	
189	Muslim Chamber of Commerce	1	2	54	41	75 9	Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani	Muslim League	41
Landholders									
190	Burdwan Landholders	1	1	391			Sir Uday Chand Mahtab K C I E	Independent	
191	Presidency Landholders	1	1	604			Maharaja Sir Sris Chandra Nandy	Congress	
192	Rajshahi Landholders	1	1	361			Narendra Singh Singhi	Congress	
193	Dacca Landholders	1	1	557			Shitangshu Kanta Acharjee	Congress	
194	Chittagong Landholders	1	6	427	356	83 4	Kumar Arun Chandra Sinha	Congress	175
Labour (Trade Union)									
195	Railway Trade Union	1	2	168	166	98 8	Jyoti Basu	Communist	87
196	Water Transport	1	2	97	77	79 4	Dr A M Malik	Independent	65
Labour (Factory & Colliery)									
197	Calcutta and Suburbs (Registered Factories)	1	6	121 647	60 710	49 9	Dr Suresh Chandra Banerji	Congress	34 723
198	Barrackpore (Registered Factories)	1	5	150 139	64 150	42 7	Niharendra Dutt Majumd u	Congress	49 823
199	Howrah (Registered Factories)	1	6	78 164	35 803	45 8	Sibnath Banerjee	Congress	26 381
200	Hoogly *cum* Serampore (Registered Factories)	1	6	44 134	25 281	57 2	A M A Zaman	Congress	19 958
201	Colliery (Coal Mines)	1	3	35 102	7 613	21 6	Debendra Nath Sen	Congress	7 038
Labour (Tea Garden)									
202	Darjeeling Sadar	1	3	2 120	1 322	62 4	Ratanlal Brahmin	Communist	1 120
University									
203	Calcutta University	1	1	403			Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee	Hindu Mahasabha	
204	Dacca University	1	3	533	441	82 7	Fazlur Rahman	Muslim League	312

[1]*Return Showing the Results of Election to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 110-136

XIII.10

PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats (All seats are filled by election)	175
Number of General Seats (of which 8 are reserved for the Scheduled Castes)	42
Number of Sikh Seats	31
Number of Muhammadan Seats	84
The balance is made up of Seats for Minorities, Special Interests and Women	

Party Position after Elections

Party	*Number of Seats*
Congress (including 6 reserved Scheduled Castes Seats)	51
Unionist	21
Muslim League	75
Panthic (Akali) Sikhs	23
Independents	5
[Total]	175

XIII.11

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED TO THE PUNJAB LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [EXTRACT]

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of Candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	General Urban								
1	Southern Towns	1	4	23 469	10 746	45 98	Shri Ram Sharma	Congress	8 858
2	South Eastern Towns	1	2	36 265	15 215	41 96	Sh Shanno Devi	Congress	15 091
3	Eastern Towns	1	1	30 748			Seth Sudarshan	Congress	
4	Lahore City	1	1	43 372			Lala Bhim Sain Sachhar	Congress	
5	Amritsar City	1	2	30 245	1 660	5 48	M Sant Ram Seth	Congress	1 447
6	North Eastern Towns	1	1	30,017			Chaudhri Kishan Gopal Dutt	Congress	
7	North Western Towns	1	2	38 435	4 549	11 84	Chamman Lal	Congress	4 499
8	South Western Towns	1	1	34 961			Munshi Harilal	Congress	
	General Rural								
9	Hissar	1	2	27 029	16 075	59 47	Chaudhri Ranjit Singh	Congress	10 181
10	Hansi	1	2	19 820	13 023	65 71	Chaudhri Suraj Mal	Unionist	7 233
11	Hissar North	1	3	23 687	13 950	58 89	Chaudhri Sahib Ram	Congress	7 957
12	Rohtak North	1	3	39 206	26 432	67 42	Chaudhri Lahri Singh	Congress	14 235
13	Rohtak Central	1	3	31 131	20 215	64 94	Chaudhri Badlu Ram	Congress	9 338
14	Jhajjar	1	3	34 517	18 798	54 46	Chaudhri Sher Singh	Congress	11 866
15	North West Gurgaon	1	2	28 521	17 729	62 16	Mohar Singh	Unionist	8 956
							[Illegible.]		
16	South East Gurgaon	2					Prem Singh	Congress	
17	Karnal South	1	4	34 107	22 260	65 27	Chandan *alias* Samar Singh	Congress	10 964
18	Karnal North	2	9	31 967	19 694	61 61	Jagdish	Congress	13 232
							Sunder	Congress	3 136
19	Ambala & Simla	2	8	47 403	30 860	65 10	Rattan Singh	Congress	20 708
							Prithi Singh Azad	Congress	10 503
20	Kangra North	1	4	23 940	10 746	44 89	Pancham Chand	Congress	10 123
21	Kangra South	1	3	17 205	6 622	38 49	Dalip Singh	Congress	6 299
22	Kangra East	1	2	8 454	3 885	45 94	Beli Ram	Congress	3 699
23	Kangra West	1	3	20 958	9 035	43 11	Bhagat Ram	Congress	7 614
24	Hoshiarpur West	2	9	51 084	29 873	58 48	Mangoo Ram	Unionist	19 134
							Mehr Chand	Congress	16 307
25	Una	1	2	25 027	14 703	58 75	Mohan Lal	Congress	10 183
26	Jullundur	2	5	36.570	23 165	63 34	Sant Ram	Unionist	18 018
							Gurbanta Singh	Congress	21 476
27	Ludhiana & Ferozepore	2	7	52 009	28 576	54 94	Mehta Ranbir Singh	Congress	3,888
							Matu Ram	Congress	24 352
28	West Lahore Division	1	4	29 374	10 774	36 68	Faqir Chand	Congress	10 639
29	Amritsar & Sialkot	2	5	38 046	21 078	55 40	L Kidar Nath Saigal	Congress	
							Sunder Singh	Congress	14 013
30									
31	Rawalpindi Division	1	1	43 547			Prof Tilak Raj	Congress	
32	South East Multan Division	1	1	40 155			L Behari Lal Chanana	Congress	
33	Lyallpur and Jhang	2	7	32 703	15 428	47 17	Dev Raj Sethi	Congress	11 722
							Harbhaj Ram	Independent	8 312
34	West Multan Division	1	1	30 312			Virender	Congress	
	Muhammadan Urban								
35	Southern Towns	1	2	17 102	8 870	51 86	Khan Sahib Khawaja Ghulam Samad	Muslim League	8 627
36	South Eastern Towns	1	4	23 498	15 405	65 56	Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan	Muslim League	,2 072

37	Eastern Towns	1	2	28 541	17 636	61 79	Malik Barkat Ali	Muslim League	14 829
38	Inner Lahore	1	3	20 413	11 349	55 59	Wazir Mohammad	Muslim League	9 802
39	Outer Lahore	1	2	39 650	13 414	33 83	Mohd Rafiq	*Muslim League*	13,053
40	Amritsar City	1	2	28 130	17 241	61 21	Sheikh Sadiq Hasan	Muslim League	11 172
41	North Eastern Towns	1	3	34 673	24 116	69 55	Sheikh Karamat Ali	Muslim League	14 813
42	Rawalpindi Division Towns	1	3	30 424	17 134	56 32	Malik Sir Mohd Firoz Khan [Noon]	Muslim League	14 728
43	Multan Division Towns	1	4	30 402	17 141	56 38	Khan Sahib Sheikh Mohd Ameen	Muslim League	12 905
Muhammadan Rural									
44	Hissar	1	3	19 870	10 247	51 53	Ch Sahib Dad Khan	Muslim League	7 855
45	Rohtak	1	3	10 983	6 157	56 06	Mohd Khurshaid Khan	Muslim League	5 150
46	North West Gurgaon	1	3	15 018	9 794	65 22	Ahmad Jan	Muslim League	4 193
47	South East Gurgaon	1	6	12 775	8 347	65 34	Mahatab Khan	Muslim League	3 821
48	Karnal	1	6	19 068	11 461	60 11	Sufi Abdul Hamid Khan	Muslim League	10 072
49	Ambala and Simla	1	4	19 324	11 952	61 85	Ch Mohd Hassan Khan	Muslim League	10 141
50	Kangra & Eastern Hoshiarpur	1	3	16 549	11 729	70 87	Ali Akbar Khan	Muslim League	7 803
51	Hoshiarpur West	1	3	19669	12 407	63 08	Rana Nasrullah Khan *alias* Nasir	Muslim League	5 815
52	Jullundur North	1	2	23 986	15 718	65 53	Mohd Abdus Salam	Muslim League	11 390
53	Jullundur South	1	5	24 414	14 583	59 73	Wali Mohd	Muslim League	8 428
54	Ludhiana	1	4	20 360	18 087	64 28	Mohd Iqbal Ahmad Khan	Muslim League	8 927
55	Ferozepore Central	1	6	17 291	12 880	74 49	Nawab Iftikhar Hussain Khan [Mamdot]	Muslim League	7 205
56	Ferozepore East	1	4	12 503	7 275	58 19	Mian Bashir Ahmad	Muslim League	5 067
57	Fazilka	1	3	13 138	8 994	68 46	Bagh Ali	Unionist	5,549
58	Lahore	1	4	13 594	10 104	74 33	Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Khan [Qizalbash]	Unionist	5 405
59	Chunian	1	3	23 618	15 148	64 14	Sardar Mohd Hussain	Muslim League	11 761
60	Kasur	1	3	14 358	9 389	65 39	Mian Mohd Iftikhar ud Din	*Muslim League*	6 969
61	Amritsar	1	3	10 407	7 415	71 25	Nasrullah Khan	Muslim League	5 159
62	Tarn Taran	1	4	8 210	5 803	70 68	Akram Ali Khan	Muslim League	3 399
63	Ajnala	1	6	11 300	7 247	64 13	Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan	Muslim League	5 326
64	Gurdaspur East	1	3	16 599	9 218	55 53	Ghulam Farid Vakil	Muslim League	8 609
65	Batala	1	3	22 425	16 175	72 12	Fateh Mohammad Sial	Independent	6 266
66	Shakargarh	1	5	12 868	9 022	70 11	Abdul Ghafoor	Muslim League	4 516
67	Sialkot North	1	4	19 793	12 380	62 56	Ch Nasar Din	Muslim League	9 080
68	Sialkot Central	1	3	17 49[6]	10 965	62 67	Ch Sarfaraz Khan	Muslim League	6 353
69	Sialkot South	1	5	20 34[9]	13 239	65 06	Mian Mumtaz Mohd Khan	Muslim League	8 351
70	Gujranwala North	1	3	21 906	14 420	65 82	Chaudhri Salah ud Din	Muslim League	7 872
71	Gujranwala East	1	2	21 562	16 172	75 00	Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan	Muslim League	8 185
72	Hafizabad	1	3	17 190	11 476	60 75	Chaudhri Raj Mohd	Muslim League	3 290
73	Sheikhupura	1	4	23 900	14 823	62 02	*Mohd Hussain*	*Muslim League*	11 363
74	Nankana Sahib	1	2	15 125	10 599	61 05	Shahadat Khan	Muslim League	5 576
75	Shahdara	1	2	14 714	10 129	68 84	Chaudhri Roshan Din	Muslim League	7 573
76	Gujrat North	1	3	19 161	12 512	65 30	Fazal Ilahi	Muslim League	8 742
77	Gujrat East	1	2	15 665	10 432	66 59	Asghar Ali	Unionist	6 876
78	South East Gujrat	1	2	22 409	13 154	58 70	Bahawal Bakhsh	Muslim League	10 838
79	North West Gujrat	1	2	18 141	11 195	61 71	Jahan [Khan]	Muslim League	8 253
80	South West Gujrat	1	2	15 235	9 727	63 85	Ghulam Rasul	Muslim League	6 794
81	Shahpur	1	4	32 282	25 039	77 56	Mian Sultan Ali	Unionist	14 553
82	Khushab	1	4	26 457	18 870	71 32	Lt Col Hon'ble Malik Nawab Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana	Unionist	10 654
83	Bhalwal	1	3	32 159	22 043	68 54	Khan Bahadur Sheikh Fazal Haq Paracha	Muslim League	12 732
84	Sargodha	1	5				Nawab Sir Allah Bakhsh Khan Tiwana	Unionist	
85	Jhelum	1	3	20 059	12 086	60 25	Khair Mehdi	Muslim League	9 887
86	Pind Dadan Khan	1	4	17 482	9 779	55 94	Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan	Muslim League	7 106
87	Chakwal	1	2	18 656	11 133	59 68	Mohd Sarfraz Ali Khan	Muslim League	8 444
88	Rawalpindi Sadr	1	5	17 322	10 480	60 50	Zafar ul Haq	Muslim League	5 624
89	Gujar Khan	1	3	20 220	10 388	51 37	Said Akbar Khan	Muslim League	8 956
90	Rawalpindi East	1	3	20 931	12 397	59 53	Kala Khan	Muslim League	10 380
91	Attock North	1	5	21 820	14 999	68 78	Mumtaz Ali Khan	Muslim League	7 639
92	Attock Central	1	1	21 094			Major Sir Mohd Niwaz Khan	Independent	
93	Attock South	1	2	19 926	12 545	62 96	Mohi ud Din Lal Badshah	Unionist	8 342
94	Mianwali North	1	2	19 657	12 409	63 13	Khan Abdul Sattar Khan	Muslim League	8 310
95	Mianwali South	1	2	29 710	19 864	66 86	Mohammad Abdullah Khan	Unionist	10 049
96	Montgomery	1	3	28 851	17 746	61 50	Khan	Muslim League	14 754
97	Okara	1	2	22 657	15 164	66 93	Mian Abdul Haq	Muslim League	13 324
98	*Dipalpur*	1	3	16 093	10 180	63 26	Ashiq Hussain	Muslim League	6 882
99	Pakpattan	1	2	20 812	13 222	63 53	Rana Abdul Hamid Khan	Muslim League	8 353
100	Lyallpur	1	3	23 812	14 701	61 73	Aziz Din	Muslim League	13 412
101	Samundri	1	4	25 494	16 203	63 56	Mir Mohammad Khan	Muslim League	10 233
102	Toba Tek Singh	1	5	37 743	23 570	62 45	Mian Nur Ullah	Muslim League	11 492
103	*Jaranwala*	1	3	17 139	12 282	71 66	Anwar Khan	Muslim League	8 03[?]
104	Jhang East	1	1	21 491			Syed Ghulam Mohammad Shah	Muslim League	
105	Jhang Central	1	3	21 817	14 391	65 15	Major Syed Mubarik Ali Shah	Muslim League	10 855
106	Jhang West	1	3	18 502	6 180	38 80	Mehr Mohd Arif Khan	Muslim League	5 571
107	Multan	1	4	20 291	14 384	61 05	Major Ashiq Hussain	Unionist	7 415
108	Shujabad	1	3	12 716	8 938	70 03	Haji Mukhdumzada Mohd Raza Shah	Muslim League	5 405
109	Lodhran	1	2	18 200	10 608	58 29	S Ghulam Mustafa Shah	Muslim League	8 204
110	Mailsi	1	2	27 826	17 694	63 23	Mian Allah Yar Khan	Muslim League	13 304
111	Khanewal	1	3	21 096	13 703	65 96	S Budhan Shah	Muslim League	9 827
112	*Kabirwala*	1	2	*20 509*	*13 278*	64 75	Nau Dahar Shah	*Muslim League*	9 193
113	Muzaffargarh Sadr	1	3	17 437	11 736	67 19	Khan Sahib Abdul Hameed Khan	Muslim League	6 093
114	Alipur	1	3	12 136	8 729	71 93	Mohammad Ibrahim	Unionist	3 961
115	Muzaffargarh North	1	2	18 725	11 644	62 18	Mian Mohammad Ghulam Jilani	Muslim League	7 524
116	Dera Ghazi Khan North	1	1	9 150			Atta Muhammad Khan	Muslim League	
117	Dera Ghazi Khan Central	1	2	10 236	6 650	64 97	Khan Bahadur Faiz Mohd Khan M B E	Unionist	3 655

118 Dera Ghazi Khan South	1	4	14 414	9 431	65 41	Sardar Bahadur Khan M B E	Muslim League	3 237
Sikh Urban								
119 Eastern Towns	1	2	24 416	13 843	56 70	S Indar Singh	Congress	9 066
120 Western Towns	1	2	32 330	20 956	64 82	S Ujjal Singh	Panthic	10 460
Sikh Rural								
121 South East Punjab	1	6	13 337	6 738	50 52	S Narotam Singh	Panthic	4 423
122 Ambala North	1	4	22 329	15 591	69 82	S Baldev Singh	Panthic	8 226
123 Kangra and North Hoshiarpur	1	2	16 743	9 979	59 60	S Shiv Saran Singh	Panthic	7 335
124 Hoshiarpur South	1	3	13 941	8 543	61 28	S Piara Singh	Panthic	5,011
125 Jullundur West	1	4	24 997	16 510	66 05	S Swaran Singh	Panthic	10 072
126 Jullundur East	1	3	28 495	17 847	62 63	S Kabal Singh	Congress	11 568
127 Ludhiana East	1	3	19 698	13,091	66 46	S Kapur Singh	Congress	6 610
128 Ludhiana Central	1	3	20 098	8 799	43 78	S Bachan Singh V Gujarwala	Congress	7 278
129 Jagraon	1	5	17 671	11 039	62 47	S Kehar Singh	Congress	6 316
130 Ferozepore North	1	5	13 980	6 994	50 03	S Rattan Singh	Panthic	4 076
131 Ferozepore East	1	7	16 301	8 796	53 96	S Rattan Singh	Congress	5 283
132 Ferozwpore West	1	3	12 654	8 347	65 96	S Gurbachan Singh	Panthic	5 465
133 Ferozepore South	1	5	19 790	12 081	61 05	S Tara Singh	Panthic	4 875
134 Lahore West	1	7	22 236	14 251	64 09	S Sardul Singh	Independent	5 416
135 Kasur	1	3	17 106	11 704	68 42	S Sajjan Singh	Congress	6 862
136 Amritsar North	1	4	17 970	12 075	67 20	S Isar Singh	Panthic	7 464
137 Amritsar Central	1	4	19 651	11 845	60 28	S Uddam Singh	Panthic	8 976
138 Amritsar South	1	3	19 325	12 517	64 26	S Partap Singh M A	Congress	8 476
139 Gurdaspur North	1	3	14 878	9 613	64 61	S Shiv Singh	Congress	5 467
140 Batala	1	5	17 720	11 393	64 29	S Waryam Singh	Panthic	6 080
141 Sialkot	1	4	19 897	13 286	66 77	S Gurbachan Singh	Independent	4 743
142 Gujranwala and Shahdara	1	6	20 178	11 315	70 94	S Jogindar Singh	Panthic	8,514
143 Sheikhupura West	1	3	18 722	12 170	67 90	Jathedar Man Singh	Panthic	5 693
144 [Name Missing]								
145 North West Punjab	1	8	18 325	12 882	70 30	Jaswant Singh	Panthic	6 521
146 Montgomery East	1	4	20 732	13 217	63 76	Sant Narinder Singh	Panthic	6 598
147 Lyallpur West	1	3	18 099	12 572	79 48	Giani Kartar Singh	Panthic	8 031
148 Lyallpur East	1	4	18 037	12 459	68 83	S Dalip Singh	Panthic	5 967
149 South West Punjab	1	4	18 713	10 116	54 06	Ajit Singh	Panthic	6 778
Womens								
150 Inner Lahore Muhammadan	1	2	3 865	2 670	69 08	Salma Begum	Muslim League	2 073
151 Outer Lahore Muhammadan	1	3	5 072	2 991	58 97	Jahan Ara Begum	Muslim League	2 282
152 Amritsar Sikh	1	3	70 705	44 023	62 26	Sh Parkash Kaur	Congress	29 480
153 Lahore City General	1	1	43 37[2]			Mrs Rameshuri Nehru	Congress	
Anglo Indian								
154 Anglo-Indian	1	2	813	301	37 02	P Manual	Independent	178
European								
155 European	1	7	2 196	366	16 69	P H Guest	European	234
Indian Christian								
156 East Central Punjab	1	4	5 586	3 556	63 66	Fazal Ilahi	Independent	1 410
157 West Central Punjab	1	[illegible]	9 192	5 376	57 86	Dewan Bahadur S P Singha	Unionist	2 826
Commerce and Industry								
158 Commerce & Industry	1	2	275	268	97 45	L Bhagwan Dass	Congress	134
159 East Punjab	1	4	654	460	61 09	L Durga Chand	Congress	199
160 Central Punjab	1	3	775	543	70 06	S Jagjit Singh	Unionist	443
161 North Punjab	1	4	886	625	70 54	Lt Col Hon ble Malik Nawab Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana	Unionist	492
162 West Punjab	1	4	1 066	797	74 77	Lt Col Hon ble Malik Nawab Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana	Unionist	670
163 Tumandars	1	1	9			Khan Bahadur Haji Nawab Sir Muhammad Jamal Khan	Unionist	
Labour								
(i) Trade Union								
164 Trade Union	1	9	1 828	1 355	74 12	L Ganga Saran	Independent	552
(ii) Non Union								
165 East Punjab	1	5	8 238	5 104	61 95	Daud Ghaznavi	Congress	2 646
166 North Punjab	1	5	6 769	3 827	56 54	Barkat Hayat Khan	Independent	1 181
University								
167 University	1	2	1 624	1 417	87 02	Dr Gopichand Bhargava	Congress	81[illegible]

[1]*Return showing Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures* in *1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 153-172

[2]Full name not available

XIII.12

ASSAM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats (All seats are filled by election)	108
Number of General Seats (of which 7 are reserved for Scheduled Castes Seats)	47
Number of Seats for Backward Areas & Tribes	9
Number of Muhammadan Seats	34
The balance is made up of Seats for Minorities, Special interests and Women	

Party Position after Elections

Party	*Number of* Seats
Congress (including all reserved Scheduled Castes Seats)	58
Muslim League	31
Nationalist Muslims	3
Independents	7
Europeans	9
[Total]	108

XIII.13

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF MUSLIM CANDIDATES ELECTED TO ASSAM LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (EXTRACT)[1]

S No	Constituency	No of seats	No of candidates	Total No of Electors who voted	Names	Party affiliation	No of Votes polled
1	Lakhimpur	1	1		Khan Bahadur Saeed ur Rahman	Muslim League	
2	Dhubri North	1	2	6 942	Khan Bahadur Zia ul Shams	Muslim League	6 691
3	Dhubri South	1	3	11 875	Maulvi Abul Qasim	Muslim League	9 823
4	Dhubri West	1	3	8 291	Maulvi Maqbool Ali	Muslim League	7 885
5	Pattiala South	1	4	10 473	Sir Muhammad Saadullah	Muslim League	9 305
6	Kamrup North	1	2	8 109	Abdul Hai	Muslim League	7,265
7	Naugaon East	1	4	6 232	Maulvi Afaz ud Din	Muslim League	5,129
8	Naugaon West	1	6	8 076	Khan Bahadur Muhammad Rafiq	Muslim League	4 929
9	Sibsagar	1	3	5 853	Dr Imran Hussain	Muslim League	4 441
10	Sunamgunj	1	4	6 000	Abdul Khaliq Ahmad	Muslim League	3 959
11	Sunamgunj Central	1	4	6 278	Munawwar Ali	Muslim League	3 605
12	Sunamgunj East	1	4	6 479	Mufeez Chaudhury	Muslim League	4 746
13	Sunamgunj South	1	2	7 850	Abdul Bari Chaudhury	Muslim League	4,720
14	Dharang	1	2	5 472	Maulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhury	Muslim League	5 244
15	Habibgunj South West	1	2	3 992	Naseer ud Din	Muslim League	3 941
16	Habibgunj South West	1	3	7 423	Maulvi Abdullah	Muslim League	6,079
17	Sylhet Suddar Central	1	3	12 757	Maulvi Abdul Hameed	Muslim League	8 843
18	Sylhet South East	1	3	8 550	Maulvi Mueen ud din Ahmad	Muslim League	6 448
19	Habibgunj North West	1	3	6 513	Khan Sahib Noor ul Hassan	Muslim League	3 633
20	Habibgunj North East	1	4	8 443	Khan Sahib Mudabbir Hussain	Muslim League	6 859

21	Sylhet Saddar South	1	2	9 019	Dewan Abdul Rab	Muslim League	6 672
22	Sylhet Central North South	1	5	8 423	Dewan Abdul Basit	Muslim League	5 963
23	Sylhet South	1	4	6 644	Haidar Khan	Muslim League	4 678
24	Sylhet Saddar East	1	4	8 766	Dewan Taimoor Raza	Muslim League	6 662
25	Karimgunj Central	1	3	9 977	Maulvi Abdul Latif	Muslim League	5 198
26	Karimgunj South	1	4	8 136	Maulana Mufazzal Hussain	Muslim League	5 033
27	Silchar	1	3	16 041	Maulvi Muqabir Ali	Muslim League	11 524
28	East Goalpara	1	2	7 540	Maulvi Abdul Quddoos	Muslim League	6 996
29	Barpetta	1	2	7 306	Syed Abdur Rauf	Muslim League	7 119
30	Karimgunj West	1	6	11 985	Maulvi Idrees Ali	Muslim League	4 694
31	West Goalpara	1	2	3 051	Najmul Haq	Muslim League	3 024
32	North Sylhet	1	4	9 977	Maulvi Ibrahim Jhatoli	Jamiyyat	5 260
33	Phulakhandi	1	4	9 811	Maulvi Abdul Muttalib	Jamiyyat	9 313
34	North Sylhet East	1	4	8 843	Abdul Rashid	Jamiyyat	3 921

[1]Abdul Wahid Qureshi, ed , *Tarikhi Faisla*, reprint, Karachi, 1976, pp 102-110

XIII.14

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats (All seats are filled by election)	50
Number of General Seats	9
Number of Muhammadan Seats	36
Number of Sikh Seats	3
Number of Landholders Seats	2
[Total]	100

Party Position after Elections

Party	*Number of Seats*
Congress	30
Muslim League	17
Nationalist Muslims	2
Akali Sikh	1
[Total]	50

XIII.15

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED TO N W F P LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [EXTRACT][1]

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of Candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
General Urban									
1	Peshawar Cantt	1	1	4 697			L Mehr Chand Khanna	Congress	
2	Bannu Town	1	3	9 304	4 947	53 17	Master Kewal Ram	Congress	4 869
3	Dera Ismail Khan Town	1	2	7 116	4 801	67 46	L Bhanju Ram	Congress	2 643

General Rural									
4	Peshawar West	1	1	7 888			Mehta Madan Lal	Congress	
5	Peshawar East	1	1	4 768			L Girdhari Lal	Congress	
6	Hazara	1	1	9 979			Mahasha Shiv Ram	Congress	
7	Kohat	1	1	4 097			L Mohan Lal Gulati	Congress	
8	Bannu	1	1	3 614			L Kotu Ram	Congress	
9	Dera Ismail Khan	1	1	5 175			L Kanwar Bhan	Congress	
Muhammadan Urban									
10	Peshawar City (Dual constituency)	2	5	59 858	39 324	65 69	Khan Abdul Qayum Khan	Muslim League	9 077
11	N W F P Towns	1	3	20 698	11 243	54 3	Khan Bahadur Jalal Din	Muslim League	6 238
Muhammadan Rural									
12	Tanawal	1	6	14 533	7.548	51 9	Khan Mohd Farid Khan of Bir	Muslim League	2 441
13	Abbottabad West	1	7	17 303	10 089	58 3	Lt Zain Mohd Khan	Muslim League	4 909
14	Abbottabad East	1	2	15 139	6 988	46 1	K B *Abdur Rehman Khan*	Muslim League	6 389
15	Haripur North	1	4	14 494	7 085	48 8	K B Mohd Zaman Khan	Muslim League	3 390
16	Haripur Central	1	5	15 102	9 196	60 8	Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan	Muslim League	3 788
17	Haripur South	1	4	7 367	4 906	66 5	Raja Haider Zaman Khan	Muslim League	2 348
18	Mansehra North	1	3	4 502	3 534	78 4	Khan Mohd Abbas Khan	Muslim League	1 597
19	Upper Pakhli	1	5	7 860	5 656	71 9	Khan Abdul Quyum Khan of Suteda	Congress	1 987
20	Lower Pakhli	1	5	13 462	6 506	48 3	M Ali Gohar Khan	Muslim League	2 653
21	Bara Mohmands	1	2	13 285	9 364	70 4	*Arbab Mohd Sharif Khan*	Muslim League	4 881
22	Khalil	1	2	9 343	7 355	78 7	Khan Amin Jan Khan	Congress	3 768
23	Hashtnagar North	1	3	9 360	7 703	82 2	S Qaim Shah	Congress	4 031
24	Hashtnagar South	1	2	3 216	9 591	72 5	Doctor Khan Sahib	Congress	7 546
25	Doaba Daudzai	1	2	14 008	11 484	81 9	Arbab Abdur Rehman Khan	Congress	8 141
26	Nowshera South	1	2	21 109	13 881	65 7	Mian Jaffar Shah	Congress	8 086
27	Nowshera North	1	3	16 767	11 348	67 6	M Yaqub Shah	Congress	7 261
28	*Baizai*	1	4	18 929	14 418	76 1	*Khan Mohd Zarin Khan of Mian Isa*	Congress	6 792
29	Kamalzai	1	2	25 075	16 539	65 9	Lt Col Nawab Sir Mohd Akbar Khan Hoti	Muslim League	8 354
30	Utmannamma	1	3	13 165	9 718	73 8	Khan Abdul Aziz Khan	Congress	5 278
31	Razzar	1	2	13 022	9 977	76 6	Khan Muntatullah Khan of Tordher	Congress	7 053
32	Amazai	1	3	16 586	12 949	78 0	Kazi Attaullah Khan	Congress	8 135
33	Hangu	1	3	17 407	11 216	64 4	S Ali Badshah	Congress	6 495
34	Kohat	1	2	12 333	7 752	62 8	Pir Shahin Shah	Congress	3 979
35	Teri South	1	3	13 861	9 882	71 2	*Khan Sahib Gul Khan*	Congress	5 135
36	Teri North	1	2	8 419	5 326	63 2	Khan Mohd Aslam Khan	Congress	4 251
37	Bannu East	1	4	12 423	9 273	74 6	Khan Mohd Yakub Khan	Congress	4 582
38	Bannu West	1	2	9 959	7 007	70 3	Malik Akbar Ali Khan	Congress	4 823
39	Lakki East	1	2	16 740	12 581	75 2	Khan Habibullah Khan	Muslim League	6 982
40	Lakki West	1	3	11 958	9 428	78 8	Khan Abdul Latif Khan	Muslim League	5 571
41	Tank	1	4	14 562	11 231	76 9	Nawab Qutabuddin Khan of Tank	Muslim League	5 474
42	*Kulachi*	1	2	10 713	6 839	63 8	*Sardar Asad Jan Khan*	*Jamiyyat al Ulama*	4 507
43	Dera Ismail Khan South	1	4	9 530	5 651	59 2	Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan	Jamiyyat al Ulama	3 368
44	Dera Ismail Khan North	1	3	10 837	8 175	75 4	Khan Abdullah Khan of Potah	Congress	4 908
Sikh Rural									
45	Southern Districts	1	2	4 301	3 024	70 3	Sardar Ram Singh	Congress	1 719
46	Peshawar	1	2	9 096	5 783	63 5	Sardar Partap Singh	Akali	3 226
47	Hazara Mardan	1	2	9 767	5 317	54 4	Sardar Ishar Singh	Congress	3 322
Landholders									
48	Peshawar	1	3	1 072	792	73 8	K B Mian Musharaf Shah	Muslim League	513
49	N W F P	1	3	764	562	73 5	K S Sultan Hassan Ali Khan	Muslim League	294

A S DHAWAN
Elections Officer, NWFP

[1]*IOR, L/P&J/8/477*

XIII.16

SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Number of Seats (All seats are filled by election)	60
Number of General Seats	18
Number of Muhammadan Seats	33
The balance is made up of Seats for Minorities, Special Interests and Women	

Party Position after Elections

Party	Number of Seats
Congress	22
Muslim League	27
Nationalist Muslims	4
Muslims of G M Syed's Group	4
Europeans	3
[Total]	60

XIII.17

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED TO SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [EXTRACT][1]

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
General Urban									
1	Karachi City North	1	2	35 892	11 343	31 6	Haridas Lalji	Congress	11 102
2	Karachi City South	1	1	31 139			Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhawa	Congress	
3	Hyderabad City	1	3	8 933	4 449	50 0	Vishnu Namaram Sharma	Congress	3,812
General Rural									
4	Karachi District	1	3	5 904	2 837	48 1	Nichaldas C Vazirani	Congress	2 591
5	Dadu District	1	2	9 819	4 758	48 4	Parsram Vishinsingh	Congress	3 249
6	Larkana District	1	3	21 510	12 551	58 4	Sirumal Vishindas	Congress	8 230
7	Upper Sind Frontier District	1	2	4 455	1 687	37 8	Madhavdas Shivalomal	Congress	1 632
8	Sukkur West	1	2	18 060	7 123	39 0	Gobindram Dhanrajmal Punjabi	Congress	5 980
9	Sukkur Central	1	2	15 692	8 997	57 0	Chothram Teckchand Valecha	Congress	6 113
10	Sukkur East	1	4	9 126	4 545	50 0	Holliram Hassomal Keshwani	Congress	4 105
11	Nawabshah North	1	1	14 412			Newandram Vishindas	Congress	
12	Nawabshah South	1	5	16 169	9,882	61 1	Sirumal Kirpaldas	Congress	5 914
13	Hyderabad Suburbs and Taluka	1	1	5 945			Ghanshiyam Jethanand Shivdasani	Congress	
14	Hyderabad North	1	6	17 142	7 751	45 2	Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani	Congress	5 388
15	Hyderabad South	1	5	11 856	6 294	52 0	Tahilram Teckchand	Congress	5 327
16	Thar Parkar West	1	4	13 904	6 243	44 9	Partabrai Karsukhdas	Congress	5 101
17	Thar Parkar North	1	9	20 928	9 132	43 6	Menghumal	Congress	5 468
18	Thar Parkar South	1	1	6 505			Swami Krishnanand	Congress	
Muhammadan Urban									
19	Karachi City North	1	7	23 429	13 541	57 8	Mahmoud Abdoola Haroon	Muslim League	9 054
20	[Missing]								
Muhammadan Rural									
21	Karachi North	1	3	9 786	5 513	56 3	Mir Maqbool Khan	Muslim League	3 443
22	Karachi South	1	3	16 099	8 348	51 8	Mohd Yusif Khair Mohd Chandio	Muslim League	3 809
23	Karachi East	1	2	18 338	9 169	50 0	Haji Fazal Mohd Khan Leghari	Muslim League	5 799
24	Dadu North	1	3	28 526	15 374	53 8	Syed Ali Akbar Shah	Muslim League	11 692
25	Dadu Central	1	3	15 396	7 964	51 7	Hon ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh	Muslim League	4 885
26	Dadu South	1	3	11 052	6 865	62 1	Syed Ghulam Murtaza Shah	Progressive Muslim League	6 642
27	Larkana North	1	2	25 383	14 350	56 5	Nabi Bux Illahi Bux	Jamiyyat al Ulama	7 798
28	Larkana East	1	2	15 238	7 337	48 1	Khan Bahadur Mohd Ayub Khuhro	Muslim League	6 464
29	Larkana South	1	3	22 705	10 420	45 9	Nawab Haji Amir Ali Lahori	Muslim League	6 093
30	Larkana West	1	2	29 066	13 699	43 6	Wadero Mohd Khan Chandio	Muslim League	9 016
31	Upper Sind Frontier East	1	3	24 250	13 651	60 4	Khan Sahib Sardar Noor Mohd K Bijarani	Muslim League	7 571
32	Upper Sind Frontier Central	1	2	18 755	11 172	59 5	Khan Sahib Sardar Khan Khoso	Independent	6 383
33	Upper Sind Frontier West	1	2	17 895	9 873	55 2	Mir Jamal Khan Jamali	Muslim League	6,275
34	Sukkur North West	1	4	24 439	15 281	63 0	Khan Bahadur Moula Bux Md Umar	Independent	8 153
35	Sukkur South West	1	4	30 604	20 736	68 0	Agha Badruddin	Muslim League	19 130
36	Sukkur South East	1	5	7 708	8 334	47 0	Abdus Sattar Pirzada	Muslim League	6 742
37	Sukkur Central	1	5	15 191	7 691	51 0	Aligohar Khan	Muslim League	6 301
38	Sukkur North East	1	3	20 634	10 717	52 0	Khan Sahib Dadan Khan	Independent	5 303
39	Nawabshah North	1	4	16 775	10 362	62 3	Muhammed Ali Shah	Progressive Muslim League	5 288
40	Nawabshah North West	1	4	15,558	9 360	60 2	Nur Mohd Shah	Muslim League	4 895
41	Nawabshah West	1	4	25,592	16 187	63 2	Haji Ghulam Rasul Khan	Muslim League	8 235
42	Nawabshah South	1	3	14 107	6 454	45 8	Ali Mohd Mari	Muslim League	4 655
43	Nawabshah East	1	6	20 435	9 169	44 8	Mohd Azam	Muslim League	4 608
44	Hyderabad North	1	4	16 644	8 280	50 0	Pir Bahadar Shah	Independent	4 301
45	Hyderabad North West	1	4	17 916	8 812	49 2	Hon ble Miran Mohd Shah	Muslim League	4 964

46	Hyderabad South West	1	1	20 958			Sardar Bahadur Mir Haji Hussain Bux Khan Talpur	Muslim League	
47	Hyderabad East	1	3	29 267	12 134	41 3	*Mir Bundehali Khan Talpur*	Muslim League	6 807
48	Hyderabad South	1	3	30 553	17 944	58 7	Hon ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur	Muslim League	11 599
49	Thar Parkar West	1	4	24 135	13 037	54 1	G M Bhurgri	Syed Party	7 397
50	Thar Parkar North	1	3	24 566	11 708	47 6	G M Vassan	Muslim League	6 451
51	Thar Parkar South	1	5	5 782	3 455	59 9	Khan Sahib Arbab Tagochi	Muslim League	2 115
Women's General Urban									
52	Hyderabad *cum* Karachi City	1	1	47 395			*Miss Jethi T Sipahimalani*	Congress	
Muhammadan Urban									
53	Karachi City	1	2	5 015	2 338	46 6	Mrs Jenubai[Zenubai] w/o G Allana	Muslim League	1 768
European									
54	Karachi City	1	1	1 161			J Fraser	European	
55	Sind	1	1	326			Col H J Mahon	European	
Commerce and Industry									
56	Karachi Chamber of Commerce	1	1	47			Lt Col W B Hossack	European	
57	Indian Commerce	1	1	476			Issardas Varindmal	Congress	
Landholders									
58	Landholders	2	11	3 564	2 439	68 4	Mukhi Gobindram Pritamdas	Congress	1 823
Labour									
59	Registered Factories	1	3	12 237	4 961	40 5	N A Bechar	Congress	3 069

[1]*Return Showing The Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 218-225

XIII.18

STATEMENT SHOWING DETAILS OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS TO SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY [DECEMBER] 1946 [EXTRACT]

S No	Class & place of Constituency	No of seats	No of Candidates	Total No of Electors	Total No of Electors who voted	Percentage of Col 6 on Col 5	Names	Party affiliation	No of votes polled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
General Urban									
1	Karachi City North	1	1	35 892			Haridas Lalji	Congress	
2	Karachi City South	1	1	31 139			Rustomji Khurshedji Sidhwa	Congress	
3	Hyderabad City	1	1	8 933			Vishnu Neenaram Sharma	Congress	
General Rural									
4	Karachi District	1	1	5 904			Nichaldas C Vazirani	Congress	
5	Dadu District	1	1	9 819			Parsram Vishinsingh	Congress	
6	Larkana District	1	1	21 510			Sirumal Vishindas	Congress	
7	Upper Sind Frontier District	1	1	4 455			Madhavdas Shivalomal	Congress	
8	Sukkur West	1	3	17 396	5 205	29 9	Gobindram Dhanrajmal Punjabi	Congress	4 703
9	Sukkur Central	1	1	16 300			Chothram Teekchand Valecha	Congress	
10	Sukkur East	1	1	9 128			Hollaram Hassomal Keswani	Congress	
11	Nawabshah North	1	1	14 412			Newandram Vishindas	Congress	
12	Nawabshah South	1	2	16 169	6 566	40 6	Sirumal Kirpaldas	Congress	6 428
13	Hyderabad Suburb and Taluka	1	2	5 945	2 641	44 4	Ghanshyam Jethanand Shivdasani	Congress	2 591
14	Hyderabad North	1	1	17 142			Naraindas Ratanmal Malkani	Congress –	
15	Hyderabad South	1	4	11 856	4 608	39 1	Tahilram Teckchand	Congress	4 313
16	Tharparkar West	1	2	13 904	6 091	43 8	Partabrai Karsukhdas	Congress	5 442
17	Tharparkar North	1	[illegible]	20 928	6 395	30 6	Menghumal Perumal	Congress	5 588
18	Tharparkar South	1	3	6 506	4 137	63 6	*Swami Krishnanand*	Congress	2 550
Muhammadan Urban									
19	Karachi City North	1	3	23 429	17 587	75 1	Mahmoud Abdoola Haroon	Muslim League	17 357
20	*Karachi City South*	1	5	24 947	17 583	70 4	*Haji Mohd Hashim Gazdar*	Muslim League	17 168
Muhammadan Rural									
21	Karachi North	1	3	9 786	7,574	77 6	Anwar Hussain Ghulam Hussain Shaikh	Muslim League	6 967
22	Karachi South	1	3	16 099	11 851	73 6	Pir Ali Shah Pir Bhawanshah	Muslim League	9 973
23	Karachi East	1	2	18 338	11 225	61 2	Haji Fazal Md Khan Laghari	Muslim League	8 756
24	Dadu North	1	3	28 526	14 529	51 3	Syed Ali Akbar Shah	Muslim League	12 916
25	Dadu Central	1	4	15 396	8 962	58 2	*Pir Illahi Bakhsh*	Muslim League	8 447
26	Dadu South	1	3	11 052	7 395	66 9	Kazi Mohd Akbar	Muslim League	4 115
27	Larkana North	1	1	2,583			Nabibux Bhuto	Muslim League	
28	Larkana East	1	1	15 238			M A Khuro	Muslim League	
29	Larkana South	1	3	22 705	11 277	49 7	Fazulallah Kazi	Muslim League	8 490
30	Larkana West		2	29 066	5 139	17 7	Mahomed Khan Chandio	Muslim League	5 010
31	Upper Sind Frontier East	1	2	24 250	11 309	46 6	Khan Bahadur Sardar Noor Mohd Khan Bijarani	Muslim League	11 050

32	Upper Sind Frontier Central	1	3	18 755	10 315	55 0	Khan Sahib Sardar Khan Khoso	Muslim Jam iyyat	4 554
33	Upper Sind Frontier West	1	2	17 895	10 303	57 6	Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali	Muslim League	5 412
34	Sukkur North West	1	4	24 614	16 335	66 4	Rahimbakhsh Allahbakhsh Soomro	Muslim League	16 030
35	Sukkur South West	1	2	30 528	17 895	58 6	Agha Badruddin Ahmed Shamsuddin Khan	Muslim League	17 655
36	Sukkur South East	1	2	17 889	13 671	76 4	Abdul Sattar Abdul Rehman Pirzada	Muslim League	13 405
37	Sukkur Central	1	2	15 186	7 984	52 6	Aligohar Khan Haji Khan Mahar	Muslim League	7 134
38	Sukkur North West	1	2	20 745	10 738	51 8	Sardar Bahadur Kaisar Khan Mohd Khan Bozdar	Muslim League	6 712
39	Nawabshah North	1	2	16 775	10 352	61 7	Haji Ghulam Nabi Dahraj	Muslim League	7 410
40	Nawabshah North West	1	3	15,558	6 932		Noor Mahomed Shah	Muslim League	6 694
41	Nawabshah West	1	2	25 592	14 858	58 1	Ghulam Rasul Jatoi	Muslim League	13 194
42	Nawabshah South	1	1	14 107			Ali Mohd Mari	Muslim League	
43	Nawabshah East	1	2	20 435	7 357	36 0	Mohd Azam	Muslim League	6 652
44	Hyderabad North	1	3	16 644	10 752	64 6	Makhdoom Ghulam Hyder Makhdoom Zahirdin Qureshi	Muslim League	6 807
45	Hyderabad North West	1	1	17 916			Miran Muhammad Shah Zainaldin Shah	Muslim League	
46	Hyderabad South West	1	5	20 958	11 165	53 3	Haji Hussain Bux Khan Mir	Muslim League	5 675
47	Hyderabad East	1	4	29 267	11 327	38 7	Mir Bundeali Mir Haji Mohd Khan Talpur	Muslim League	9 988
48	Hyderabad South	1	3	30 553	18 295	59 9	Mir Ghulamali Khan Mir Bundehali Khan Talpur	Muslim League	13 924
49	Thar Parkar West	1	4	24 135	12 353	51 2	Mir Ahmed Khan	Muslim League	7 763
50	Thar Parkar North	1	2	24 566	11 957	48 7	Ghulam Mohd Wassan	Muslim League	7 520
51	Thar Parkar South	1	2	5 782	3 072	53 1	Togachi Mir Mohd Noahari	Muslim League	3 023
Women's General Urban									
52	Hyderabad cum Karachi City	1	1	37 395			Miss Jethi T Sipahimalani	Congress	
Women's Muhammadan Urban									
53	Karachi City	1	1	5 015			Mrs Jenubai [Zenubai] Allana	Muslim League	
European									
54	Karachi City	1	1	1 161			J Fraser	European	
55	Sind	1	1	326			Col H J Mahon	European	
Commerce and Industry									
56	Karachi Chamber of Commerce	1	1	47			Lt Col W B Hossack	European	
57	Indian Commerce	1	1	476			Issardas Varindmal	Congress	
Landholders									
58	Landholders	2	3	3 592	2 637	73 4	Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	Muslim League	2 055
Labour									
59	Registered Factories	1	2	12 237	6 941	56 7	Kazi Mohd Mujtaba	Communist	3 670

[1]In September 1946, Premier Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah lost his majority in the Sindh Assembly He made efforts to form a coalition ministry but did not succeed In the event, the Governor dissolved the Assembly and ordered fresh elections which were held in December 1946

[2]*Return showing the Results of Elections to the Central Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislatures in 1945-46*, New Delhi, 1948, pp 251-259

APPENDIX XIV

MOUNTBATTEN'S INTERVIEWS WITH M A JINNAH AND OTHER ML LEADERS

XIV.1

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *24 March 1947*

The first half hour of this interview was spent in discussion of the Finance Bill Then Liaquat gave me his impressions of the Cabinet Mission meetings and of Mr Jinnah He emphasized that Jinnah was most anxious not to embarrass me in any way He gave me his version of how the Coalition Government has been formed—a totally different version to that rendered by Nehru—and quite untrue I told him that it was my object that the Cabinet should function more and more as a Coalition Government—at present it was the only body representing every shade of opinion in India, and I set great store by it—but only if it could be made to function properly Liaquat said that he was opposed to Cabinet Committees but I persuaded him into suggesting that they should be set up (He made this suggestion at a Cabinet meeting later in the day but it was turned down by Congress)

Liaquat then proposed that decisions of the Cabinet should have to be voted by a majority of each party as well as by a majority of the Cabinet itself (This suggestion is being investigated apart)

I told Liaquat, in the same way as I told Nehru in my interview with him today, that I considered that I had an appalling responsibility to make up my mind what to recommend to His Majesty's Government I drew attention to the remarkable position in which His Majesty's Government had placed me I said that I intended to approach the problem in an atmosphere of stark realism In connection with the time factor, I pointed out that it took two years to separate Burma I was less interested that India should be handed over on lines which might ultimately prove correct than that mechanism should be set up to avoid bloodshed after the departure of the British I asked Liaquat if he agreed that the Army was the final guarantor of law and order, and that the morale and discipline of the Army was of the highest importance He agreed I pointed out the problems which arose in trying to get the Army nationalized within the time limit

[1]TP, X, No 12, pp 13-14

XIV.2

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND ABDUR RAB NISHTAR

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *26 March 1947*

Mr Nishtar gave me an interesting account of the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, and offered full reasons for the non-participation of the Muslims in the Constituent Assembly He said—as did the other Muslim League leaders whom I have seen—that they are determined never to come together with Congress I made no effort to dispel this conviction on this occasion

XIV.3

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *31 March 1947*

I asked him how his tour of the Punjab went He gave a brief account and said that he considered that the first requirement was to get out of Section 93 Government as soon as possible His solution for doing this was the same as he had given me at our last meeting, namely to hold fresh elections He claimed that the election results would mean that the whole of Khizar Hyat Khan's[1] 9 Unionist Muslim seats and one vacancy caused by death would be added to the 80 existing Muslim League votes, giving them 90 out of 175, i e a clear over-all majority

My reply was that I regarded the Punjab as a microcosm of the Indian problem, since the same difficulty of large minorities living in the same area was repeated here as in India as a whole

I told him that much as I disliked having any Section 93 Governments, I had no intention of prejudging the issue of India as a whole by giving a precipitate decision over the Punjab

He then said would I at the very least give instructions to the Governor that the military should not be used on purely police work where this could be avoided In particular, it was highly undesirable

that non-commissioned officers should be in charge of military controls entering houses without a search warrant and arresting people since this would cause communal bitterness and possibly distrust of the impartiality of the Army If the Army were held in reserve for supporting the police in case they were overpowered, that was one thing, if they were to replace the Police, that was quite another question

I introduced him to Lord Ismay, who was on the point of leaving to visit the Punjab, and invited him to put his case to him I instructed C V S [Chief of Viceroy's Staff] to discuss this with the Governor, and to say that I supported Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan's views on the duties of the Army and Police forces

[1]Correct spelling of the name is Khizar Hayat Khan

XIV.4

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *3 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 11 10 a m to 12 15 p m

I took him to task for allowing Members of the Interim Government to take an active part in the Committee of Action of the League, as reported in *Dawn*[2] He explained that most of the Members of the Interim Government belonged either to the Congress Committee or the Muslim League Working Committee I accepted this but complained that the League Ministers were actively associated with the Committee of Action, to which he replied that they had been members of the Committee of Action before joining the Interim Government

I told him that in their own interests they should either resign or refrain from taking an active part in the Committee of Action, and that I should probably take a convenient opportunity of expressing this view to Mr Jinnah I ended with the very strong advice to him not to embarrass the position of the League in the Government by allowing these activities to continue

We discussed the setting up of the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet He gave me his very strong reasons against this at some length, and I have asked him to let me have these reasons in writing together with his proposal as to how the political difficulty can be overcome

I asked him whether, in the event of my obtaining complete Congress

adherence to the letter and spirit of the Cabinet Mission's statement of the 16th May, he felt there was any chance that Mr Jinnah would then come back to his original agreement He replied that the communal strife had become so bitter that he felt there was now no chance

I then asked him what, if he were in my place, his solution would be for the transfer of power

He smiled engagingly and said "Since my dealings with the Congress Members of the Interim Government, I have come to realise that they are utterly impossible people to work with, since there is no spirit of compromise or fair play in them, and the majority are thinking only of ways and means by which they can do down the Muslim League and improve their own position" He continued "I consider the position now so intolerable that if your Excellency was only prepared to let the Muslim League have the Sind Desert, I would still prefer to accept that and have a separate Muslim State in those conditions than to continue in bondage to the Congress with apparently more generous concessions "

Finally, he gave me a brief report of progress in his Department, and asked me to include in the Defence Committee, when it was set up, the Member for Communications, Mr Nishtar, so as to ensure that there would be at least two Muslim League Members on the Committee

[1]*TP*, X, No 65, pp 101-102
[2]Dated 1 April 1947

XIV.5

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND I I CHUNDRIGAR

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *4 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 12 10 to 12 50 p m

I discussed his letter of the 3rd April with him, about the appointment of a new High Commissioner in the United Kingdom

He pointed out that Pandit Nehru had appointed Asaf Ali to the United States and K P S Menon to China recently, in his capacity as Member for External Affairs—without consulting anybody and merely with Lord Wavell's approval

He therefore called upon me to approve the appointment of Khwaja Nazimuddin as High Commissioner in the U K

I said I thought that this was a matter which should come before the

Appointments Committee, and that I was in correspondence with Mr Liaquat Ali Khan about the setting up of this Committee

Mr Chundrigar countered by saying that since Pandit Nehru had taken advantage of the existing statutory position to get two non-Muslim Leaguers into two key appointments, he felt that it would be less than fair not to let him make this appointment, the more so since Mr Khwaja Nazimuddin was a man of high character and integrity and a very weak Leaguer

I told him I would not take a decision on this without first discussing the matter with Pandit Nehru and relating it to my decision about the Appointments Committee I promised to let him know my decision in due course

He apologised for the belated submission of the names of the Government of India Delegation to the 2nd Session of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations on Trade and Employment This was due to an office oversight He said that he himself would lead the Delegation but would not be away for more than three or four weeks, the rest of the time Sir Raghavan Pillai (whom I had met in London) would lead the Delegation

I accepted his apology and approved

We then discussed the problem of how to find a solution for the handing over of power which would be acceptable to Mr Jinnah and the Muslim League

Mr Chundrigar entirely agreed that it was vital to make an early decision, and that it would be very beneficial to have it implemented while I was still here to steer matters through the early stages

XIV.6

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *5 and 6 April 1947*

When Mr Jinnah first arrived on Saturday 5th April, he was in a most frigid, haughty and disdainful frame of mind A number of photographs was taken of him standing between myself and Her Excellency He was recorded in the newspapers as describing himself on this occasion as "a thorn between two roses" (Later I challenged him on this, and told him I thought he had said "A rose between two thorns" He said "Yes, but in my mind I was expecting Her Excellency to be between you and me")

After having acted for some time in a gracious tea-party hostess

manner, he eventually said that he had come to tell me exactly what he was prepared to accept I said that I did not want to hear that at this stage—the object of this first interview was that we should make each other's acquaintance For half an hour more he made monosyllabic replies to my attempts at conversation—but one and a half hours after the interview started he was joking, and by the end of our talk last night (6th April, when he came to dinner and stayed until half an hour past midnight) the ice was really broken

Our talks covered all subjects I made it clear to him that I had not yet made up my mind what solution to recommend to His Majesty's Government, and that at the present I was utterly impartial But I explained that it was my policy to make a decision as soon as possible after seeing all concerned He agreed not to force the pace, assenting that, whereas the whole of India was awaiting a quick decision, that decision must be the right one I added that the problem, as I saw it at the moment, was not so much what to do, but how to do it in the time

Mr Jinnah claimed that there was only one solution—a "surgical operation" on India, otherwise India would perish altogether I replied by reiterating that I had not yet made up my mind, and pointed out that an "anesthetic" must precede any "surgical operation"

He gave me an account (which worries me a great deal) about his previous negotiations with Mr Gandhi, including his version of the Gandhi/Jinnah correspondence in September 1944 He emphasized, and tried to prove from this account, that on the Muslim side there was only one man to deal with, namely himself If he took a decision it would be enforced—or, if the Muslim League refused to ratify it, he would resign and that would be the end of the Muslim League But the same was not true of the representatives of Congress—there was no one man to deal with on their side Mr Gandhi had openly confessed that he represented nobody—he only agreed to "endeavour to use his influence"—he had enormous authority with no responsibility Nehru and Patel represented different points of view within Congress—neither could give a categorical answer on behalf of the party as a whole Mr Jinnah related that, when the impasse in the formation of the Interim Government occurred, he had refused to let the Muslim League join if Congress insisted on including a Congress Muslim He claimed that Congress's only object in this insistence was to show that the Muslims were not united After he had had 48 hours' negotiations with Gandhi, a formula had been devised whereby Congress would agree publicly that the vast majority of Indian Muslims were represented by the Muslim League, and he (Jinnah) would then agree to them nominating a Congress Muslim to the Government Gandhi had definitely agreed to this formula, but the Congress party had rejected

it. Gandhi had thereupon withdrawn his agreement and stated that he had made "a Himalayan mistake" This went to show, as Mr Jinnah emphasised, that not only Gandhi's word but also his signatures were valueless And he took the opportunity further to compare the position between the two parties—only the Muslim League had a leader whose word could be relied upon

He also spoke of the emotionalism of the Congress leaders, pointing out that they had every reason for this when it was a question of getting rid of the British, but this reason no longer held good

He accused Congress leaders of constantly shifting their front They were determined, he said, to inherit to the full all the powers now exercised by the British in India They would stoop to anything to gain this object—even to acceptance of Dominion status—rather than that any part of India should be handed over to the Muslims

At the end of our interview, after he had told me a succession of long stories about how appallingly the Muslims had been treated, I informed him that what fascinated me was the way that all the Indian leaders spoke with such conviction

He said that in his view the members of the Cabinet Mission had been imbued with the wrong attitude—they had come out pleading for agreement instead of laying down a solution I pointed out to him that I was in a very favourable position compared with the Cabinet Mission and others who had been sent out to find a solution to India's future, as I did not have to obtain prior acceptance from the Indian parties to the course I intended to recommend to His Majesty's Government I said that I would of course not recommend any solution which was patently unacceptable He seemed pleased with these remarks

Note For the discussion of policy which [took place] following on H E 's account of this interview, see Uncirculated Record of Discussion No 4[2]

[1]*TP*, X, No 84, pp 137-139
[2]Annex

Annex to No XIV 6

RECORD OF DISCUSSION, VICEROY'S STAFF MEETING[1]

TOP SECRET

7 April 1947
10 am

After he had given his account of his interviews with Mr Jinnah on the previous two days,[2] HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he felt

positively certain that the only way to obtain Mr Jinnah's co-operation would be to tell him that the British accepted Pakistan (a truncated version if necessary) as the ultimate goal from the Muslim point of view, but that we did not intend to create chaos by turning it over to him more quickly than was possible, nor was it for us to tell the Indians exactly how to set it up In the meanwhile, it was to be hoped that it would be possible to strengthen the centre by the inclusion of Mr Jinnah in the Government, by providing in the absence of "parity" such safeguards as might be agreeable to the Muslims and to make use of Mr Gandhi to put through a solution with the aim and object eventually of creating a truncated Pakistan

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he did not believe that Mr Jinnah had thought of the most elementary mechanics whereby Pakistan was to be run All the Indian leaders whom he had met were very ignorant of the mechanics of administration and under-estimated the difficulties They were likely to devise a much shorter programme than events would prove it possible to adhere to Things would take much longer to settle than was anticipated

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY stated that he did not believe that Mr Jinnah was opposed to the idea of an Interim Government working under a British Viceroy Perhaps the Muslims could be given some form of parity in the Interim Government The British might lay down the broad principles on which the transfer of power was to take place, together with a series of conditions and a programme to work to

MR ABELL said that it was not in his opinion likely that Congress would agree to the Muslim League being given parity in the Interim Government There was no justification on census figures for such parity Congress had never agreed to it and he thought they never would

LORD ISMAY suggested that a Committee might be established from members of the Interim Government to consider the practical working of the ultimate solution There might be parity in this Committee, which would sit under the Chairmanship of the Viceroy Mr Jinnah might be induced to co-operate on the condition that it would be the first object of a new Government to set up such a committee LORD ISMAY suggested that His Excellency might tell Mr Jinnah that he wanted him in the Government because, as things stood, he could only get his (Mr Jinnah's) views at second hand, that he himself would be prepared to hear Mr Jinnah in a continuous series of Committee conferences, H E might add that this seemed to him by far the best chance of getting through the Cabinet Mission's plan in its entirety

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY gave his view that, although Mr Jinnah might be induced to start work on such a basis, he would

not in the end agree to the Cabinet Mission's plan as the final solution He foresaw that eventually a truncated Pakistan would emerge but while he (His Excellency) remained in India, he felt sure that Mr Jinnah would accept any Central Government of which he was the head

MR ABELL expressed doubt as to whether Mr Jinnah would in fact agree to join the Central Government on such terms

SIR ERIC MIEVILLE suggested that, whether or not Mr Jinnah joined the Government, a small committee consisting of two Congress representatives, two Muslims, one Sikh and perhaps the Nawab of Bhopal should be set up under the Viceroy to hammer out the final plan

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he was opposed to any suggestion which would involve his throwing away his present strong position whereby he alone would make the decision His idea was that he should tell the Indian leaders of his decision—there would be no written agreement nor would he ask for their acceptance But they would have to be made to believe in the impartiality, competence and firmness of the decision He was in the position of a testator on behalf of His Majesty's Government His ideas at the present were that, to attain the earliest possible transfer of power, India should be offered Commonwealth status as soon as possible He would remain as constitutional head of the Government until June 1948 The British would remain at the beck and call of India for any assistance required during the period for which India chose to remain a member of the Commonwealth After June 1948 it would be up to the Indian leaders to decide whether to break up the Central Government or not It would be their full responsibility In this way he believed that honour would be satisfied This course ought to put an end to the present chaos and bloodshed

LORD ISMAY asked whether His Excellency intended to obtain the covering sanction of His Majesty's Government before he told Indian leaders of his decision He pointed out that His Excellency's directive was to recommend the plan to H M G He also said that he was much concerned over the question of the early introduction of Dominion or Commonwealth status If power was transferred before June 1948 what would happen to the British Army in India—and indeed to the Indian Army with British officers owing allegiance to the King? He advised that it would be wisest to avoid any premature grant of Dominion status

SIR ERIC MIEVILLE pointed out that, if Dominion status was granted in, say, June 1947, the Viceroy would remain in an advisory capacity only If the Indian Government did not wish to take his advice there

was no necessity for them to do so The Viceroy would not attend meetings of the Cabinet He would have no powers of any sort

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he fully understood these objections to the grant of Dominion status as such Some formula whereby powers would be reserved would have to be devised He was still nebulous in his own mind as to the details of the outline which he had propounded There was only one new element in this outline and that was that a decision in principle should be taken right away and the Indians themselves should be left to work it out in detail

LORD ISMAY said that he had received two letters in the last two days from Mr Gandhi who referred to the preparation of a "draft agreement" between himself and the Viceroy LORD ISMAY said that it was important to get out of Mr Gandhi's mind any idea that the note which he had prepared giving the outline of Mr Gandhi's scheme[3] in any way constituted a preparation for a draft agreement Possibly he had mentioned his scheme to Pandit Nehru who may have expressed disagreement with it?

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that Mr Gandhi should be reminded that he (His Excellency) had always insisted that it would be necessary to talk over Mr Gandhi's scheme with Pandit Nehru Before taking any such steps he must first be convinced that Pandit Nehru agreed with it

LORD ISMAY read out the draft of a letter to be sent by the Viceroy to Mr Gandhi in reply[4] HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY generally approved this draft subject to minor amendments

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

(i) directed the senior members of his staff to think over the outline plan which he had expounded above,

(ii) invited C V S to re-draft and render to him the letter which he was to send to Mr Gandhi

[1]TP, X, No 87, pp 142-145

[2]No XIV 6

[3]Gandhi's scheme envisaged an Interim Government at the centre giving Jinnah an option to form a cabinet It also allowed Jinnah to present a plan for Pakistan "even before transfer of power" Gandhi stated that the Congress majority in the legislature would not be used against the ML policy "provided that it is in the interest of the whole of India' The scheme petered out as it did not find favour with Nehru nor did Mountbatten present it to Jinnah See TP, X, No 83, pp 136-137 and No 86, pp 140-141

[4]Mountbatten informed Gandhi that he would recommend to H M G an agreed formula for the transfer of power after discussions with the Indian political leaders Ibid , No 88, pp 145-146

XIV.7

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND ABDUR RAB NISHTAR

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *7 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 12 noon to 12 45 p m

After giving him a very non-committal account of my discussions with Mr Jinnah, I asked him if he had any business he wished to raise

He thereupon gave me the background of the teleprinter circuits which was discussed at the last Cabinet Meeting He pointed out that it was ridiculous for Mr Patel in his capacity as Information Member to allocate priorities of teleprinter circuits, since at the very most his knowledge was limited to rival requests of various press organizations, whereas Mr Nishtar had to deal with several other customers, many of whom were Government departments, Defence Headquarters, and business houses

I agreed that a policy must be laid down in Cabinet, and as between the respective interests concerned, but refrained from commenting on whether he or the Information Member should decide on the respective merits of Press and other organizations

XIV.8

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *7 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 4 to 6 30 p m

I introduced Mr Jinnah to Lord Ismay

Mr Jinnah continued to give me the background of the negotiations with Mr Gandhi and the Cabinet Mission I tried by every means to bring him up to the point of saying that he would accept the Cabinet Mission plan and enter the Constituent Assembly

I warned him that Congress had made an unsatisfied request that the Muslim League should either enter the Constituent Assembly or be expelled from the Interim Government,[2] and I told him that Lord Wavell had indicated that he had only offered him seats in the Interim

Government on the understanding that he would enter the Constituent Assembly

He hotly denied the latter, and said that if I searched the files I would find that he had carefully preserved his position in this matter, and he had nothing to add to what was stated in the letters

He pointed out at great length that it was quite valueless entering the Constituent Assembly or even trying to go back to the Cabinet Mission plan, since the whole bases of the Cabinet Mission plan were that it had to be worked in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust In May 1946 there had been some prospect that this atmosphere could be created Now, nearly a year later, the atmosphere so far from improving had taken a serious turn for the worse, and it was clear that in no circumstances did Congress intend to work the Plan either in accordance with the spirit or the letter

He said that India had now passed beyond the stage at which any such compromise solution could possibly work, and he categorically called upon me to hand over power as soon as possible, preferably Province by Province, and let the Provinces themselves choose how they formed into groups Alternatively, if I preferred it, I could name the groups myself

On the question of defence he said he had come to the conclusion that the Defence forces must be separated and that Pakistan and Hindustan must be responsible separately for their own defence On no other basis would it be possible to have any form of central organization on terms of parity

I pointed out that in discussing his proposals I was very far from agreeing with him, but I naturally had to consider every proposal put to me

I said that even if his proposals proved to be the correct solution, they could only be satisfactorily implemented if I had the necessary time at my disposal for each step to be satisfactorily carried out

I drew his attention to Brigadier Cariappa's recent statement, supported by four or five other senior Indian officers, that it would be a minimum of five years before the present Indian Army could expect to be efficient and stand on its own legs, without the help of British officers

If this period were cut down to June 1948 and on top of that we were asked to perform the miracle of cutting the Army into half, did he seriously consider that this could be implemented by the time I had to leave in June 1948?

He smiled in a cryptic way and said "How then do you propose to leave in June 1948, is it then your intention to turn this country over to chaos and bloodshed and civil war?"

To this I replied that there was one thing of which I was quite certain, and that was that I was going in June 1948, and withdrawing all British personnel unless by some miraculous event all Indian parties united together to beg us not to go in the interests of the Indian people as a whole Such a request I would be prepared to consider laying before His Majesty's Government, though I could not guarantee what their answer would be

On the conclusion of the interview I introduced him to Mr Campbell Johnson

[1]TP, X, No 92, pp 149-150
[2]See TP IX, No 350, pp 622-623

XIV.9

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *8 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 6 to 8 p m

I asked Mr Jinnah whether he would be willing to join with the other high commands in issuing an appeal for no further provocative acts which could lead to bloodshed He asked me if I had seen in the newspapers an account of his speech in Bombay[2] I admitted I had, and acknowledged that he had already appealed for a truce, but I pointed out that a unilateral appeal appeared to me to be almost valueless, since the other side could always force bloodshed by their actions He agreed and said that if I wished him to join in an appeal for a truce against provocative action and bloodshed, he would be prepared to do so (As both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh had told me that their own high commands would be prepared to do the same, this is a hopeful sign)

Mr Jinnah explained the origin of "Direct action", and said that until he had resorted to "direct action" the League position was becoming more and more insecure, but he denied that they had ever instigated bloodshed anywhere, though it could perhaps be said that they had created the situation in which Congress had started bloodshed (not Mr Jinnah's exact words, but he said something to that general effect)

I told Mr Jinnah that I was going to make my decision on what to

recommend to H M G without necessarily obtaining the agreement of the major parties, but merely after hearing their views In this respect my approach was different from that of the Cabinet Mission, since it would be for the major parties to try and get round me to make a decision which would suit them, rather than for me to try and get them to come to some agreement He quite saw the point I also reiterated that come what might, I would leave India in June 1948 unless a simultaneous invitation from all parties in India to stay were forthcoming, and even then I could only transmit such an invitation to H M G without however knowing whether they would be prepared to agree In other words he must count on British officials being out of India by June 1948 He said it had been a shock, but he quite understood the position

I then asked him what, if he were in my place, his solution would be, and he repeated once more the demand for Pakistan, together with a splitting of the Defence Forces

I tried once more to bring him back to the Cabinet Mission plan, but he was absolutely adamant that it was useless to resurrect a plan which could only have been tried if the utmost goodwill had prevailed between all parties in 1946, and which now was foredoomed to failure

I invited Mr Jinnah to put forward his arguments for partition He recited the classic ones

I then pointed out that his remarks applied also to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, and that by sheer logic if I accepted his arguments in the case of India as a whole, I had also to apply them in the case of these two Provinces

Whilst admitting my logic, he expressed himself most upset at my trying to give him a "moth-eaten" Pakistan He said that this demand for partitioning the Punjab and Bengal was a bluff on the part of Congress to try and frighten him off Pakistan He was not to be frightened off so easily, and he would be sorry if I were taken in by the Congress bluff

I replied "I would not be taken in, because if I agreed to such partition, it would be on your able advocacy, but I could not of course allow your theories to stop short at the Provinces "

He was most distressed, and said that it would greatly weaken his Pakistan, and appealed to me not to destroy the unity of Bengal and the Punjab, which had national characteristics in common common history, common ways of life, and where the Hindus have stronger feelings as Bengalis or Punjabis than they have as members of the Congress

I said I was impressed by his arguments, and was therefore beginning to revise my ideas about any partition anywhere in India, since any argument that he produced for not agreeing to partition within the Punjab and Bengal applied with even greater force to India as a whole

For if he was to insist on the partition of India, he would be breaking up a great sub-continent of numerous nations, which could live together in peace and harmony, who could, united, play a great role in the world, but who, divided, would not even rank as a second-class Power The more so since he evidently intended to destroy even the mere vestiges that remained of the Indian Army, after the passing of this morning's budget proposals for the armed forces and the likelihood of the withdrawal of all British officers by June 1948

I am afraid I drove the old gentleman quite mad, because whichever way his argument went I always pursued it to a stage beyond which he did not wish it to go

As regards the splitting of the Defence Forces, I referred to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's letter,[3] and I told him that I entirely saw the justice of his claim to split the armed forces of India, and he would be at liberty to do so after I had ceased to be responsible for law and order in India Furthermore, after I had made my decision and H M G had approved it, if this decision should be in favour of partition I would be prepared to set up committees forthwith to work out how the defence forces could be split up, and also how in the meanwhile a central authority controlling the Army could itself be controlled in such a manner that the majority could not use it against the minority in any way whatsoever

[1] *TP*, X, No 101, pp 158-160

[2] In a speech in Bombay on 27 March 1947 Jinnah appealed "for a truce on the basis of Pakistan, I am fighting for Pakistan' Jinnah said "which means I am fighting for the freedom of India I appeal to Musalmans and Hindus and others to examine the position Do not be carried away by dreams Let us be practical Let us agree to divide " See *Pakistan Times*, 29 March 1947

[3] Annex III to No 420

XIV.10

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *9 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 4 to 5 30 p m

I invited him to give me his views on the way I should give my decision, together with his reasons He did so at some length, pointing out that no other solution except full Pakistan could possibly bring peace to India, since anything less would be sure to produce further

strife and bloodshed He even promised peace on the Frontier, where he said the tribes would beyond any question accept Pakistan with great relief He gave as an example the Islamia College, which though 15 miles from Peshawar, in the jungle, and full of valuables and so, one would have thought, a natural target for tribal raiders, had never been attacked in 30 years simply because it was a Muslim college

He said that the "Begin all and end all" of Pakistan was to have their own army, and nothing short of this could possibly satisfy them

I told him that I had insufficient expert knowledge to say how long would be required to implement any decision for a partition of the armed forces, but pointed out that the complete nationalisation of the three Services by June 1948 would so greatly weaken them that I did not see how they could possibly stand partition on top of nationalisation He agreed he also was no expert and said that the views of experts would be required as to when partition could be implemented in the Services I further pointed out that I remained statutorily responsible for law and order in India until June 1948, and that I had absolutely no intention of taking any steps that would weaken the efficiency or even the morale of the Army during that period

I suggested that the difficulty could be overcome (if indeed I were finally to decide on some form of partition) by setting up a committee of experts to work out the steps that were needed, together with a time-table for carrying them out, and that in the meanwhile the Indian Army, Navy and Air Force should remain under the control of some central body which should be presided over by me while I was here, and subsequently would have to be so constituted that no single party could control the army and use it to impose their will on other parties

To all of this he agreed as being reasonable Once more he appealed to me not to give him a moth-eaten Pakistan, and once more I pointed out that although I had not made up my mind in any way whether to agree to partition or not, I simply could not visualise being so inconsistent as to agree to the partition of India without also agreeing to partition within any Provinces in which the same problem arose He was most distressed at the way my mind was working

I told him that I regarded it as a very great tragedy that he should be trying to force me to give up the idea of a united India I painted a picture of the greatness that India could achieve—four hundred million people of different races and creeds, all bound together by a central Union Government, with all the economic strength that would accrue to them from increased industrialisation, playing a great part in world affairs as the most progressive single entity in the Far East

I finally said that I found that the present Interim Coalition Government was every day working better and in a more co-operative spirit, and that it was a day-dream of mine to be able to put the Central Government under the Prime Ministership of Mr Jinnah himself

He said that nothing would have given him greater pleasure than to have seen such unity, and he entirely agreed that it was indeed tragic that the behaviour of the Hindus had made it impossible for the Muslims to share in this

Some 35 minutes later, Mr Jinnah, who had not referred previously to my personal remark about him, suddenly made a reference out of the blue to the fact that I had wanted him to be the Prime Minister There is no doubt that it had greatly tickled his vanity, and that he had kept turning over the proposition in his mind

Mr Gandhi's famous scheme may yet go through on the pure vanity of Mr Jinnah![2]

Nevertheless he gives me the impression of a man who has not thought out one single piece of the mechanics of his own great scheme, and he will have the shock of his life when he really has to come down to earth and try and make his vague idealistic proposals work on a concrete basis

At 5 30 Lord Ismay came in with Cabinet papers which had not previously been circulated, and as the Cabinet was to meet at 6 o'clock I asked Mr Jinnah to go along with Lord Ismay so that they could reduce to writing Mr Jinnah's proposals [3]

[1]*TP*, X, No 105, pp 163-164
[2]In an interview with the Viceroy on 1 April 1947 Gandhi had suggested that Jinnah be invited to form the Central Interim Government with ML members See *TP*, X, No 47, pp 69-70 This scheme did not find favour with Jinnah nor with other Congress leaders
[3]For the record of Ismay's subsequent discussion with Jinnah, see Annex

Annex to No XIV 10

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN ISMAY AND M A JINNAH

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/191

TOP SECRET *9 April 1947*

I asked Mr Jinnah what recommendation he would make to H M G if he were in the Viceroy's shoes He refused to be drawn further than saying that there was now no earthly chance of working the Cabinet Mission plan I suggested, therefore, that we should consider the hypothetical case of partition In that event, what were his ideas about

arrangements for consultations between Pakistan and Hindustan in all essential matters of common interest?

Mr Jinnah either did not understand or affected not to understand, so I took the definite case of assets and liabilities Who was going to decide what proportion of India's existing assets should go to Hindustan and what proportion to Pakistan? And who was going to decide what proportion of India's present obligations for pensions etc were to be taken over by Hindustan and what proportion by Pakistan? Mr Jinnah said it was a case of a company going into liquidation and of the liquidator having to say how the company's assets and liabilities were to be proportioned to the new firms taking over the business, and that this was the job of the liquidator From this I dissented vigorously I said that whereas we would be very ready to help with advice, if we were wanted so long as we remained in India—we could not possibly take any responsibility for that kind of thing The two or more companies taking over the concern would have to agree among themselves

After much further discussion and question and cross-question, I got the impression that Mr Jinnah's ideas were as follows

If H M G said they were going to demit power to Provinces, the Provinces would immediately get into groups and elect their own federal parliaments In each group a government would be formed and the cabinets of groups would meet together to consider all matters of common interest, e g communications, defence, etc , etc Mr Jinnah emphasised that he would deprecate anything in the nature of a supreme council sitting over the federal governments, even if it were purely consultative Sovereign nations, he said, did business with each other on all and sundry matters by means of an exchange of delegates, and not by setting up any formal machinery

Mr Jinnah said with the greatest earnestness that once partition had been decided upon, everyone would know exactly where they were, all troubles would cease, and they would live happily ever after He quoted me the case of two brothers who hated each other like poison as a result of the portions allotted to them under their father's will Finally they could bear it no longer and took the case to court Mr Jinnah defended one of them and the case was fought with the utmost venom Two years later Mr Jinnah met his client and asked how he was getting on and how was his brother, and he said "oh, once the case was decided, we became the greatest friends"

Mr Jinnah made two other points of interest The first was that the framing of a federal constitution and consultations between the various federal Governments on the arrangements to be made after the

transfer of power would take a lot of time It was therefore most important that H M G 's decision should be announced as soon as possible "Time was the essence of the contract "

The second point was that Pakistan could not stand alone They would require to be friends with a big power Russia had no appeal for them, France was weak and divided, there remained only England and America, and of these the former was the natural friend "Apart from anything else", he added jokingly, "the devil you know is better than the devil you don't "

Towards the end of the interview Mr Jinnah turned inevitably to the size of Pakistan He prayed that there would be no question of a moth-eaten Pakistan, shorn of half Bengal and half the Punjab The agitation for partition of those Provinces was a Congress ramp He begged that the decision should not be taken solely on a counting of heads He quoted the case of Poland after the first World War, and the recent case of Trieste I confess I did not see the analogy, but suggested that in these days of democracy, the counting of heads was practically decisive He claimed that the present population of Bengal was entirely fictitious owing to the large number of labourers who were not Bengalis at all, but who had been imported from other parts of India

He asked to see the various schemes that the Viceroy had told him that I had prepared as a result of the discussions of the last fortnight, but I hedged

The meeting concluded with great affability and Mr Jinnah said that he looked forward to another talk I feel, however, that we had pretty well covered the ground and that there is little more to be said

XIV.11

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *10 April 1947*

Mr Jinnah came at 4 o'clock, but I arranged to leave the field clear for Lord Ismay to talk to him until 4 45 and go through the points he had written down after his last meeting From 4 45 to 6 30 I was present at the discussions

Mr Jinnah could not possibly have been more clear that he would have nothing to do with the Cabinet Mission plan, and so we went

ahead and followed up his desire for partition logically He said that what he wanted was a surgical operation cutting off the 5 Provinces in the 'B' and 'C' areas, and turning them over to Pakistan, leaving the other six Provinces to Hindustan He stressed that time did not permit any negotiations or details, and urged that I should give an over-all decision as soon as possible and allow the details to be worked out subsequently

Lord Ismay and I were at pains to point out to him that unless we could get some indication of what mechanics were required to implement any decision, it would be impossible for us to consider such a decision

I then explained to Mr Jinnah that although I still retained a fully open mind, the only way in which I could follow his advice was to pursue it to its logical conclusion I said to him as regards the questions of a united India "You claim the right of a large minority people to partition on a big scale If I grant you this how can I refuse Congress, who will press for exactly the same right for the large Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal to be partitioned?"

We argued these points back and forth, Mr Jinnah's main point being that I must make his Pakistan "viable" He quoted the partition of Poland as not having been made on the basis of counting heads or taking into account the will of the people

I told him I was not prepared to proceed on this basis, and that I must follow a course that would be generally acceptable, so far as it was mechanically possible in present conditions to ascertain the will of the people For this purpose I had in mind an immediate announcement that I would demit power to Provinces in June 1948, and that Provinces would have the right forthwith to decide whether they wished to join any other group of Provinces or remain entirely autonomous I presumed in fact that Sind, half of Punjab and probably the N W F P would form one Group, part of Bengal another Group, which together would form Pakistan The remaining Provinces I assumed would wish to join Hindustan

I pointed out that Pakistan and Hindustan would then have to set up their constitution-making machinery and that the Indian States would have the opportunity of joining up with one or the other of these two Constituent Assemblies, or of making separate negotiations, though how this should be done would require working out

Mr Jinnah became more and more distressed and displeased at the turn the conversation was taking, claiming that Congress were deliberately drawing a red herring across my path, and threatening that in

that case he would demand the partition of the Province of Assam I replied that certainly I would grant him the same rights of course as Congress, and if he wished to put the Muslim majority areas of Assam in with Bengal he must let me have his proposals

I continued to stress that this scheme was very tentative until I could see what mechanics were involved I could neither tell whether the scheme was in fact practical or how long it would take to implement it

Since he denied that the scheme I had just outlined was in any way what he wanted, he said he could not possibly contribute anything useful to working out the mechanics Lord Ismay accepted that he should work out the mechanics, which would be submitted to Mr Jinnah for his views

I pointed out that if it became evident in the course of investigation that the scheme could not be implemented in full by June 1948, then we would endeavour to work out a proposal by which the Indians could continue negotiations on a programme of implementation after our departure

We next discussed the procedure to be adopted in following through whatever proposal I finally decided to make to H M G Mr Jinnah urged me not to write any letters on the subject, and we agreed that it would be a good thing to put the proposals to the Prime Minister before I announced the proposed decision formally to the leaders

Mr Jinnah said he had wanted to call his Working Committee but had now decided not to do so for the present

He asked to be allowed to see what the Congress proposals were for carving up the Punjab and Bengal, so that he could submit counter proposals

I decided that I would ask Pandit Nehru to come and see me and ask him for the proposed boundaries for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, and to discuss with him the solution on which I had been working with Mr Jinnah

I also said that I would suggest to Pandit Nehru that the Constituent Assembly should not meet on the 28th April, but should have its meeting postponed until after the decision had been announced

Lord Ismay submitted the draft he had prepared for the joint call by the leaders of both parties for a truce to provocative action and violence Mr Jinnah took it away with him to consider the wording carefully, it being arranged that Sir Eric Mieville should see him about getting the final wording agreed by him before it was submitted to Pandit Nehru

Finally, I should like to record that in the course of this conversation I took the opportunity of Mr Jinnah's bitter complaints about my ruining his Pakistan by cutting out half of the Punjab and Bengal including Calcutta and by making it economically very difficult if not impossible to

function, to try and bring him back to the Cabinet Mission plan I told him that I entirely agreed with him that the moth-eaten Pakistan which was all I could possibly offer him was almost unworkable, and I strongly expressed my inability to see why he was not prepared to accept the Cabinet Mission plan, which gave him the whole of the Punjab, the whole of Bengal including Calcutta and the whole of Sind, with complete autonomy, and in fact accorded to him a really worthwhile and workable Pakistan

I pointed out that so far as I could see the only difference between the scheme I was prepared to give him and that which he could get under the Cabinet Mission plan was that under the Cabinet Mission plan he was obliged to accept a small weak Centre at Delhi controlling Defence, Communications, and External Affairs I pointed out that these three might really be lumped together under the heading of General Defence, and that I did not see how under the new scheme he could possibly avoid joining some organisation at the Centre to take care of General Defence In fact I prophesied that he would find that he had thrown away the substance for the shadow, and that he was going to get an almost unworkable truncated Pakistan which would still be obliged to share a common organisation at the Centre to arrange over-all defence Whereas if only he would come back to the Cabinet Mission plan, he could have the whole of the Pakistan he wanted, without really having any tighter organisation over him at the Centre than he would sooner or later be bound to accept under the truncated scheme, added to which, I pointed out, he was ruining the position of India as a great Power, and forever pulling her down to something below a second class Power

[1] *TP*, X, No 116, pp 185-188

XIV.12

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *10* [*sic* for 19] *April 1947*
4 10-6 10 pm

I first of all went through his long letter to me of April the 15th[2] paragraph by paragraph, and I read out, paragraph by paragraph, Sir Evan Jenkins' answers[3] to the Muslim League charges against him We had a general talk, in which I convinced Liaquat of Sir Evan Jenkins'

sincerity I told him that the ridiculous situation had come about that when I had seen the Governor of the Punjab on the first day of the Governors' Conference I had told him that Mr Gandhi and other Congress leaders had complained to me of his anti-Congress/pro-Muslim bias, and that after he had finished defending himself against that charge on the first day, on the second day he was called upon to defend himself against Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's charge of his being pro-Congress and anti-Muslim League I said that the matter would be laughable if it were not so tragic

I explained to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan exactly why I could in no circumstances consider allowing the Nawab of Mamdot[4] to try and form a Ministry, for even if he was given all the Muslim seats and thus a majority of five in a house of 175, I now knew from the Sikh leaders themselves that they would resist with all the power at their command any attempt at being governed by the Muslims after the massacres that they had suffered at their hands

I told him that unless all parties agreed to a sensible solution at my hands for the transfer of power, the only possible future for the Punjab was partition, and in the meanwhile I had absolutely no intention whatever of allowing the Muslim League to try its hand at governing

He accepted this remarkably well

He strongly protested when I told him that I was against allowing non-Sikhs to carry swords to defend themselves against the *kirpans* carried by the Sikhs in the Punjab He quite saw that on religious grounds I could not ban the *kirpan*, and he therefore urged that other inhabitants of the Punjab should be allowed to carry swords which they already had in their houses, so as to be able to defend themselves against sudden attacks by the Sikhs

I told him that I considered it was wrong that the Sikhs had been given permission to carry these big swords, but since this wrong could not now be undone, I did not see how a second wrong could put it right I said that if we allowed all parties to go armed in the Punjab, it was an invitation to civil war

Liaquat protested bitterly at this discrimination in favour of the Sikhs, and asked me to reconsider the matter I promised to do this, but held out no particular hope that I would change my view

I then told Liaquat that I was now in a position to give him some idea of how my mind was beginning to work towards a solution Provided he would give me his word of honour not to disclose anything I told him without obtaining my prior permission I would give him a brief outline of my views He very readily agreed to this, but asked if I would eventually

allow him to consult Mr Jinnah I said "I will of course agree to this later on but not in the present form or at this stage"

I then took him through practically all the alternative plans which we have been discussing I started off with Pakistan and complete partition of the Punjab and Bengal and Assam I told him that I had no doubt that the Indian leaders and their peoples were in such an hysterical condition that they would all gladly agree to my arranging their suicide in this way He nodded his head, and said "I am afraid everybody will agree to such a plan, we are all in such a state"

I told him that the worst service I could do to India, if I were her enemy or completely indifferent to her fate, would be to take advantage of this extraordinary mental condition to force the completest partition possible upon them, before going off in June 1948 and leaving the whole country in the most hopeless chaos

I then returned to the Cabinet Mission plan, and he said at once it was quite useless discussing the Cabinet Mission plan, the League had a phobia against the mere words "Cabinet Mission" I asked him if I produced a "Mountbatten Plan" that was very nearly the same in form and substance, whether this would have a better chance He said that psychologically he was sure that on both sides it would stand an incomparably better chance of being accepted than anything with the name "Cabinet Mission" attached to it

I asked him whether he thought the League would accept Groups B & C as alloted to them under the Cabinet Mission plan, with safeguards for the Sikhs, and two separate Indian Armies under their own Army Headquarters which would be run by an overall Defence Headquarters, in the same way that H Q SACSEA and H Q ALFSEA ran the 12th and 14[th] Armies in Burma and Malaya To this he replied "Now you are beginning to talk, but with power resting with the Central authority to raise taxes for defence finances the majority community would be given a crippling hold over the economy of the whole country"

I suggested to him that the various groups might be assessed according to their populations and the size of the armies they maintained, and pay a contribution towards a Central Defence Fund for the running of the Centre, and for keeping centralised technical schools for the Services He jumped at this and said he thought it would be a very good plan

I told him that I had in mind the idea of a preliminary round-table talk with representatives of all the Minorities He seemed to think that this would be an excellent thing

I then told him how completely impractical we thought his Leader was, and how we had been unable to get Mr Jinnah down to earth at all

Liaquat surprised me by saying "If your Staff will work out exactly

what partition means and then if you present the full difficulties to Mr. Jinnah, he will of course understand them even though he has not worked them out for himself"

We talked about Pakistan remaining in the Empire, as both Jinnah and Liaquat had suggested, and I said that I was quite certain that neither the British nor the Americans (who were now together for defence purposes) would dream of backing one part of India against another, or even getting themselves involved with the loan of officers, equipment, etc

He agreed that there were only two Powers in the world to-day that counted the British Commonwealth Group linked with the United States on the one hand, and Russia on the other hand I asked him whether he was prepared to join hands with Russia and all that that implied, and he shook his head and said "No, never" I then said "So you see, the only hope of your being able to remain within the Commonwealth is if the rest of India wants to do so, and that can only happen if there is some overall agreed plan under which the Muslim League with the Indian States and Congress *all* want to remain within the Commonwealth for a period of at least five years" He agreed absolutely that this was the goal to aim at

I asked him whether he thought such a plan had any prospect of being put through, and he said that the recent massacres and riots had frightened everybody, and now people had had a fore-taste of civil war, they realised what would happen if they could not find an acceptable solution He said "Although we are all being most intransigent now, you may find that you can bring considerable pressure on every group you meet if you are able to show them a plan which will get them out of their present impasse"

Finally, I told him that I wished to have one high class member of the Muslim League and one from the Congress to work with my Staff and start examining the various alternative plans I asked him if he would be the Muslim representative and if he would act quite unofficially as my adviser from the Muslim League angle, and that I proposed to ask Pandit Nehru to act in a similar capacity for Congress

Liaquat gladly accepted and said I could count on his complete support, and that he would put aside all other work and place himself at the disposal of myself and my staff I said I would make an appointment on Monday or Tuesday for him to come for a meeting with Lord Ismay, Sir Eric Mieville and Mr. Abell, and myself

Meanwhile he promised to go away and ruminate over everything I had told him, and start thinking out possible future lines of approach

I have an impression that Mr Liaquat Ali Khan intends to help me find a more reasonable solution than this mad Pakistan

In conclusion, I asked him if he could talk to the Editor of *Dawn* and invite him to take a more helpful line than his present unco-operative attitude Liaquat promised to speak to him

[1]*TP*, X, No 178, pp 330-333
[2]Liaquat had asked Mountbatten to persuade Jenkins to induct a popular Ministry to replace Governor's rule Ibid, No 148, pp 255-258
[3]Jenkins had opposed the induction of a League Ministry as it might lead to communal violence Ibid, No 160, pp 281-284
[4]Also see Nos 341 and 358, Vol I, Part I

XIV.13

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *11 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 5 30 to 6 40 p m

First of all I gave Mr Liaquat Ali Khan a rough outline of my conversations with Mr Jinnah, and reiterated the present position as regards working out a Pakistan plan I was most impressed by the way he took my statement that I would in no circumstances prevent Provinces from being partitioned if I accepted the principle of Pakistan

He quite saw all the mechanical difficulties and the delays that there must be, and asked me what I would do to ensure continuity after I left in June 1948

I told him that I contemplated making a public statement giving the programme which I thought ought to be followed and the principles on which negotiations should be conducted His reply was "Ah, but supposing they do not adhere to what you have laid down?" I replied "That would be just too bad, that is one of the penalties you have to pay for being free" To which he replied "But do you not recognise that your responsibilities extend beyond June 1948? If your Government fix a date which cannot be adhered to, are you going to imperil the implementation of your decision?" To this I replied "Most certainly, it has nothing to do with us after June 1948"

He then discussed the partition of the Army, about which he wrote to me on [7 April][2] I pointed out to him that so long as I was statutorily responsible for law and order in India nothing would induce me to take one step that would imperil the efficiency of the Army. He fully accepted this

I said I would put up proposals for setting up the necessary machinery to produce plans and finally implement a split, but that it would be along the lines that the Indian parties themselves would have to work out the final details

He said "After June 1948, who will see that the Centre uses the Army correctly and not unfairly?" I said "Presumably you will have two Defence Ministers meeting on equal terms and giving joint agreed instructions to a single Commander-in-Chief"

He then asked me whether there was any chance of this Commander-in-Chief being British, and I replied that that was entirely dependent on the Congress and the Muslim League getting together and saying they wished to retain sufficient connection with the Commonwealth to enable them to have the services of a British Commander-in-Chief

On this he said "But there is no doubt that Pakistan wants to remain a dominion, we want to have your officers" I replied that I was not prepared even to discuss the suggestion of any part of India remaining within the Empire unless the suggestion came from all parties together, and even then I could not say what the policy of H M G would be I said that if he discussed the matter during his visit to London,[3] would he please bear in mind that this had been my answer to him, and that this was in accordance with the policy of H M G He said he quite understood and would respect my attitude

I mentioned to him very briefly that the Orissa Government wanted some money, but unfortunately at this moment we were interrupted, and I never got down to receiving his reactions

After the interruption he raised the question of the Appointments Committee [4] He pointed out that it was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who had put this up and that his object in doing so had been to ensure that in even those five portfolios which Muslim League Members held the Congress could put in whomever they liked, since the matter would ultimately be settled by a majority vote in the Cabinet For that reason the League would sooner have the appointments of only five out of the 17 Departments, than be defeated even in these five by Cabinet vote

I said I could not share his view I was there as a trustee for the Government of India as a whole and not for any one particular party I considered he should accept the External Appointments Committee consisting of Pandit Nehru, himself and Sardar Baldev Singh, and an Internal Appointments Committee consisting of Sardar Patel, himself and Dr Matthai

He said he would agree on two conditions (a) that the Member whose Departments were being considered should be co-opted as a Member of the Committee for this item, thus ensuring that in League Departments

they would be at least "two—two", (b) that the Appointments Committees should make their recommendations direct to me and not to the Cabinet, since he pointed out that the present procedure was that the Member concerned sent his proposal to the Viceroy and with the Viceroy's concurrence the appointment was made The procedure now would be that the Committee could send their recommendations to the Viceroy who would make the appointments, in the event of disagreement between the members of the Committee, the Committee would meet the Viceroy who would give a decision on merit

He pointed out that I would be put in an intolerable position if the matter had to come to the whole Cabinet, personalities would be discussed, and finally a vote would be taken which I would find it almost impossible to overrule

I promised to go into this and communicate with him further

(P S V Please see me *re* this point)

Finally, he asked me whether I would see Mr Jinnah's Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Legislative Assembly I said I would be glad to do so when I could fit him in, and would in any case ask to see him at the Garden Party

[1] *TP*, X, No 126, pp 200-202

Annex III to No 420, Vol I, Part I

[3] It had been intended that Liaquat Ali Khan, with two other members of the Interim Cabinet, should lead the Indian delegation to the Sterling Balances negotiations to be held in London during May 1947 However, these discussions did not take place and a party of Indian officials visited London in July to discuss interim arrangements

[4] Patel had proposed the constitution of an Appointments Committee from amongst the Cabinet members to fill in vacancies in government departments but Mountbatten decided against the proposal

XIV.14

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND HOSSAIN IMAM[1]

TOP SECRET *12 April 1947*

The meeting lasted from 11 10 to 11 40 a m

Mr Hossain Imam told me the usual tale of woe about Congress perfidy against the Muslim League, and explained how it was that Congress had wrecked the chance of the Cabinet Mission plan being adhered to I asked him what he suggested I should do, and of course he came out with "Pakistan" I pointed out that the Pakistan principle

could be applied also to the extent of partitioning the Punjab and Bengal, with the logic of which he agreed, but appealed to me to "temper logic with mercy"[1]

I then said that although my mind was still completely open, two alternatives were beginning to take shape in my mind (a) that we should do everything in our power to try and get a Union of India in the interests of her future greatness and prosperity, and that the Cabinet Mission plan appeared to be the best solution I asked him whether he thought the Muslim League would accept the Cabinet Mission plan if Congress unreservedly accepted H M G 's declaration of the 6th December last, and also agreed that the Centre should be operated in such a way as not to impose the will of the majority on the minority on questions of defence, etc

He replied that so long as Congress couldn't impose direct taxation to raise the finance needed for defence, but could only call upon Hindustan and Pakistan to pay the appropriate contribution proportionate to their population and wealth, and provided they couldn't misuse the Army to their own advantage, he himself thought that the Cabinet Mission plan might prove acceptable He pointed out, however, with considerable truth, that unless there were an agreement which both sides intended to honour in the spirit as well as in the letter, with real goodwill and mutual trust, he failed to see how any form of union could function, and if it could not function then it was better to split, however unfairly the partition might work out for the Muslims

This brought me to my second alternative, and I said that if partition had to come, it would have to be applied not only for India as a whole but in such Provinces as wished to partition themselves In other words my alternative (b) was a completely moth-eaten Pakistan, without even the port of Calcutta

Mr Hossain Imam was horrified at my suggestion that there should be a Pakistan without the port of Calcutta, and once more appealed to me to give Pakistan some chance of survival

At the end he expressed the hope that I would not come to any decision until I had seen how the Constituent Assembly was working on the 28th April, since I should then see the Congress aim of domination over the Muslims I invited him to keep me or Sir Eric Mieville informed of such proceedings in the Constituent Assembly as he thought bore out his contention

Mr Hossain Imam appears to me to be a much more moderate-minded Muslim than I have recently come across, and his arguments appear to be reasonably unprejudiced

[1]*TP*, X, No 130, pp 209-210

XIV.15

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND KHWAJA NAZIMUDDIN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/192

TOP SECRET *17 April 1947*

I asked him to explain to me the position of the Muslim League as he saw it, and particularly to explain why they would not accept the Cabinet Mission plan.

He said that bitter experience had taught the Muslims that they had no prospect of any freedom under Congress domination, they were bound as a majority to be able to outvote them in any Central Government, and if the Muslims did not control an army of their own they would be powerless.

He pointed out that with the 1938-39 Congress governments, Muslims had been everywhere oppressed, done out of the best jobs, and in general made to feel that they had no future under a Congress dominated government. They therefore felt that they must have Pakistan.

I told him that if I accepted his arguments on the question of the partition of India as a whole, then I must apply them to the Provinces, and the Punjab and Bengal would have to be partitioned. He protested violently, and further pointed out that he thought it was physically impossible to partition the Punjab without large transfers of population. In particular, he prophesied that there would be no solution to the Sikh problem, since the Sikhs were nowhere in a complete majority and were divided among themselves as to whether they wished to join up with the League or Congress.

In the case of Bengal (his native Province) he pointed out that partition would be very serious. He realised that Calcutta would not be in the Muslim part, but he also pointed out that there would be the greatest difficulties in Assam, which would be completely cut off from the rest of Congress India and would presumably want a corridor. I pointed out that corridors were unnecessary between civilised nations, and gave the example of Switzerland.

Finally he said that Pakistan would have no earthly chance unless they had their own army. I pointed out that this was accepted in principle, but that I would never agree to a split so long as I was responsible for law and order.

I said that the mechanics of implementing Pakistan by June 1948 were now being examined, but that I was clear that it would be quite

impossible to split before we left, and the process would have to be carried on by themselves by mutual agreement after our departure

XIV.16

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/192

TOP SECRET *21 April 1947*

11 10-11 55 am

I referred to his proposal to appoint Major Jaffar to the post of Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India, and told him that from the papers it looked as though Lt-Colonel Lakshmanan had superior qualifications He quite honestly admitted that this was so, but said that Major Jaffar was senior in civil employment, and that the present set-up in the Cabinet gave him no option but to offer the post to a Muslim as long as he possessed comparable qualifications

I told him that I was negotiating to get an Appointments Committee set up, and I would like the case to be put before that Committee, to which he readily agreed

I then gave him an outline of how my mind was working over the solution of the problem of transferring power by June 1948, and expressed my deep regret that the Muslim League were pressing for Pakistan and Congress for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal

He was in a far more reasonable frame of mind than I can ever remember him, and agreed with all the disadvantages that I put forward in regard to partition, and as to the need for some central organisation to run Defence He however pointed out that if I were able to give a decision generally acceptable to the people of India within the next month, he was confident that fighting would cease, strife would die down, and that the Muslim League and Congress would get together in a spirit of co-operation quite different from anything ever seen before, since they would have no more need to fight to gain their independence and would go a long way to surrendering some of their rights for the sake of over-all defence

I then spoke to him about the situation in the Punjab, in which he was mainly interested, and told him that all his demands for terminating section 93 Government and holding fresh elections must now cease,

I had seen the leaders of the Sikhs, who had assured me that they would resist to the last man any attempt to put in a Muslim League Government in the Punjab, and I told him that the only solution was for me to make a decision, or possibly leave a decision to the people of the Province about partition, and then we could go out of Section 93

He agreed I then called upon him to use his great influence in the Punjab to stop further demands for elections, and to cease all political demonstrations, and he agreed to use his best endeavours to this end

We then discussed the Frontier I told him of the conversations I had had with Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Pandit Nehru and Sir Olaf Caroe, and subsequently with Dr Khan Sahib[1] I told him I was disappointed at the reaction of the Muslim League to the gesture of the Frontier Government in releasing 5,000 political prisoners I said that unless the Muslim League called off all further provocative action, all processions and picketing, and toned down their agitation for fresh elections, then I would be bound to uphold the Government and I would not hesitate to draft in extra troops to keep law and order I told him that the only hope of my considering fresh election in the N W F P would be if the Muslim League behaved themselves from now and until I gave a decision

I called upon him to use his influence to this end, and he fell over himself in promising faithfully to do everything he could, for he said he completely agreed with everything I had said, and was most grateful for being given the chance to co-operate

He seems to mean what he says, but whether he does and how much influence he is able to bring to bear remains to be seen

At all events, he seems to be in a thoroughly chastened frame of mind about the difficulties of Pakistan, and he expressed the hope that if a final solution cannot be found by June 1948, the parties in India would band together to ask the British to stay on to see the implementation of the partition proposal through I expressed doubt as to whether this would in fact be agreed to

[1]In a meeting on 16 April 1947, attended by Liaquat, Nehru, Caroe and others, the Viceroy urged the need for peace in the NWFP In a subsequent meeting on 18 April 1947, attended by Nehru, Caroe, Dr Khan Sahib and others, the Viceroy suggested that the Governor issue a statement announcing that elections would be held in the province in due course He also advised that the Provincial Government consider releasing political offenders and removing restrictions on freedom of speech and on public meetings, albeit not on processions See *TP*, X, No 162, pp 286-292 and No 171, pp 315-319

XIV.17

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND ABDUR RAB NISHTAR[1]

TOP SECRET

21 April 1947
12 noon-1pm

I gave Mr Nishtar the same sort of general description of the present state of planning for the transfer of power as I had given to Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan just previously[2] He protested violently against my adopting the same rule with Provinces as with India as a whole about partition, pointing out that in the case of Pakistan there was a very good reason which was absent in the case for the partition of Provinces He said that the Hindus had a Central Government already, or were about to set one up as a result of the Constituent Assembly, whereas the Muslims were never going to have a Central Government of their own, and would be in a permanent minority in the Hindu Central Government For that reason it was necessary to have completely sovereign States so that they could negotiate on the same level, irrespective of numbers This in his opinion did not apply to the Provinces, in any case vast numbers of the Hindus and Muslims were geographically bound to remain within opposite areas, and it seemed a crime to break up the economic unity of the Punjab or Bengal merely because some of these provinces had majority areas of the opposite community

I said that I would not contest his argument, since it was quite impossible for me to use such a weak argument to differentiate between the demand for Pakistan and the demand for partition within Provinces

The second point which he wanted to raise was that of getting out of Section 93 in the Punjab He talked at great length about this, but his arguments were immaterial, since I told him that having seen the Sikh delegation I knew that any attempt to hold fresh elections and to have a Muslim League Government would result in the Sikhs rising and fighting, which I was determined to avoid at all costs In fact I asked him to use his influence to stop further strife in the Punjab

Finally, I called upon him to use his exceptional influence in the Frontier with the Muslim League to call off their further activities I gave him a brief history of the discussions with Dr Khan Sahib, and told him that the offer to release 5,000 political prisoners was definitely the first gesture towards a real truce[3] He denied this, since he said

they had so hedged about their amnesty that they would be able to keep anybody they liked in prison, and that those leaders whom they could not afford to let out had already been charged with violence, even though they had only taken part in peaceful processions He further said that he doubted whether any one of the 5,000 prisoners would take advantage of the release offer, he thought they would insist on remaining in prison He told me that so long as Dr Khan Sahib and his Government were in command they would continue to make provocative trouble, which would be hard for the Muslim League to sit down to

I then told him that the situation was quite clear If he and his friends could not control the Muslim League on the Frontier, and would not insist upon their taking their release from prison when it was offered, and on their not taking part in any further provocative demonstration, then they would be playing straight into the hands of the Congress Government, who would declare that they were being subjected to the use of force to try and overthrow the Government, and would in the result call upon me to give them additional support which I should have no choice but to provide In fact I had every intention of providing it, and would draft in the necessary additional troops without hesitation The one way, in fact, which would prevent me from giving an impartial decision as to whether fresh elections were necessary, would be for the Muslim League to continue to use force and to make trouble on the Frontier

He said it would be very difficult to carry out my wishes unless he could make a statement to his people up there to the effect that I was now considering the question of whether to order fresh elections, in fact, he said, unless he might repeat what I had told him publicly, he did not see how he could exercise any restraining influence

I told him that I could not agree to his repeating what I had said to him, that he must use it merely as personal advice of his own But I told him that there would shortly be an announcement that I was going to the Frontier next week, and that it stood to reason that when I went there I should want to see the leaders of both sides, that I would give a decision on the N W F P question at the same time as on the wider position of India as a whole—within the next month, and that this was the line I suggested would be the best to pursue [4]

I left him finally with an exhortation to do his best to stop his people, in their own interests, from continuing to make trouble

[1]*TP*, X, No 186, pp 349-351
[2]XIV 16
[3]See note 1 to No XIV 16
[4]See note 1 to No 351, Vol I, Part I

XIV.18

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND CHUNDRIGAR (EXTRACT)[1]

TOP SECRET

22 April 1947
4-4 45 pm

After this I gave Mr Chundrigar a brief description of the general state of planning, and he told me that in the case of the partition of Bengal, if it ever took place, one thing was quite certain and that was that Calcutta, if given a proper chance, would opt to remain with the rest of Bengal in Pakistan because, he said, although the population of Muslims was only about one third of that of the whole, 40% of the Hindus in Calcutta were Scheduled Castes, the bulk of whom he thought would definitely vote against partition

I told him I could give no undertaking to carry out any form of plebiscite, which appeared to me to be too complicated to be got through in the time available

I also talked to him about the N-W Frontier, and invited him to use his influence with the Muslim League leaders up there to call off their campaign [2] I told him that I considered that the Direct Action policy of the Muslim League was the cause of the start of all the bloodshed and trouble He pointed out that Direct Action had never actually been implemented, the notorious 16th August was called "Direct Action Day" merely because that was the day on which Muslim League Members were to meet together to discuss the desirability of Direct Action, in fact this had never been implemented

I somewhat daily pointed out that it was hardly necessary to implement it observing that it had started as a direct result of this date I told him that I would probably discuss this matter with Mr Jinnah, and get him to issue an explanatory statement pointing out that Direct Action was not part of the Muslim League policy, since the view was widely held that it was [3]

[1]TP, X, No 199, p 371
[2]See Appendix VIII
[3]See Annex to No 391, Vol I, Part I

XIV.19

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND SUHRAWARDY[1]

TOP SECRET *26 April 1947, 3-4pm*

After telling me what a great friend he was of the late Lord Brabourne and how he had been almost the last person to see him alive, he got down to business

He told me he had seen Lord Ismay and Sir Eric Mieville and had had a very interesting talk, and was proposing to see them again later on in the day He told me that they had given him an idea of the general way that our minds were working

I told him that I was ardently against all forms of partition, I wanted above everything a united India If I could not have a united India, then I would like the Cabinet Mission plan If I could not have the Cabinet Mission plan, I would then put it to the Provinces to decide I had been called upon to partition the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, and I expressed my regret that these Provinces should be partitioned, but said that it was unavoidable

Mr Suhrawardy told me that in the case of Bengal, this was far from being the case, and that since my plan included a vote on whether a Province should be partitioned or not, and if not partitioned, whether it was to join Pakistan, Hindustan, or remain independent, he could tell me now that given enough time he was confident that he could get Bengal to remain as a complete entity He told me that he could get Mr Jinnah to agree that it need not join Pakistan if it was prepared to remain united

I told him that this was very good news, for although I was against splitting India up into many units, I considered it far better to keep Bengal as one economic unit than to have it partitioned

I asked him if he was also going to ask for a separate army, and he said most emphatically, "Yes" I pointed out the appalling difficulties of dividing the army into two as well as nationalising it, those difficulties would be even greater still if the army had to be divided into three, and it would take a minimum of five years, after we had left India in June 1948, for this to come about, and in the meanwhile he would have to accept a Defence Headquarters "in trust" for India as a whole He did not like this idea, and seemed to think that the partition of the army could be easily effected I assured him he was quite wrong, and that in any case I had no intention of allowing the army to be split up while I was still here

He then mentioned that he hoped British Officers would help in the

formation of a Bengal Army, and I replied that I did not see how this could be done, since India was not likely to remain within the Commonwealth He replied "I beg your pardon, Bengal has every intention of remaining in the Commonwealth" I told him I thought this was undesirable and that I was personally against any part of India being in the Commonwealth if all of India was not in, lest we got mixed up into supporting one side in a civil war On this, he said "I do not see how you can kick us out, what have we done to be expelled?" I admitted that that put him in a strong position, but that I still could not recommend it, although when the time came I should have to report it

Mr Suhrawardy then said he must have as long as possible to convert Bengal to the idea of being united and independent I asked him what the minimum time required would be, and he replied that the absolute bare minimum would be two months I said that I thought that this was in fact the longest time he could count upon, since I hoped to get a decision within one month, voting of the non-partitioned Provinces a week later, and voting of the partitioned Provinces not more that [*sic*] three weeks after that He asked me not to have a decision on partition until November, and I pointed out that if we left it as late as this, there was practically no prospect of getting partition implemented before we left in June 1948

I asked Mr Suhrawardy to give Lord Ismay his ideas on the notional partition of Bengal for voting purposes, and said that I would be available if he wanted to see me again urgently at any time

[1]*TP*, X, No 227, pp 448-449

XIV.20

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH[1]

TOP SECRET *26 April 1947, 5-6 20 pm*

I told Mr Jinnah that I had sent for him to discuss the Nawab of Mamdot's offer to form a Ministry in the Punjab[2]

Mr Jinnah explained that Mamdot could now count up to 93 supporters out of the 175 in the Punjab Assembly, since certain minorities had promised him their support There was thus no question but that he could really form a government and govern, and Mr Jinnah called upon me to implement my oft-proclaimed desire to get out of Section 93

I told him that after my talk with Tara Singh and Kartar Singh,[3] I had become convinced that any attempt to impose a mainly one-community government on the Sikhs would produce immediate armed retaliation which might end in civil war I told him that the Sikhs felt so bitter about the Muslim atrocities that they were only waiting for an excuse for their revenge; and I said that it would be criminal folly to let this occur just before the official discussions and decision on the transfer of power I pointed out that he knew as well as I did the line that these discussions were likely to take, and the great probability that Pakistan would emerge with a partition of the Punjab In the light of this, what could be the point of having a brief period of Muslim League government in the Punjab, which could only bring about bloodshed and greatly increase the difficulty of negotiating the boundaries in the partition I told Mr Jinnah that nothing would induce me to change my mind and that I was proposing to instruct the Governor accordingly

I asked him if I might tell the Governor that he (Mr Jinnah) agreed He replied "Certainly not, I definitely do not agree "

I then said, "Do you entirely see my point of view and understand my reasons?" He replied "I entirely see your point of view and I respect your sincerity, though I do not agree with your decision " I replied "One day you will be thankful to me for saving you from getting into this mess that you would like to get into in the Punjab, it is mainly in the interests of the Muslim League that I am making this decision, and I am sorry not to have your agreement "

I told him that I should be seeing the Governor on Wednesday and would discuss the matter at length with him and confirm the decision I had already telegraphed

Mr Jinnah said that in that case he would suggest that the Governor should not see Mamdot until after he had seen me I replied "If you will take the responsibility for this delay I will agree", whereupon he offered to telephone Mamdot to tell him not to see the Governor until after he had seen me, about Wednesday or Thursday I promised to telegraph to the Governor accordingly [4]

He told me that he thought that my talk to the Sikhs must have had a good effect, since he had had a private emissary from Kartar Singh suggesting that they should hold discussions about the Sikh state joining Pakistan after partition He said he had accepted Kartar Singh's offer to come to Delhi to see him Mr Jinnah seemed very gratified by this move, since he said the Sikhs liked him personally and had always trusted him, and that he had publicly stated that he would support the Sikhs against the Muslims any time that any Muslims took unfair action against the Sikhs

He then asked me how much longer I wished him to remain in Delhi I replied that he should not leave before the 2nd of May, and should be back by the 15th May, and that I would like him to warn his Working Committee to be ready to meet shortly after the 15th May I said that if I did not want him and his Working Committee until after the 15th May I would arrange for a message to be sent to him as soon as I knew the date on which he would be wanted, but I did not think it would be later than the 20th May

I next told him of Mr Suhrawardy's visit, and said that I had told him that I was strongly opposed to all forms of partition, whether the partition of India itself or the partition of Provinces, and that Mr Suhrawardy had replied that in the case of Bengal he thought he might be able to keep a united Bengal on condition that it joined neither Pakistan nor Hindustan I asked Mr Jinnah straight out what his views were about keeping Bengal united at the price of its remaining out of Pakistan

He said, without any hesitation, "I should be delighted What is the use of Bengal without Calcutta, they had much better remain united and independent, I am sure that they would be on friendly terms with us "

I then mentioned that Mr Suhrawardy had said that if Bengal remained united and independent, they would wish to remain within the Commonwealth Mr Jinnah replied "Of course, just as I indicated to you that Pakistan would wish to remain within the Commonwealth" I corrected him and said "No, you told me that if the Pakistan Government was formed, its first act might well be to ask to be admitted to membership of the British Commonwealth " He corrected me, and said I completely misunderstood the position, it was not a question of asking to be admitted, it was a question of not being kicked out He said that Mr Churchill had told him "You have only to stand firm and demand your rights not to be expelled from the British Commonwealth, and you are bound to be accepted The country would never stand for the expulsion of loyal members of the Empire "

Mr Jinnah told me that he had asked Sir Stafford Cripps what form legislation on the transfer of power was likely to take, could he count on the fact that it would be in the form that India or parts of India would be granted the same privilege as other members of the British Commonwealth, i e the right to secede if they so wished, failing which they would automatically still be in the Empire Sir Stafford Cripps replied that he was not in a position to answer that question at that time Mr Jinnah said "Thus like a true lawyer he evaded the question, but it is quite clear to me that you cannot kick us out, there is no precedent for forcing parts of the Empire to leave against their will "

Finally, I reverted to the Cabinet Mission plan, much to his distaste

I said "You told me that your objection to the Cabinet Mission plan was the fact that the Centre would be controlled by a majority vote of the Congress, and would be able to exert economic and military pressure to the detriment of Groups B and C Is that your objection to the scheme?" He nodded his head vehemently, and I then said "I have been looking into this, and there is little doubt that the provision in the Cabinet Mission plan whereby the Constituent Assembly votes on any major communal issue in two parts, and unless there is a majority of the members of both communities present and voting the measure cannot be passed "[5] If that were so, I pointed out, then surely he would have as many safeguards as he would ever get under Pakistan with a Central Defence Council He replied emphatically "No, it is laid down that a difference of opinion on a major communal question should be decided by the Federal Court It is clear that the President of the Constituent Assembly is not obliged to take their ruling I asked the Chief Justice what he would do if his ruling were disregarded, and he replied that the Federal Court would refuse to give any more rulings That would then leave it open to Congress to impose their will by majority vote

"In fact the leaders of Congress are so dishonest, so crooked, and so obsessed with the idea of smashing the Muslim League, that there are no lengths to which they will not go to do so, and the only way of giving Pakistan a chance is to make it an independent nation of the British Commonwealth, with its own army, and the right to argue cases at any Central Council on this basis "

I was quite unable to shake him from this decision, and he begged me not to ask him to reconsider the Cabinet Mission plan again

[1]*TP*, X, No 229, pp 451-454
[2]See No 96, Vol I, Part I
[3]See *TP*, X, No 173, pp 320-324
[4]Mountbatten did this on 26 April See *TP*, X, No 229, note 2, p 453
[5]This sentence is evidently not complete

XIV.21

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND CHUNDRIGAR[1]

TOP SECRET *2 May 1947,*
11 15 am-12 noon

I gave Mr Chundrigar a brief review of my trip to the N W F P and

the Punjab, and a rough outline of the plan that Lord Ismay was taking home

Mr Chundrigar asked me whether I had formed the impression that fresh elections should be held in the N W F P

I told him that I was not prepared to give him my impressions on this point while the civil disobedience movement leading to violence was still in full swing in that Province I said that so long as that movement continued there would in no circumstances be fresh elections, and that if the movement gathered momentum I would draft up fresh troops and fight it, that I would never yield to violence, and that if the Muslim League had not completely stopped all violence on the frontier before I left on the transfer of power, I should hand the Province over to the Congress Government

We then discussed the partition of Bengal, at the mere proposal of which he seemed deeply distressed, since he pointed out that East Bengal could not live by itself I told him that that was no particular concern of mine, since I was intensely opposed to partition in any case and would only grant it on the express request of the people of the Provinces themselves I did tell him that we were going to allow a vote to be taken first on whether Bengal, if it remained united, should be independent, or go to Pakistan, or to Hindustan, and that this should give Suhrawardy a chance of forming a coalition government, granting joint electorates, and holding Bengal together

He agreed that this was the ideal solution, but was afraid that if it were left to the Constituent Assembly representatives to vote on partition, those representatives were very few and completely in the hands of Congress, and would be bound to vote for partition He therefore urged that a referendum on partition should be taken by all those on the electoral roll of Bengal being allowed to vote on this issue

I told him that I would give his proposal my serious consideration, but would certainly not carry it out if it (a) unduly delayed a decision on the transfer of power, or (b) was likely to cause any rioting or bloodshed

Mr Chundrigar then asked me why I would not let Mamdot form a ministry in the Punjab, since he had a majority in the Assembly He called upon me to be consistent and to face up to the Sikh threat of violence in the Punjab even as I was facing up to the League threat of violence in N W F P

I denied that this was a parallel case, since the previous Unionist Ministry had been thrown out through Muslim League violence and that was why we were in Section 93 in that Province I said I had no intention of turning over government to a one-party Ministry for the last three or four weeks before a decision was taken about the transfer

of power in the Punjab, but I would not mind turning it over to a coalition ministry

I told him that if the Sikhs made trouble it was my intention to warn them that they would have to fight the army and air force, in exactly the same way as the Muslim League would be faced with the army and air force if they made any further trouble I told him that I was, above everything else, determined to have law and order in this country, and that I was going to make aggression completely unprofitable Not only would I put down any further violence by violence, I would bring down the full might of the Air force, Armoured Corps and all modern instruments of war against the aggressors, and would not hesitate to impose proscriptive bombing against their property, since the first requirement was peace, and if I could not have it by co-operation, then I would have it by making it completely disastrous for anyone who broke the peace

[1] *TP*, X, No 283, pp 561-563

XIV.22

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET *2 May 1947*

HIS EXCELLENCY started by thanking Mr Jinnah for arranging for the Muslims to come and see him during his recent visit to the N W F P , and also congratulated him on the behaviour of the huge crowd of Muslims who had gathered in Cunningham Park His Excellency said that after consulting Dr Khan Sahib he showed himself to the crowd who gave him a great reception and then dispersed without any trouble His Excellency said that he could not too strongly put to Mr Jinnah that the latter's object was to obtain fresh elections to the N W F P before the transfer of power Lord Ismay had left for England that morning to explain the plan for the transfer of power to H M G and included in it, as Mr Jinnah knew as he had actually read the plan, was a clause to the effect that fresh elections in the N W F P would be held He must repeat that if violence were to continue in the province, that paragraph referring to the elections would be amended He felt strongly that Mr Jinnah obviously would want to get the N W F P into Pakistan, and that everything therefore was to be gained by

Mr Jinnah quietly calling off the movement without any announcement His Excellency further said that, in his view, there was a clear case for fresh elections, but that in no circumstances would he yield to violence

MR JINNAH said that he was sorry but he felt that there was some misunderstanding He had clearly understood that an announcement about a fresh election was not to be held up until the plan was made public, which he understood would not be at any rate until the end of the month, and it would be impossible for him to control the situation for so long He said that he had carried out what he told His Excellency he would do before the latter's visit There was no procession, the meeting was peaceful, and those Muslims in gaol came and had an interview with the Viceroy, and now, he said, "the position is that you ask me to tell my followers not to carry on with the agitation" What could he say in reply? HIS EXCELLENCY said that he could refer to the Gandhi/Jinnah appeal, that he could say that he had seen the Viceroy who was adamant that he would not give way to duress, and that the obvious thing to do was to wait for the plan MR JINNAH agreed that it was quite wrong to give way to force and that violence must be stopped, but that His Excellency could not control the people nor could he He could not understand that the question of dissolution had to be delayed until after the plan was made public HIS EXCELLENCY replied that his conscience would not allow him to yield to force in any way, and he was in great trouble with the Congress over the attitude he was taking up regarding the N W F P He did not mind that To Jinnah's definite question "as a result of your visit to the Frontier Province are you satisfied there is a case for immediate dissolution of the Government", His Excellency gave a categorical denial "No, definitely no, any election will take place solely on the issue of Pakistan or Hindustan" The election was merely to find out whether the province should go to Pakistan or Hindustan, that it might be necessary for the fair conduct of the election to go into Section 93, and that observers for the Muslim League and Congress might have to be appointed MR JINNAH said that if the Khan Sahib administration was allowed to continue, the Congress would provoke conditions that would cause violence and that if he were to call off the campaign he would be reduced to dust in the eyes of his followers He could say that the campaign must be peaceful, but he had no hesitation in saying that it would not remain peaceful

At this moment, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan joined the meeting HIS EXCELLENCY then told Mr Liaquat of the general tenor of the conversation Mr Liaquat said that he saw no chance of the movement being called off If the Muslim League had called it off immediately after

His Excellency's visit, it would be said that the League was under British orders and that Mr Jinnah counted for nothing This was a point which HIS EXCELLENCY said had not occurred to him before and one that carried weight with him

HIS EXCELLENCY then suggested that the League would be well advised.

(1) to insist on their leaders in the provinces leaving the gaols He pointed out that some of the best brains in the League Party were in prison and were perfectly free to come out but would not do so as they felt that they were embarrassing the administration more by remaining in

(2) that Mr Jinnah should send for the League leaders here and, whilst not insisting on their calling the movement off, should suggest that they should keep it alive by holding meetings in out of the way places, and not too big meetings at that, that processions and picketing should be barred, and that incidents should be prevented which have news value and are published in all the newspapers

Mr Jinnah said once again that so long as the present Ministry was in power he saw no hope It all sounded all right on paper but in practice it just would not work HIS EXCELLENCY replied that he feared that the answer to that was that it would be necessary for him to send in troops and aeroplanes which he would be forced to do if the League were determined to make trouble MR JINNAH said that the Congress knew perfectly well that they were finished in the N W F P They were playing the game of the last gambler's throw Their whole idea was to keep up the quarrel and bloodshed and to force the hands of the Viceroy to say that under those circumstances he could not have an election He said that the representatives for the N W F P were arriving tonight and he frankly did not quite know what he could say to them, but it was finally left that if Mr Jinnah wished to come and see His Excellency again and proposed to bring the leaders with him, he would communicate with me, and the Viceroy promised that he would receive them

In the course of the conversation, the Punjab situation was brought up HIS EXCELLENCY said in reply to both Mr Jinnah's and Mr Liaquat's question as to why the Muslim League Ministry could not be formed there, that feeling is centred at the moment on the forthcoming announcement of H M G The Sikhs, he thought, meant to come to terms with Pakistan One thing that would kill such an eventuality would be a further bloodbath If we were to go out of Section 93, he would be doing the Muslims a bad turn as the Sikhs would fight Indeed, it would be a gross act of betrayal to the Muslim League to form a

Muslim League Government in that province at the present time HIS EXCELLENCY finished by saying that he may well have saved the Punjab for Mr Jinnah by not allowing Mamdot to form a Ministry

As regards Bengal, HIS EXCELLENCY pointed out that the Governor was most anxious to keep Bengal together Eastern and Western Bengal were interdependent and partition would ruin them both His Excellency gave a short account of what was proposed in the plan for Bengal after his discussions with the Governor

E M

[1] *TP*, X, No 287, pp 566-569 Eric Mieville was also present

XIV.23

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND M A JINNAH AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

4 May 1947

HIS EXCELLENCY said that he had been into the question of applying Section 93 to the N W F P but that he had found many difficulties in the way He had, therefore, hit upon another plan which was to set up his own machinery and hold a referendum in the Province on the simple issue of Hindustan or Pakistan This would have the added advantage of getting rid of all weightage He went on to say that he had just seen Mr Gandhi and had put to him the proposition that the right to hold meetings with free speech could not be denied, but that processions and picketing should be disallowed If there was any shooting on the site where the meeting was being held, this could be attributable to the Party in opposition to the one that was holding the meeting To this, Mr Gandhi had agreed

HIS EXCELLENCY went on to talk about the "Direct Action" Campaign He thought that the very name was an unfortunate one, in that the world at large took it to mean that it was a Campaign in which arms would be used and it contrasted badly in name with the Congress "Non-Violence Civil Disobedience" Campaign

Mr Jinnah said that the Viceroy might be correct in what he said, but in actual fact the Congress Non-Violence Campaign, whenever it was put into force, resulted in terrible bloodshed He agreed with the Viceroy who had previously suggested that it would be a good idea to make know once again that although a resolution of Direct Action had

been passed by the Muslim League the campaign had never been launched He also agreed with another suggestion that the Viceroy had put to him that, in order to make clear to the world what the Direct Action Campaign meant and that it had never actually been launched, it would be a good plan to call the European Correspondents together and explain fully the position to them

MR JINNAH went on to say that he had received a deputation of six of his followers released on parole from the Frontier

They had explained to him that if they came out of gaol as they were entitled to do as a result of the Viceroy's intervention with the Khan Sahib it would mean

(a) They would be accused of having done so under the Viceroy's orders, and

(b) It would be very difficult to explain to their people why they had come out and would destroy their prestige

And so, MR JINNAH went on, after careful consideration he wished to say that he was quite ready to make a statement to the effect that he would suspend his Campaign on the Frontier unreservedly and that he would call for a truce Some twenty to thirty of his leading men would come out of gaol to explain to his followers why this action had been decided upon and that there was to be no unlawful activity of any kind until after His Excellency's announcement of his plan All this would be done provided that he could add that he had good reason to believe that His Excellency had recommended to H M G that a referendum would be held in the N W F P to decide whether the people of that province were in favour of Hindustan and [or] Pakistan It must also be understood that Congress would agree that there was no victimization and that it would be an honourable truce He quite appreciated that H M G might over-rule His Excellency's recommendation, but that would not affect the immediate issue

His Excellency then said that supposing there were a referendum and it went in favour of the Muslims, he presumed that the Congress Government would resign, but if they carried on, he would expect the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to pass a Resolution asking for fresh Elections He did not propose to twist the law so as to go into Section 93 He asked whether the Muslim League were sure that they wanted the N W F P It cost the present Government 3½ crores a year to keep the Tribes quiet

Mr Jinnah replied that after the Viceroy's announcement had been made, he proposed to go to the Frontier himself to have a straight talk with the Tribes, and he thought that as a result he would not have to

pay them anything or at any rate he felt sure that he would be able to cut the figure of 3½ crores very considerably He would come to some arrangement with them

HIS EXCELLENCY then summed up and said that

(1) Sir Eric Mieville would draft two statements—one on the lines that Mr Jinnah wanted, as mentioned above, and the other of a weaker character, which His Excellency would hold up his sleeve and only use if it were not possible to get the first one accepted by the Prime Minister, which His Excellency promised he would do his utmost to achieve

(2) The statement would be shown to Pandit Nehru by His Excellency, who explained that if he could get Congress agreement to it, his hands would be immeasurably strengthened (Note All the way through the conversation His Excellency had stressed how very touchy the Congress were about the Frontier and how their attitude was stiffening every day)

(3) No mention was to be made in either statement to a General Election to follow on the Referendum (Note This had been put forward with much heat by both Mr Jinnah and Mr Liaquat late in the conversation It was, they said, a natural corollary to a referendum, if the referendum was in favour of Pakistan His Excellency had agreed with their argument but pointed out that any mention of a general election would finish any chance he had of obtaining the concurrence of Congress agreement to the Statement)

Finally, HIS EXCELLENCY touched on the PUNJAB, about which he said he was very worried as he knew that the Sikhs were in a truculent frame of mind This view was confirmed by talk he had had with the Maharaja of Patiala on the previous evening [2] His Excellency thought it would be a good thing if Mr Jinnah would see the Maharaja and have a talk with him MR JINNAH said he would be quite ready to do so and it was left that Sir Eric Mieville should get into touch with H H of Patiala and make the suggestion to him [3]

[1] *TP*, X, No 310, pp 611-613 Eric Mieville was also present
[2] Ibid , No 354, paras 22-25, pp 685-686
[3] Ibid , No 310, note 3, p 613

XIV.24

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND GHAZANFAR ALI KHAN

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/193

TOP SECRET *5 May 1947*
12 noon-12 35 pm

He said he had had a satisfactory interview with Her Excellency on health matters, and had no departmental matters to raise with me

I therefore concentrated on talking about the Punjab which is his home I explained to him at great length the idea of notional partition for voting purposes He had to ask me to repeat the scheme four times and I am not absolutely certain that he understood it when he left, although he said he did

I asked him if he had considered whether there should be a referendum or whether a vote of the representatives of the Constituent Assembly would do

He was against a referendum as it would take too long, was liable to start rioting, and would not be likely to give a different answer to that of the representatives of the Constituent Assembly, which he favoured but only provided that it was quite clearly laid down that the representatives of the Constituent Assembly had to be readjusted to represent the districts in notional partititon, since he pointed out that a number of them did not even belong to the Punjab

I promised to follow this up [1]

We then discussed the fact that notional partition or almost any form of partition agreed upon for the Punjab would cut the Sikhs almost exactly into halves—18 lakhs on the one side 20 lakhs on the other, and that the Sikhs had now put in a demand to go up to the river Ravi and even up to the Chenab

Mr Ghazanfar Ali agreed that partition would be a great tragedy for the Sikhs, and that there might be difficulty in imposing such a partition against their will, though he pointed out that they made tremendous threats twelve years ago, at the time of the communal award, that they would die to the last man, whereas in fact they did not die even to the first man

I pointed out, however that if Mr Ghazanfar Ali was against the partition of the Punjab (and he reaffirmed that he was ardently against it), then the best service he could do towards a united Punjab would be to seek

out Giani Kartar Singh and discuss the matter with him now while he could still take the credit of having done so before H M G 's decision was announced

He told me that Giani Kartar Singh was an old friend, but that ever since the trouble they had not seen each other and indeed he (the Giani) had been saying terrible things He agreed, however, that it was up to himself to make the first move, and he promised to go away and get into touch with Giani Kartar Singh as soon as he could and write and let me know how it went

[1]Against this portion an endorsement "Prin Sec Action please M of B " is recorded

XIV.25

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND SUHRAWARDY

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/193

TOP SECRET *14 May 1947*

I discussed with him the demand by the Muslim leaders for an enquiry into the Bihar riots He assured me that this had not emanated from the Bengal Muslim leaders, but from the Bihar Muslim leaders He himself was strongly against it He was against all forms of enquiry, as they took so long and merely intended to increase communal friction

I asked him whether he had any information on the Noakhali massacres, and he replied he had some I told him that I would ask the Governor of Bengal to send the information to me as I wished to be informed about it He said that I would find that less than 300 had been killed at Noakhali compared to the thousands killed in Bihar

I read out to him the relevant extracts from the D I B 's report about undermining the police He had no comment to make but said that this was occupying his attention

XIV.26

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET

15 May 1947
11 am-12 30 pm

I began by announcing my intention to fly home

Mr Liaquat Ali Khan heaved a sigh of relief and said "That is the only solution I knew you would have to go When I met Muslim editors yesterday they informed me that they were certain that the reason for the postponement of the meeting of leaders was to enable you to go home"

I then asked him whether the Muslim League was going to accept partition of the Punjab and Bengal, to which he replied "We shall never agree to it, but you may make us bow to the inevitable" I told him it was essential that, if it did become inevitable, all parties should give their public agreement to avoid bloodshed, and that I proposed to raise this with Mr Jinnah

I then read over to him the revised plan[2] paragraph by paragraph He had comments on certain paragraphs, and I sent for D P S V to arrange for him to make a note of these comments I let Liaquat Ali take the copy away, explaining it was my personal copy and I relied on him to show it to nobody at all, though he could discuss it with Mr Jinnah

I asked him if he would like to accompany Mr Jinnah who was coming to see me at 5 30 this evening He said that he thought it would be better if I saw him alone

I discussed with him the whole question of dominion status for Pakistan and Hindustan under one Governor-General, and found that he was surprisingly receptive to this idea

I told him that his Private Secretary was accused by the D I B of being the cause of the leak about the Financial delegation going home He expressed great surprise at this He said that Mr Mumtaz Hassan had been Sir Jeremy Raisman's Private Secretary who had thought very highly of him He promised to speak to him

He agreed with me that the question of the Economy Committee should not be taken in Cabinet for the present, at any rate until after the meeting of the 2nd June

[1]*TP*, X, No 442, pp 825-826
[2]No 418, Vol I, Part I

XIV.27

RECORD OF INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS MOUNTBATTEN AND JINNAH AND LIAQUAT ALI KHAN[1]

TOP SECRET

17 May 1947
6 pm

Certain minor amendments to the Draft Announcement were suggested by Mr Jinnah and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that these amendments should be referred to the Congress leaders for their agreement

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN stated that Purnea used to be a part of Bengal HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he could not, at the present stage, tie himself down to any definite decision on the future of Purnea He asked Sir Eric Mieville to go into the question and to report to him by telegram [2] He also said that he would raise with H M G the principle as to whether any transfers of areas between British India and Indian States should be considered MR JINNAH gave his opinion that all transfers of territory should be confined to British India

MR JINNAH and MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN had no further comments to make on the Draft Announcement It was agreed that Sir Eric Mieville should send the finally revised copies the following day to the Indian leaders

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he intended to recommend to H M G that the transfer of power in India should take place as soon as possible—preferably by 1st October He had informed the Prime Minister of Mr Jinnah's expressed desire that Pakistan should remain within the British Commonwealth Congress had now put forward a similar request He intended to go ahead and pass both requests to H M G The question which now required clarification was whether Mr Jinnah would prefer Pakistan to have its own Governor-General or to share a common Governor-General with Hindustan He asked for Mr Jinnah's personal views

MR JINNAH said that he could not commit himself on this subject straight away, but he had been giving some thought to it and he felt that it would be better to have two Governors-General Also there should, in his opinion, be a Representative of the Crown to be responsible for the division of assets as between the two States MR JINNAH said that he was extremely keen that His Excellency should fill this

post He said that he had complete faith in His Excellency, all of whose awards would be binding on him He vehemently and repeatedly declared his desire that His Excellency should stay on in India

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY said that he was very honoured by Mr Jinnah's remarks However, he could not consider taking on a post such as Mr Jinnah had suggested nor could he think of anybody else who would wish to do so It would be an impossible position if the so-called "Arbitrator" was junior in rank to the Governors-General who would be the King's representatives

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN asked how, if the two States wanted separate Governors-General, it was proposed that all assets would be divided by 1st October HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY replied that in this case the two Governors-General themselves would form an arbitration board He went on to say that he was under extreme pressure from Congress who had stated that they would not continue in the Interim Government unless they were granted Dominion status immediately after the announcement He felt that he might be able to hold the situation for a time but certainly not until the end of the year

After further discussion, HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY suggested that Mr Jinnah should send him a letter the following Monday (19th May) giving a full description of his suggestion of a supreme arbitrator and two Governors-General However, he wished it to be quite clear that he would reserve his personal position unless it was clearly stated by Mr Jinnah in this letter that, if his scheme was found by H M G to be impracticable, he would accept, as a less desirable alternative and as an interim measure, the appointment of a common Governor-General between the two States

MR JINNAH at first expressed himself violently opposed to this suggestion but eventually, after prolonged discussion, he said that he would think it over He pointed out that, if H M G decided, contrary to his own opinion, that his suggestion was unworkable, there would be no reason for him not to accept an alternative

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that he quite clearly realised the point which His Excellency the Viceroy wished Mr Jinnah to include in his letter

It was agreed that Mr Jinnah should give this letter to Sir Eric Mieville on Monday morning, the 19th May, and that a copy of it would be sent to Congress HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY pointed out that, besides requiring the approval of H M G , Mr Jinnah's suggestion would also require agreement by Congress

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN stated that the name of the Muslim State to

be set up would definitely be Pakistan MR JINNAH explained the derivation of the word Pakistan—P for Punjab, A for Afghan, (i e Pathan or N W F P), K for Kashmir, I for nothing because this letter was not in the word in Urdu, S for Sind and TAN for the last syllable for Baluchistan

MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN said that the literal meaning for Pakistan was "pure land"

Note All the Muslim League amendments to the Draft Announcement were later accepted by Congress with the exception of one to Paragraph 18 [3] His Excellency decided later that evening that this proposal of the Muslim League would not be accepted

[1]*TP*, X, No 473, pp 872-874 Eric Mieville and Erskine Crum were also present the latter dictated this record

[2]Ibid , note 2

[3]See No 437, Vol 1, Part I

NAMES OF PERSONS ARRESTED DURING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS IN THE PUNJAB, NWFP AND ASSAM

PUNJAB

Abdul Hamid Beg
Abdul Haq
Abdul Majid Sach
Abdul Waheed
Abdur Rahim
Abdussattar Khan Niazy
Agha Hyderi
Agha Sher Ahmad Khamosh
Akhtar Malik
Akhwand Abdul Karim
Altaf Husain
Amir Singh
Amjad Hameed
Anwar Kirmani
Anwarul Huq
Ata Mohammad Khan Bolzar
Aziz-ud-Din
Bashir Ahmed
Begum Aziz
Begum Bashir
Begum Daultana
Begum Husain Malik
Begum Iftikharuddin
Begum Noon
Begum Nur-us-Sabah
Begum Shaukat Hayat
Bhola Singh
Ch Abdul Hamid
Ch Abdul Rahim
Ch Anwar Ali Shah
Ch Faiz Ahmed
Ch Mohammad Abdullah
Ch Mohammad Hasan
Chaudhri Karimuddin
Chaudhri Mazhar Ahmed Tumandar
Chaudhri Mehar Din
Chaudhri Mehtab Khan
Chaudhri Nasrullah
Chaudhry Abdul Karim
Chaudhry Zafrul Huq
Choudhry Bahawal Baksh
Choudhry Sala-ud-Din
Chowdhry Ghulam Ahmed
Chowdhry Mohammad Iqbal
Dr Azam Shah
Dr Mohammad Nawaz
Dr Omar Hayat Malik
Fateh Mohammad Sial
Fayaz Mohammad Zaildar
Fazal Haq Piracha
Ghulamuddin Kasuri
Hafiz Mohammad Abdullah
Haji Cheragh Mohammad
Haji Din Mohammad
Haji Izharul Islam
Hakim Abdul Rahman
Hakim Sardar Mohammad
Ibrahim Ali Chishti
Iftikhar Ahmed Khan
Ishaq Lehar
Jahan Khan Bhusal
Jan Mohammad
K B Rangrival
Khalifa Imam Din
Khalil-ur-Rehman
Khan Mohammad Ayub Khan
Khan Mohammad Khan
Khawaja Mohammad Shafi
Khawaja Muhammad Sayeed
Kh Shamsher Ali
Khurshid Ali Khan
Mahbub Gilani
Major Mubarak Ali Shah
Major Nawab Mumtaz Tiwana
Makhdum Syed Sher Shah Gilani
Malik Ali Bahadur Khan
Malik Ghulam Nabi
Malik Shaukat Ali
Maulana Abdul Hamid
Maulvi Faiz Mohammad
Mazhar Jamil
Mian Abdul Aziz

Mian Abdul Hamid Dastur
Mian Abdul Latif Kardar
Mian Abdul Wahab
Mian Abdus Salam
Mian Amiruddin
Mian Farakh Husain
Mian Ghulam Gilani Gurwani
Mian Gul Mohammad Butt
Mian Khuda Bakhsh
Mian Lal Din Kaisar
Mian Mohammed Abdullah
Mian Mohammad Musa
Mian Muhammad Ibrahim
Mian Noorullah
Mian Qadir Bakhsh
Mian Wahid Naulakha
Mirza Mazhar Hussain
Mirza Mohammad Aslam
Mohammad Abdullah
Mohammad Arif
Mohammad Din
Mohammad Khalil
Mohammad Minto
Mohammad Sadiq
Mohammad Sarfaraz
Mohammad Shah
Mohammed Omar
Mufti Abdul Hameed
Mumtaz Ali Khan
Munshi Mohammad Din
Muzaffar Husain
Nasim Husain
Nawab Ihsan Ali Khan
Nawab Mohammad Khan Leghari
Nawabzada Asghar Ali Khan
Nawabzada Iftikhar Ahmad
Nawabzada Mahmud Khan
Nawabzada Mohammad Khan
Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan
Pir Ashiq Husain
Pir of Makhad Sharif
Pir Qalender Ali Shah
Pir Sahib of Sial Sharif
Pirzada Sh Mohammad
Professor Inayatullah Khan
Quraishi Mohammad Abdullah
Rahmatullah
Rai Mohammad Ashraf
Rai Mohammad Iqbal
Raja Khair Mehdi
Sala-ud-Din Toor
Sahibzada Ghulam Rabbani
Sahibzada Nawazish Ali
Sardar Abdul Ghafur Khan
Sardar Ali
Sardar Bahadur Khan Dreshek
Sardar Barkat Hayat
Sardar Kapur Singh
Sardar Mohammad Husain
Sh Abdul Hafeez
Shahabuddin
Shaikh Abdul Hamid
Shamim Malik
Sheikh Abdul Karim
Sheikh Altaf Hussain
Sheikh Gilani
Sheikh Mohammad Nasir
Sheikh Mohammad Nazir
Sheikh Nazeer Ahmad
Sheikh S A Rashid
Sh Jaafar Husain
Sh Nusrat Ahmed
Syed Abid Ali Shah
Syed Ahmad Khan Zaildar
Syed Amir Husain Shah
Syed Ghulam Mohammad Shah
Syed Hilal Ahmad
Syed Mohamed Shah
Syed Nazar Husain Shah
Syed Zaffar Husain Shah
Syed Zainul Abedin
Tofail Mohammad
Zahida Hayat
Zareena Razzaq

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

Abdul Hameed
Abdullah Khan
Abdul Rasheed Riani
Agha Syed Ayub Shah
Ahmed Din
Allah Bukhsh Yusafi
Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan
Arbab Attaullah Khan
Arbab Noor Muhammad Khan
Captain Zain Mohammad Khan

Dost Muhammad Khan
Dost Muhammad Khan Kamil
Fazal Karim
Ghulam Haider
Ghulam Muhammad Khan
Ghulam Sarwar
Gulab Khan
Haji Saeed Shah
Haji Said Shah
Hidayat Ullah Khan
Hussain Shah
Jahandar Shah
Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan
Khan Amir Mohammad Khan
Khan Bakht Jamal Khan
Khan Habibullah Khan
Khan Ibrahim Khan Jhaggra
Khan Jalaluddin Khan
Khan Mir Halali
Khan Mohammad Akbar Khan
Khan Mohammad Amin Khan
Khan Mohammad Farid Khan
Khan Mohammad Ishaq Khan
Khan Mohammad Samin Jan Khan
Khan Muhammad Ayub Khan
Khan Nasrullah Jan
Khan Obaid Ullah Khan
Khan Rahmat Ali Khan
Khan Saifullah Khan
Lala Abdullah
Mahabat Ali Khan
Majeed Afzal Piracha
Malik Damsaz Khan
Malik Faiz Mohammad Paroa
Malik Maqsood
Malik-ur-Rahman Kayani
Maulvi Shakir Ullah
Mian Abdullah Shah
Mian Burhan-ud-Din
Mian Ghulam Hussain
Mian Humayun Shah
Mian Musharraf Shah
Mir Alam Khan
Mohammad Ali Khan
Mohammad Ali Shah
Mohammad Bashir Khan
Mohammad Rashid Khan
Mohammad Afzal Khan
Mohammad Jalaluddin
Mohammad Rustam Khan
Moulana Mohammad Ishaq Khateeb
Muhammad Akbar Khan
Muhammad Ashraf
Muhammad Yusuf
Mumik-ur-Rahman Qiani
Muzaffar Khan
Nadir Khan
Nasir Khan
Nawab Ali Khan
Nawabzada Haibat Khan
Nawabzada Sher Afzal Khan
Nawabzada Zulfiqar Ali Khan
Pir Abdul Latif
Pir A Gilani
Pir Alam Shah Mulazai
Pir Bux
Pir Chinar Shah
Pir Masoom Shah
Pir Mirakbar Shah
Pir Muhammad Khan
Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif
Qazi Matin-ud-Din
Rahim Bakhsh Ghaznavi
Risaldar Khan
Saifullah Khan
Sahibzada Ahmad Gul
Sajjad Ahmad Jan
Sardar Abdul Aziz
Sardar Abdul Rashid Khan
Sardar Ahmad Khan
Sardar Abdur Rahim Khan
Sardar Bahadur Khan
Sardar Shoazam Khan
Sarfaraz Khan Khattak
Shah Din Khan
Sheikh Abdul Majid
Sheikh Mahbub Ali Khan
Sheikh Mohammad Akram
Sher Ahmad Khan
Sher Jan Khan
Sultan Hasar Ali Khan
Sultan Hassan Ali Khan
Syed Qaim Shah
Syed Jalal Husain Shah
Syed Lal Badshah
Syed Qamus Shah
Umar Khan
Usman Ali Shah
Walayat Khan
Yunus Shah

ASSAM

Abdul Bari Choudhry
Abdul Hai
A H Choudhury
Ajmal Ali Choudhury
Alep Haji
Dewan Muhammad Azraf
Haji Nazim-ud-Din Sarkar
Kazimuddin Ahmed
Mahmud Ali
M A Raqib
Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan
Maulana Ata-ur-Rahman
Mayen-ud-Din Chaudhury
Mueen-ud-Din Ahmed
Muhammad Ashraf Choudhury
Saif-ur-Rahman
Syed Ahmed Ali

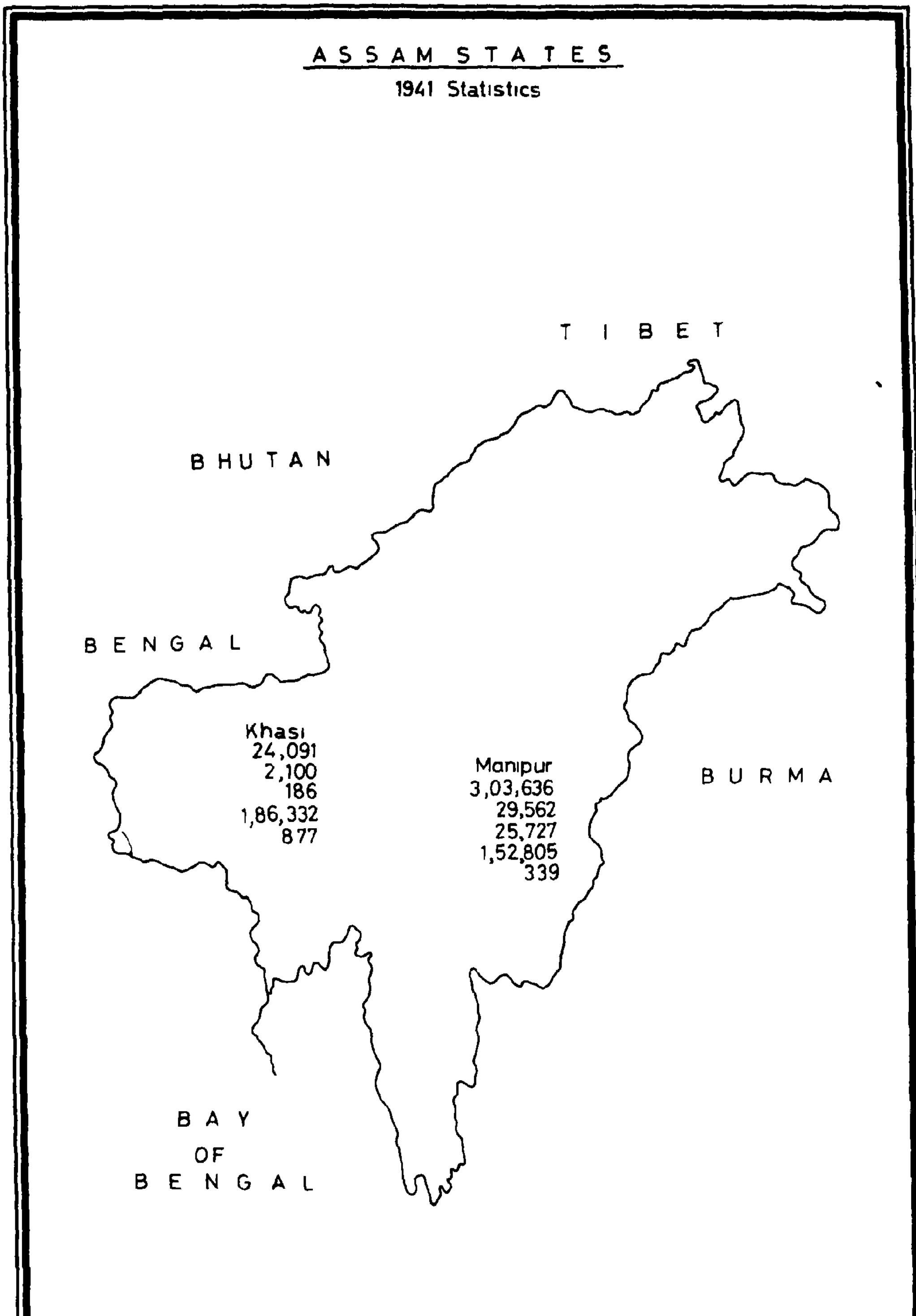
INDEX OF PERSONS

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INDEX OF SUBJECTS

The references are to Page Numbers

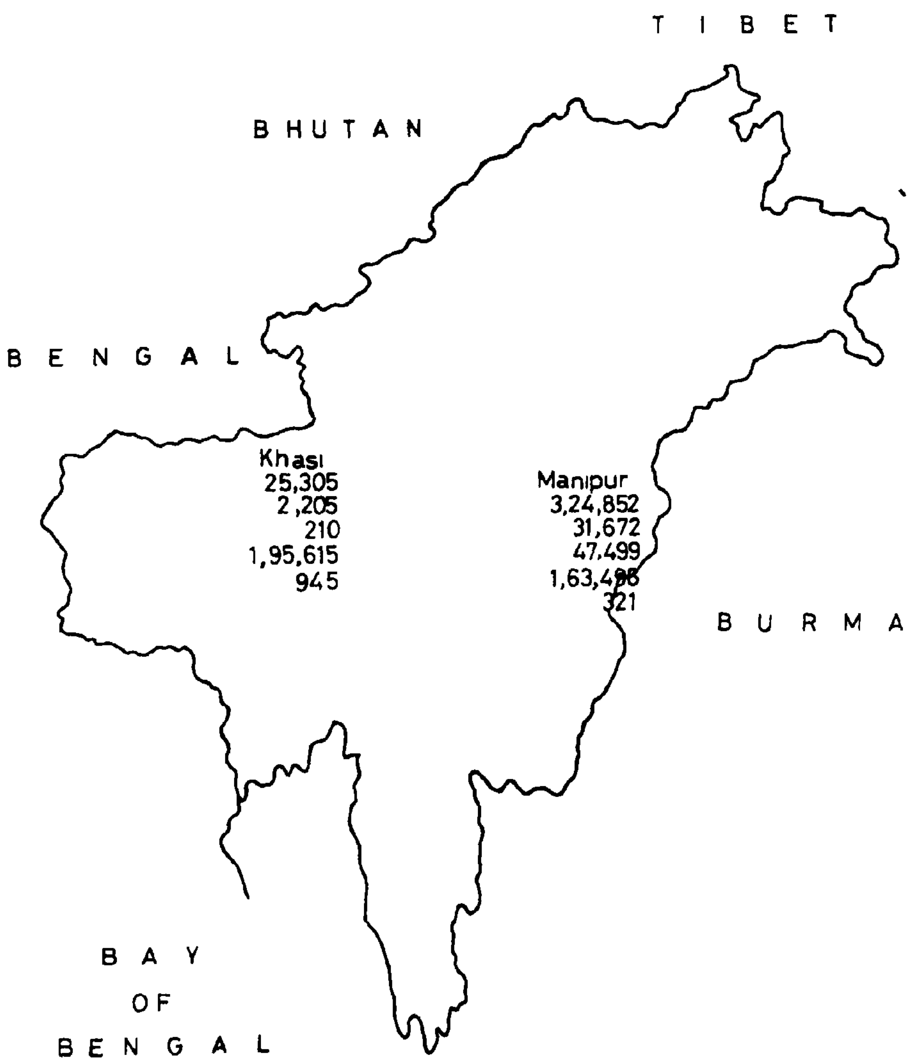
Note The Index of Persons and the Index of Subjects have been compiled by Mehnaz Siddiqui and Rehana Bokhari, members of the QAPP Staff


ASSAM STATES
1941 Statistics
TIBET
BHUTAN
BENGAL
Khasi
24,091
2,100
186
1,86,332
877
Manipur
3,03,636
29,562
25,727
1,52,805
339
BURMA
BAY
OF
BENGAL

Map 1

ASSAM STATES

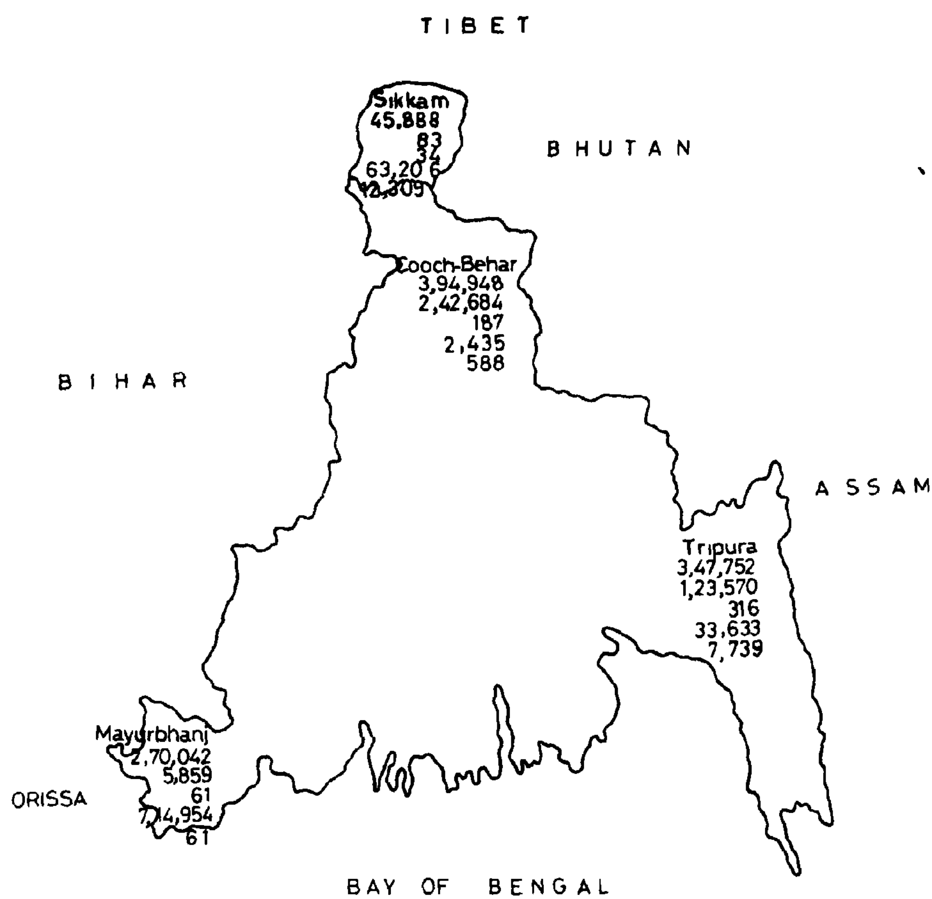
Present Estimated Population



Map 2

BENGAL STATES

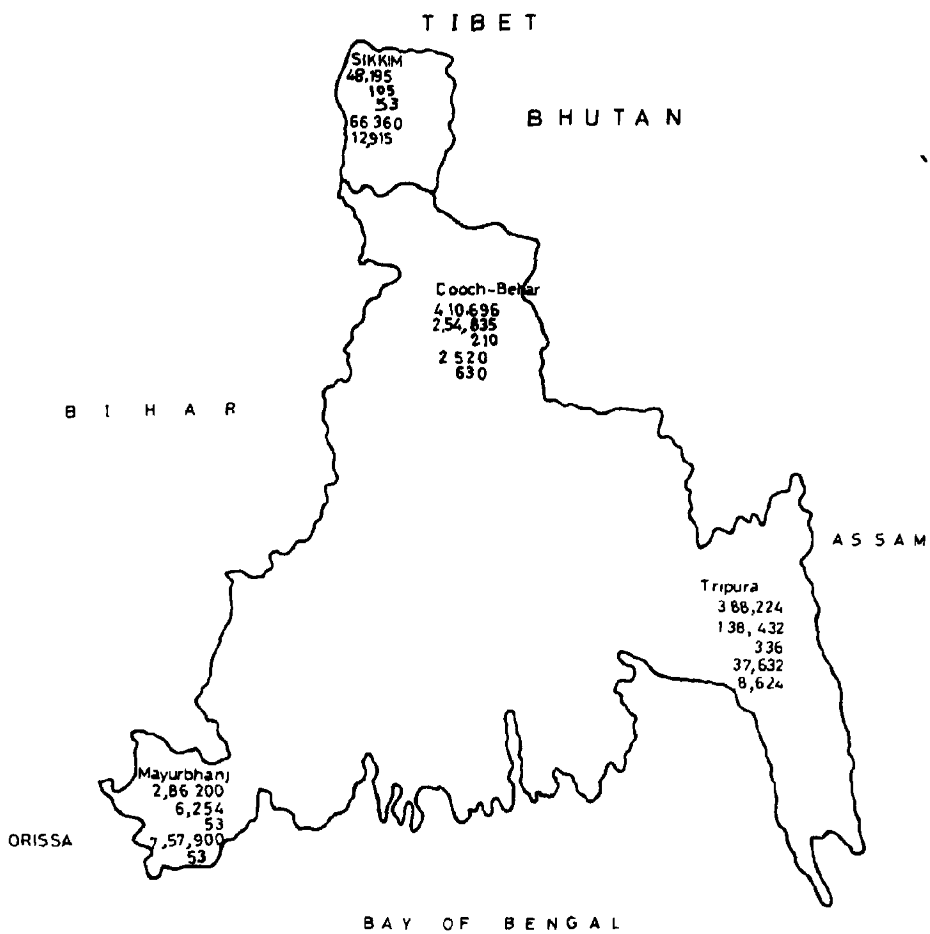
1941 Statistics



Map 3

BENGAL STATES

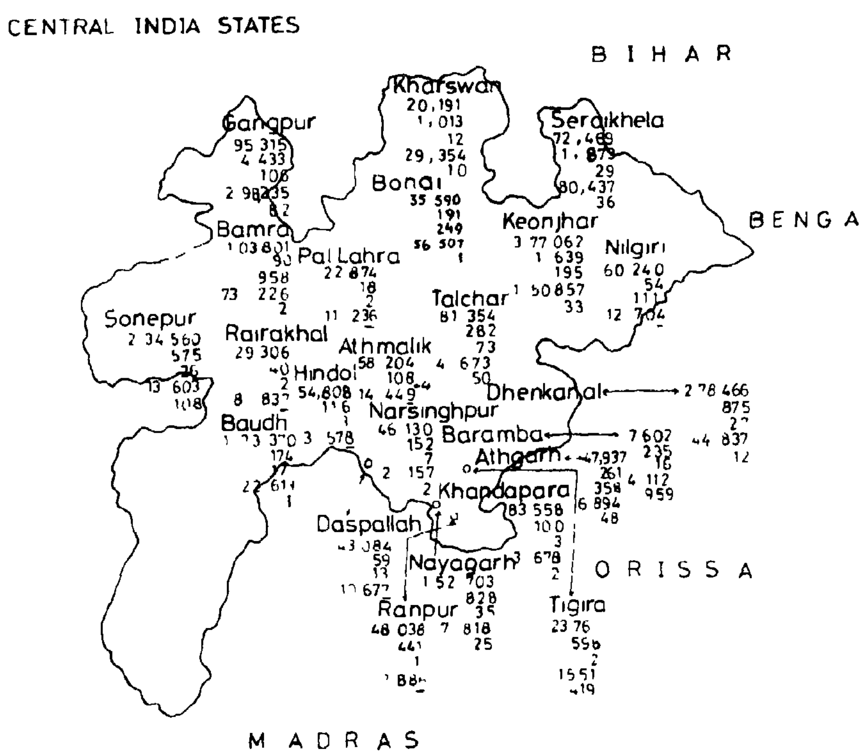
Present Estimated Population



Map 4

ORISSA (EASTERN) STATES

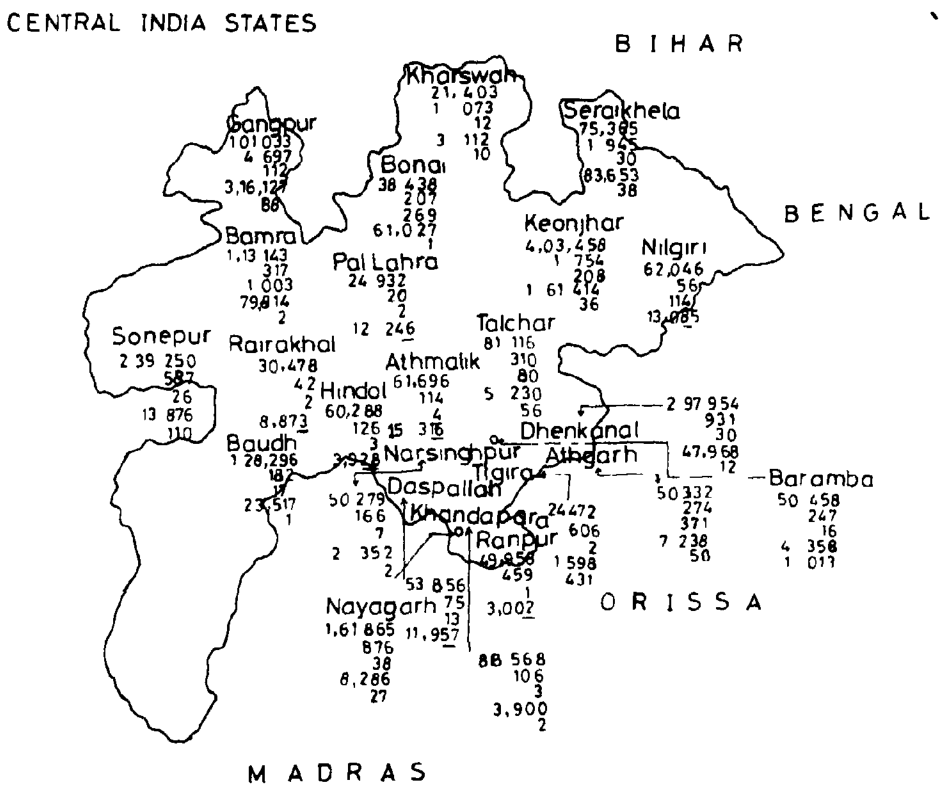
1941 Statistics



Map 5

ORISSA (EASTERN) STATES

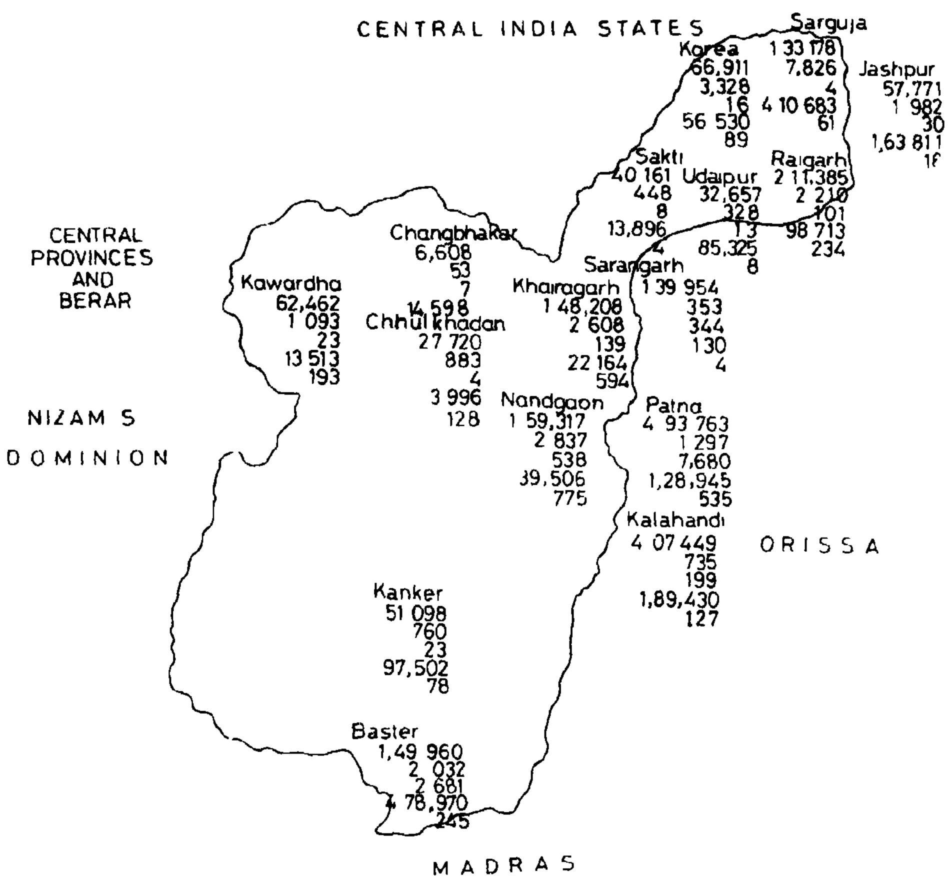
Present Estimated Population



Map 6

CHHATTISGARH STATES (C P & ORISSA PROVINCES

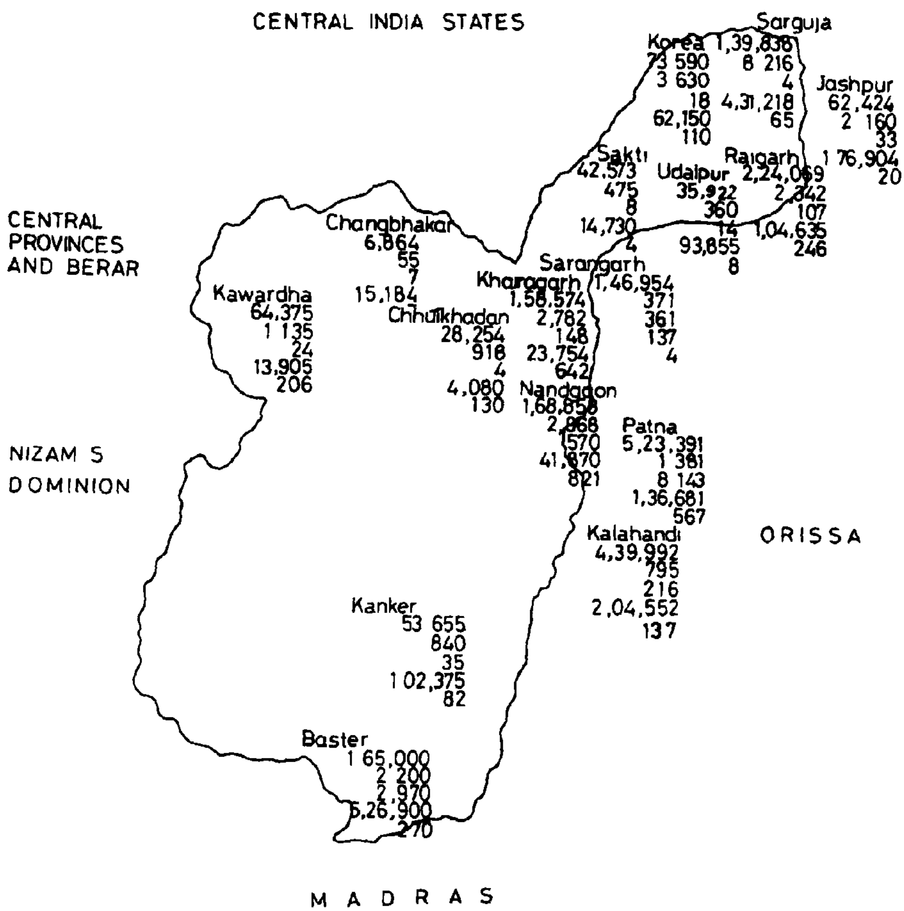
1941 (Statistics)



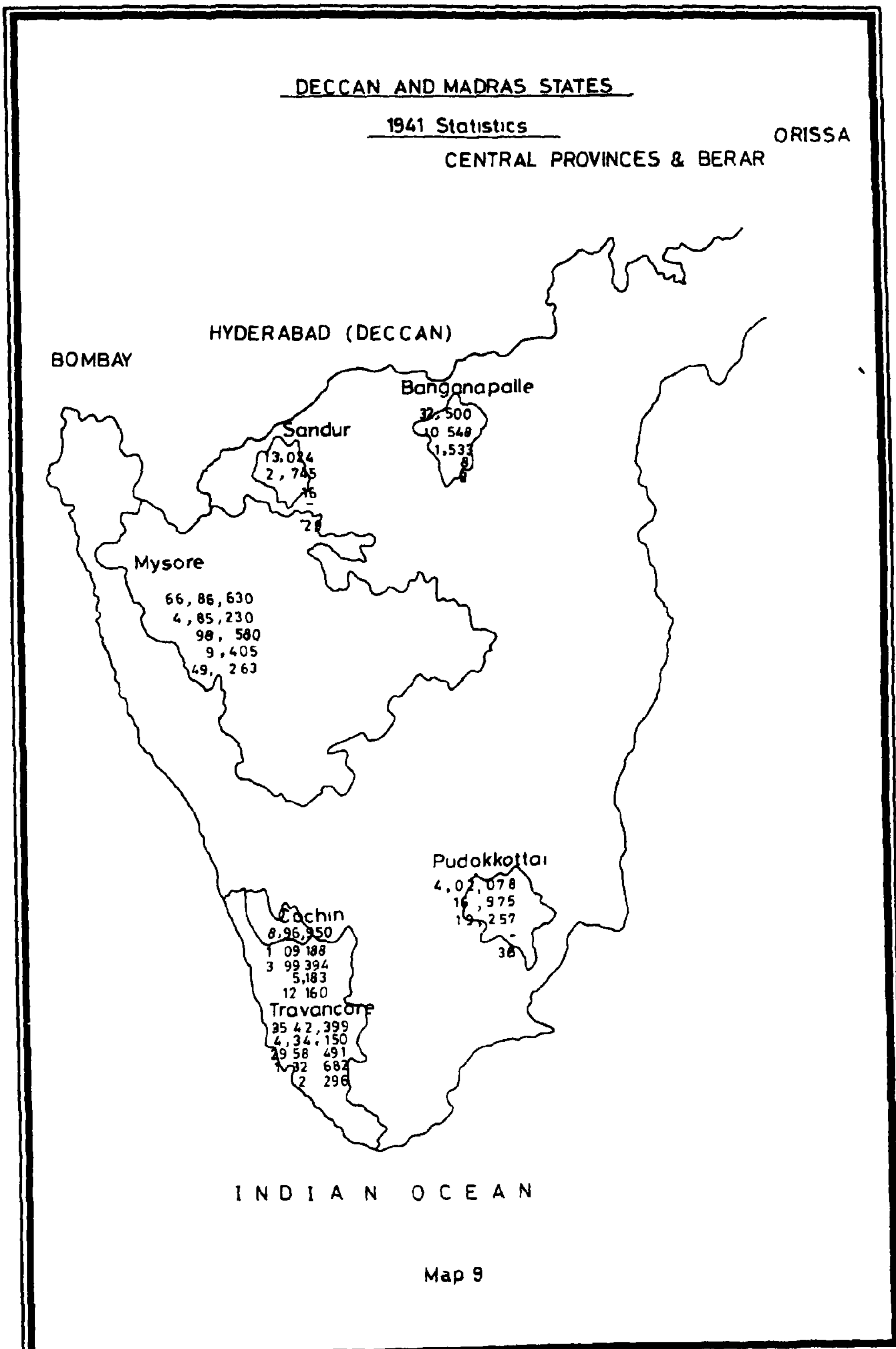
Map 7

CHHATTISGARH STATES (C P & ORISSA PROVINCES)

Present Estimated Population



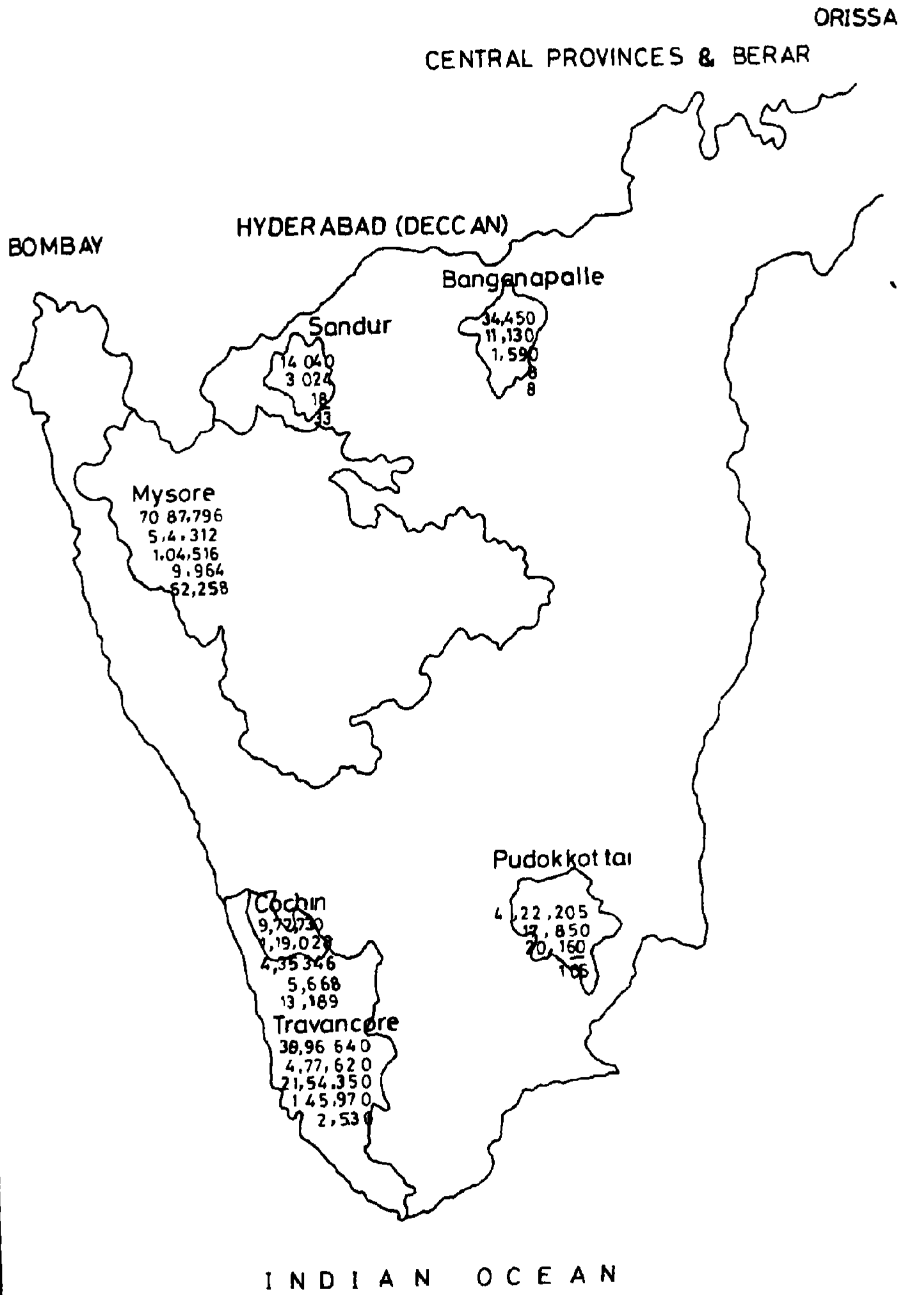
Map 8


DECCAN AND MADRAS STATES
1941 Statistics
ORISSA
CENTRAL PROVINCES & BERAR
HYDERABAD (DECCAN)
BOMBAY
Banganapalle
Sandur
Mysore
66,86,630
4,85,230
98, 580
9,405
49, 263
Pudokkottai
Cochin
Travancore
INDIAN OCEAN

Map 9

DECCAN AND MADRAS STATES

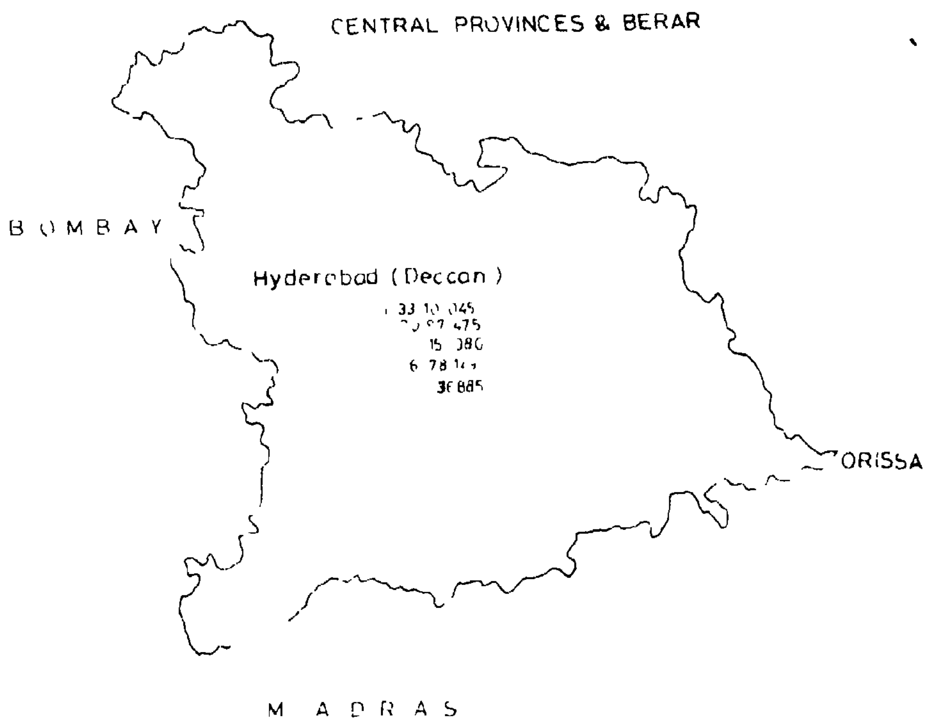
Present Estimated Population



Map 10

NIZAM'S DOMINION

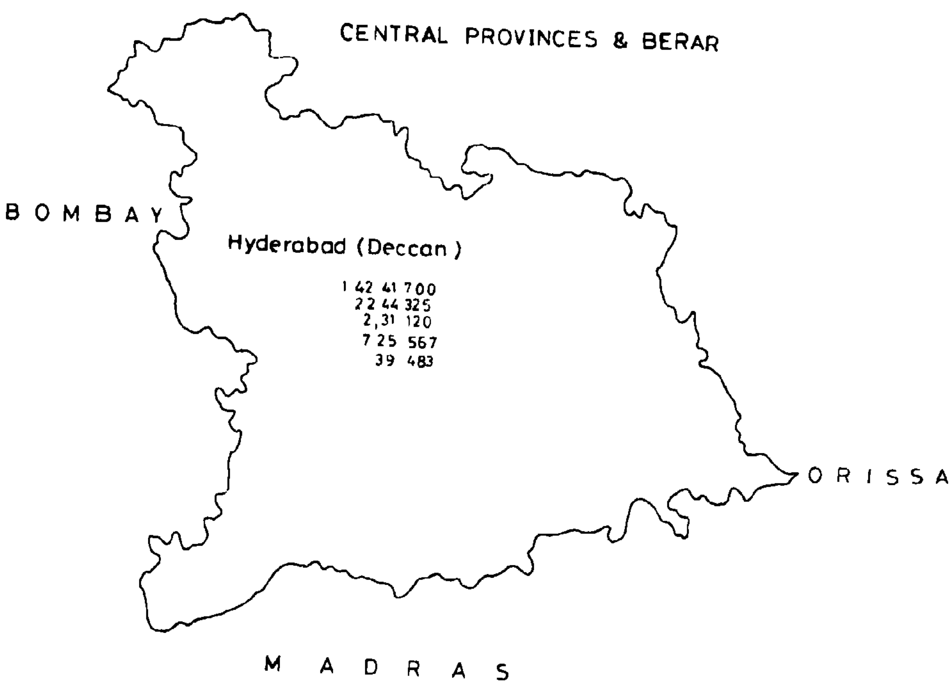
1941 Statistics



Map 11

NIZAM'S DOMINION

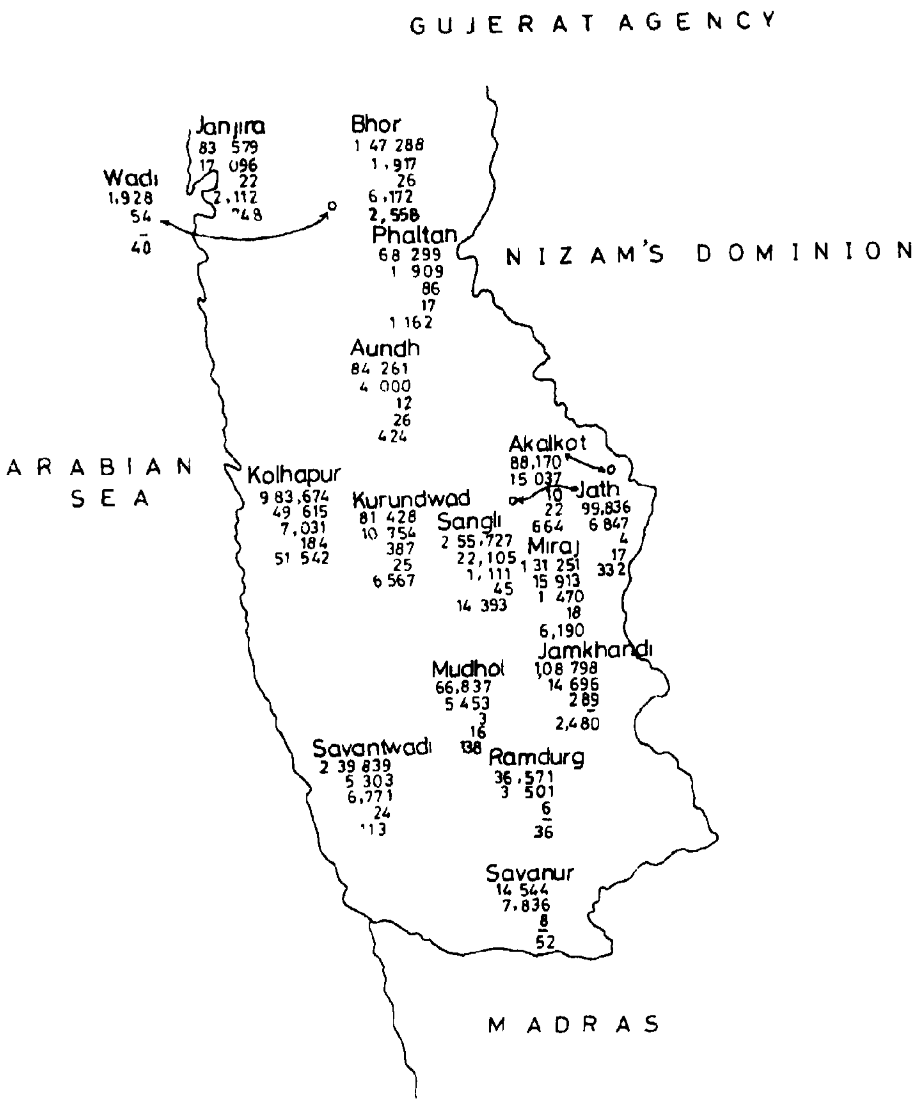
Present Estimated Population



Map 12

DECCAN AND KOLHAPUR STATES

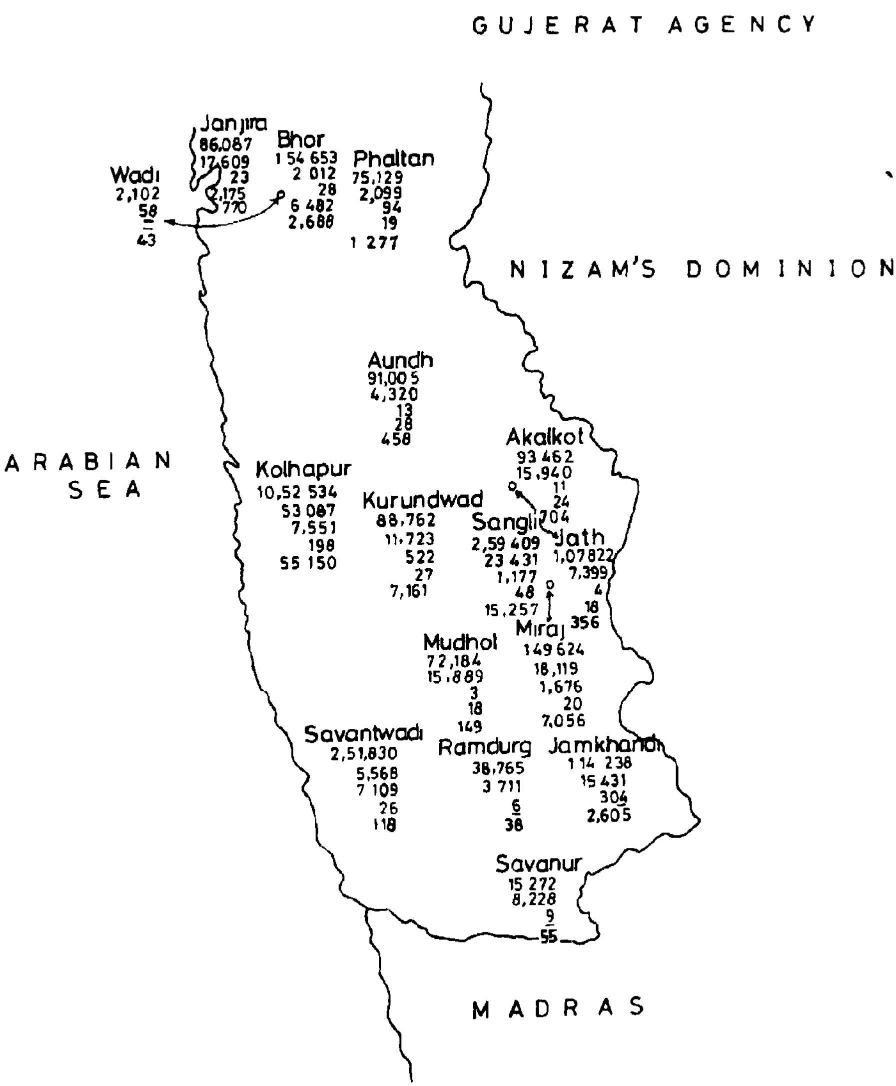
1941 Statistics



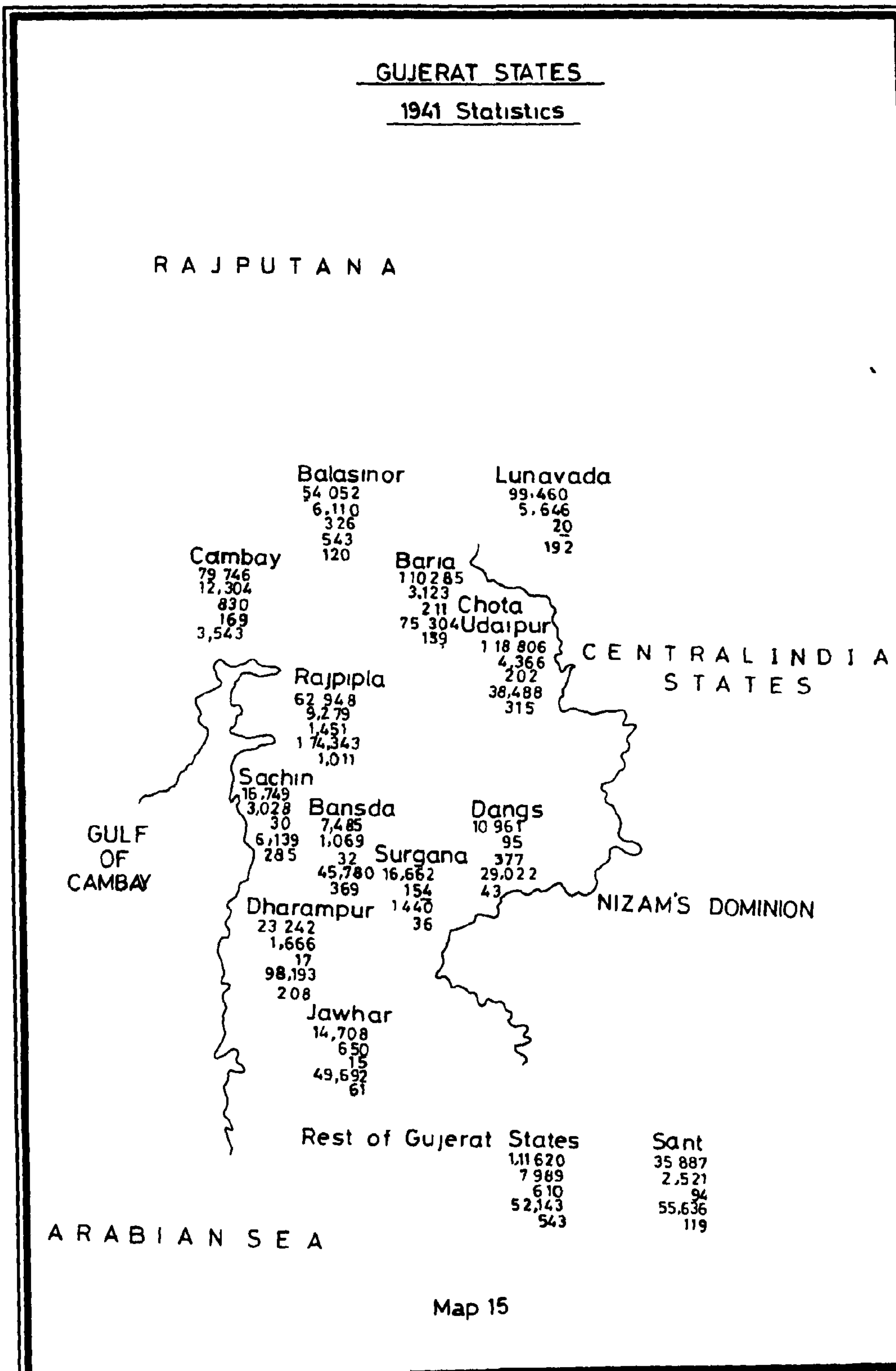
Map 13

DECCAN AND KOLHAPUR STATES

Present Estimated Population



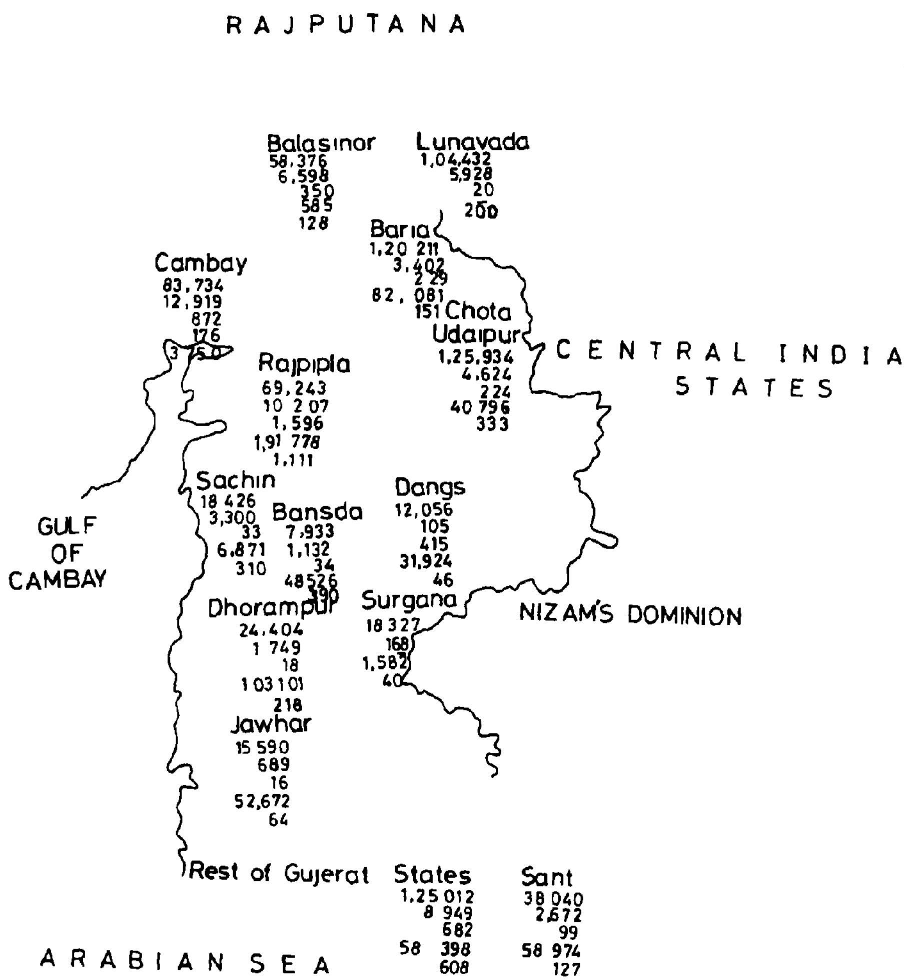
Map 14


GUJERAT STATES
1941 Statistics
RAJPUTANA
Balasinor
54 052
6,110
326
543
120
Lunavada
99,460
5,646
20
192
Cambay
79 746
12,304
830
169
3,543
Baria
110285
3,123
211
75 304
139
Chota Udaipur
1 18 806
4,366
202
38,488
315
CENTRAL INDIA STATES
Rajpipla
62 948
9,279
1,451
1 74,343
1,011
Sachin
16,749
3,028
30
6,139
285
Bansda
7,485
1,069
32
45,780
369
Dangs
10 961
95
377
29,022
43
Surgana
16,662
154
1440
36
GULF OF CAMBAY
NIZAM'S DOMINION
Dharampur
23 242
1,666
17
98,193
208
Jawhar
14,708
650
15
49,692
61
Rest of Gujerat States
1,11620
7 989
610
52,143
543
Sant
35 887
2,521
94
55,636
119
ARABIAN SEA

Map 15

GUJERAT STATES

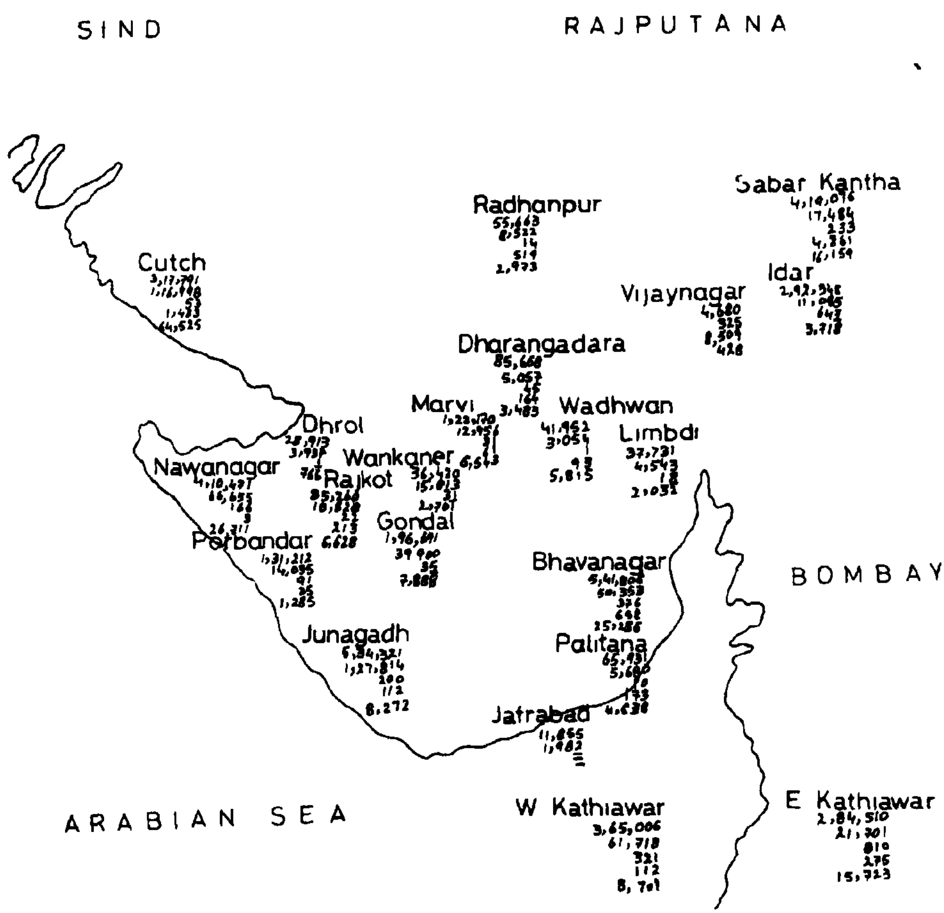
Present Estimated Population



Map 16

WESTERN INDIA STATES

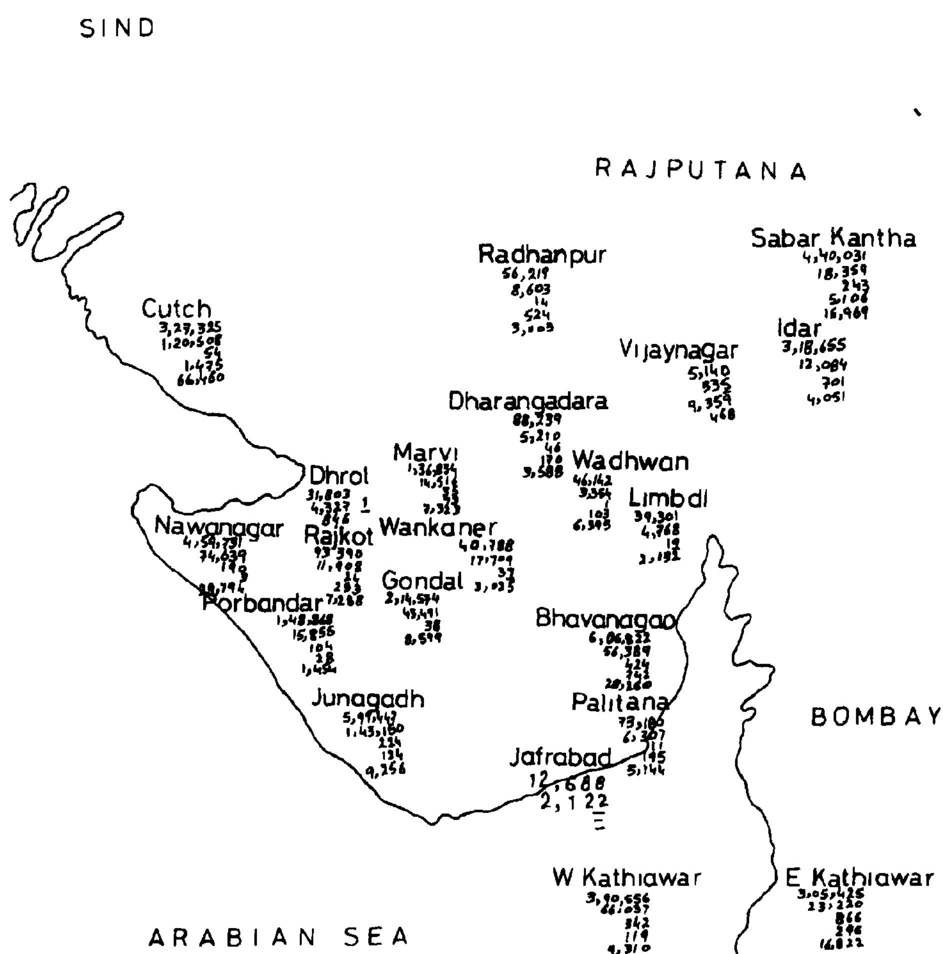
1941 Statistics



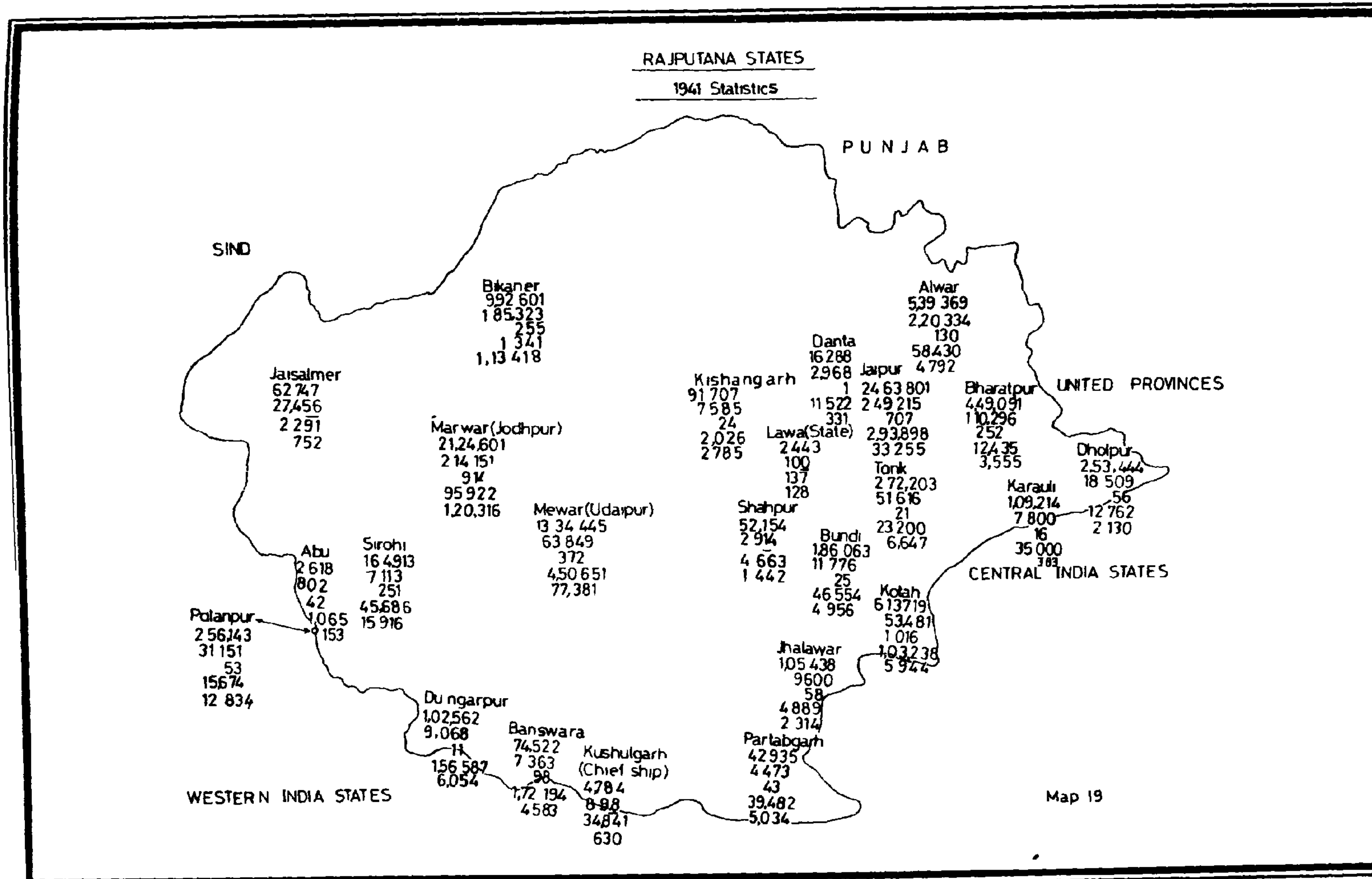
Map 17

WESTERN INDIA STATES

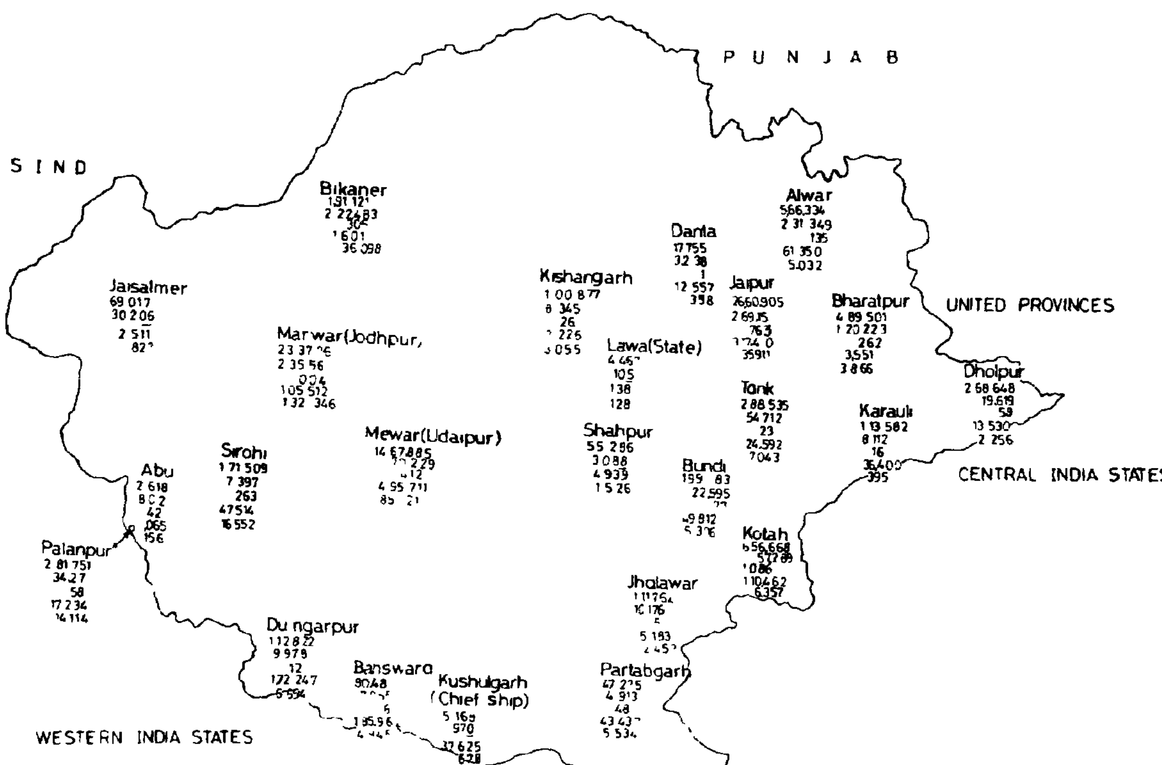
Present Estimated Population



Map 18


RAJPUTANA STATES
1941 Statistics
PUNJAB
SIND
UNITED PROVINCES
CENTRAL INDIA STATES
WESTERN INDIA STATES
Bikaner 992 601 1 85,323 255 1 341 1,13 418
Jaisalmer 62 747 27,456 2 291 752
Marwar (Jodhpur) 21,24,601 2 14 151 914 95 922 1,20,316
Mewar (Udaipur) 13 34 445 63 849 372 4,50 651 77,381
Abu 2 618 802 42 1,065 153
Sirohi 16 4913 7 113 251 45,686 15 916
Palanpur 2 56,143 31 151 53 15674 12 834
Dungarpur 1,02,562 9,068 11 1,56 587 6,054
Banswara 74,522 7 363 98 1,72 194 4583
Kushulgarh (Chief ship) 4784 898 34,841 630
Partabgarh 42 935 4 473 43 39,482 5,034
Jhalawar 1,05 438 9600 58 4 889 2 314
Kotah 6 13719 53481 1 016 1,03238 5 944
Bundi 1,86 063 11 776 25 46 554 4 956
Shahpur 52,154 2 914 4 663 1 442
Kishangarh 91 707 7 585 24 2,026 2 785
Danta 16 288 2,968 1 11 522 331
Lawa (State) 2 443 100 137 128
Jaipur 24 63 801 2 49 215 707 2,93,898 33 255
Tonk 2 72,203 51 616 21 23 200 6,647
Alwar 5,39 369 2,20 334 130 58430 4 792
Bharatpur 449,091 1 10,296 252 12,435 3,555
Karauli 1,09,214 7 800 16 35 000 383
Dholpur 2,53,444 18 509 56 12 762 2 130
Map 19

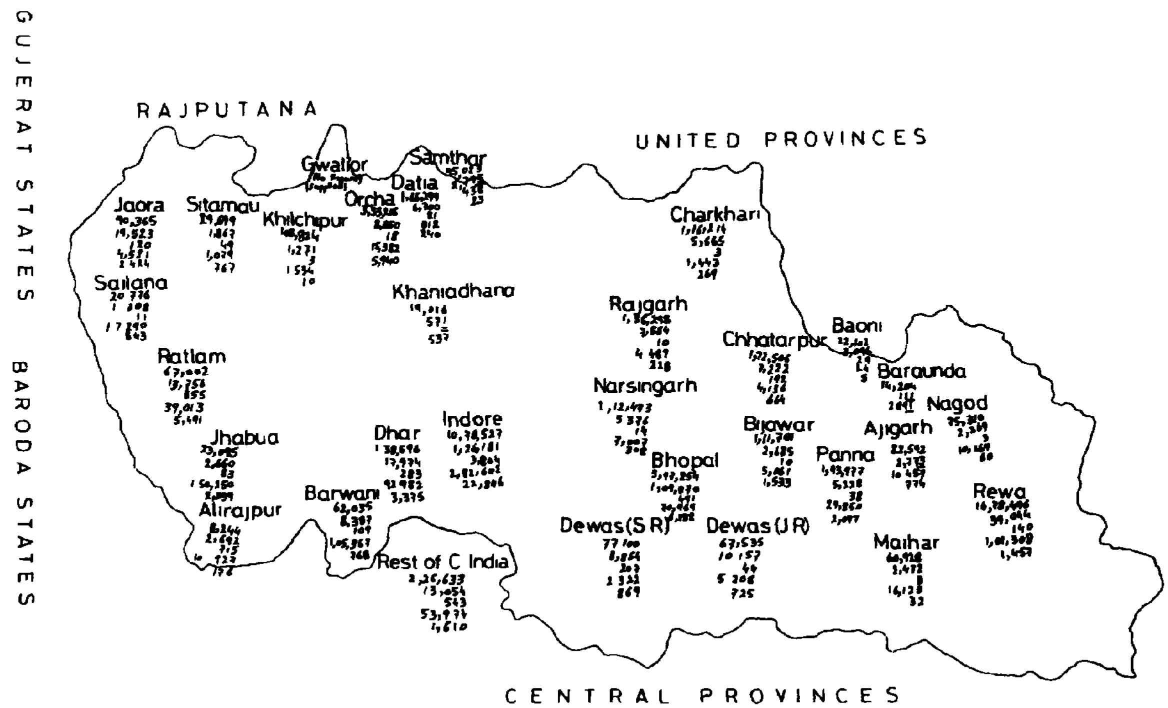
RAJPUTANA STATES
Present Estimated Population



Map 20

CENTRAL INDIA STATES

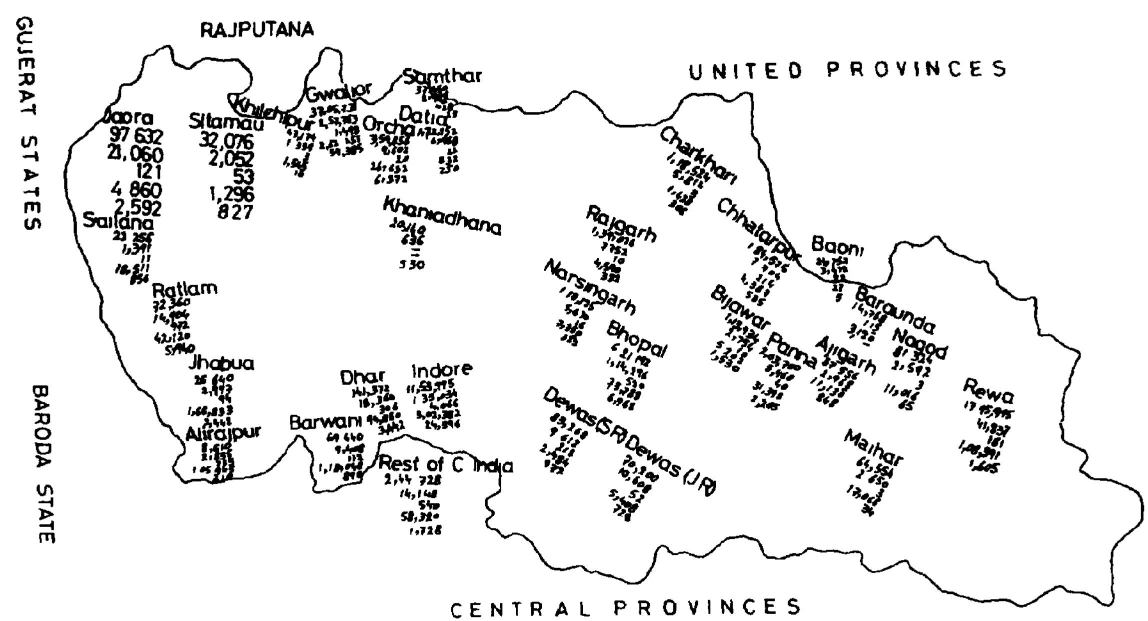
1941 Statistics



Map 21

CENTRAL INDIA STATES

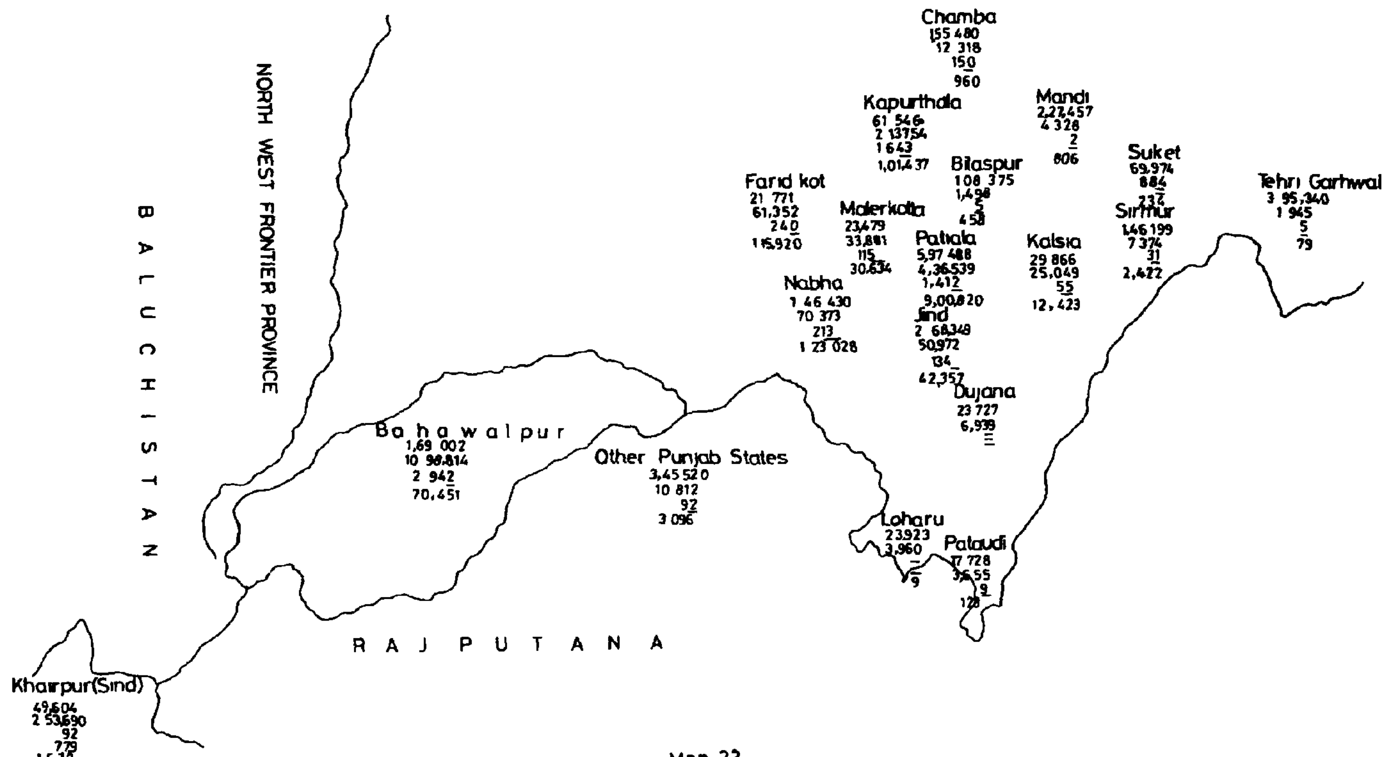
Present Estimated Population



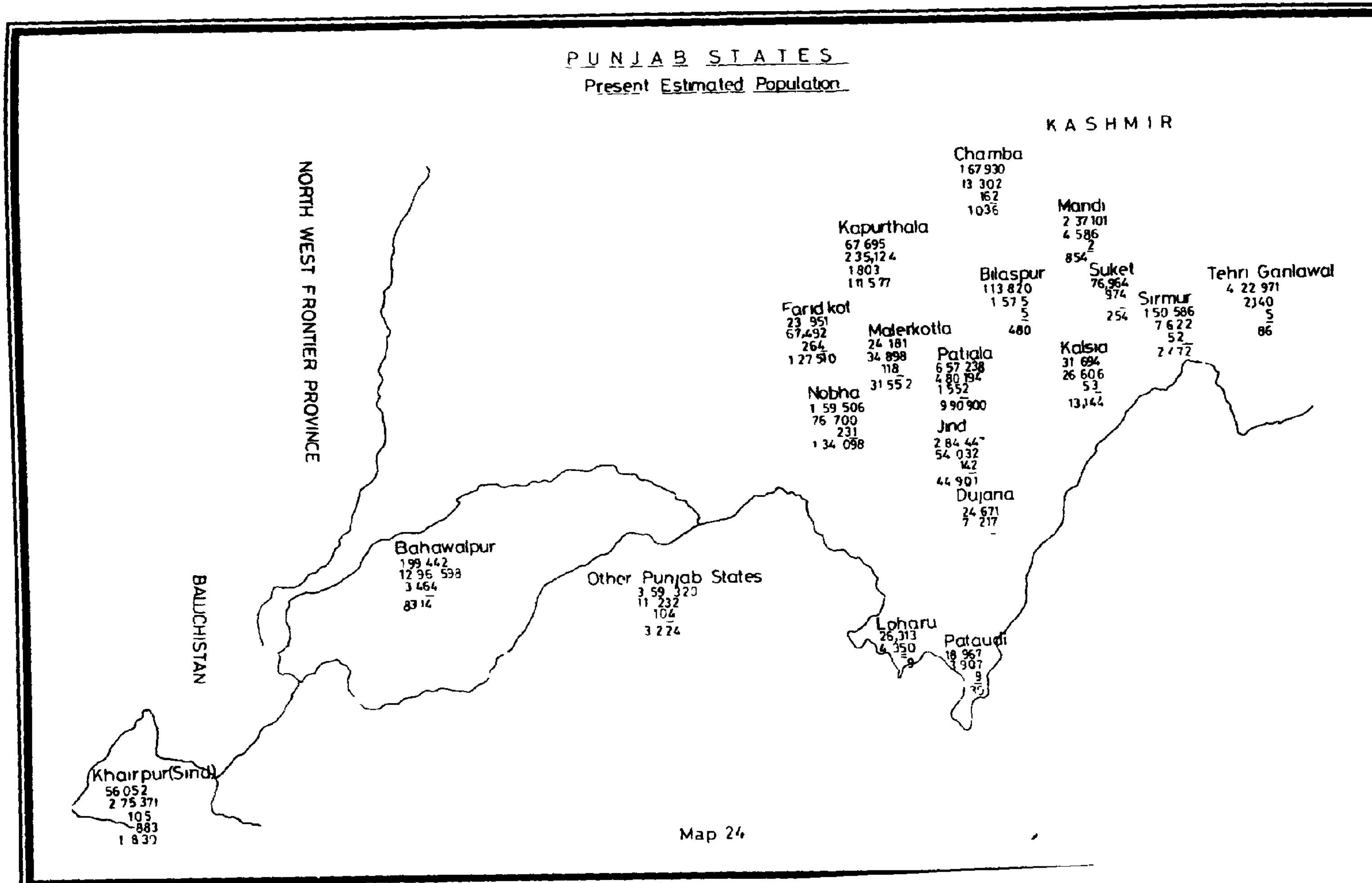
Map 22

PUNJAB STATES

1941 Statistics



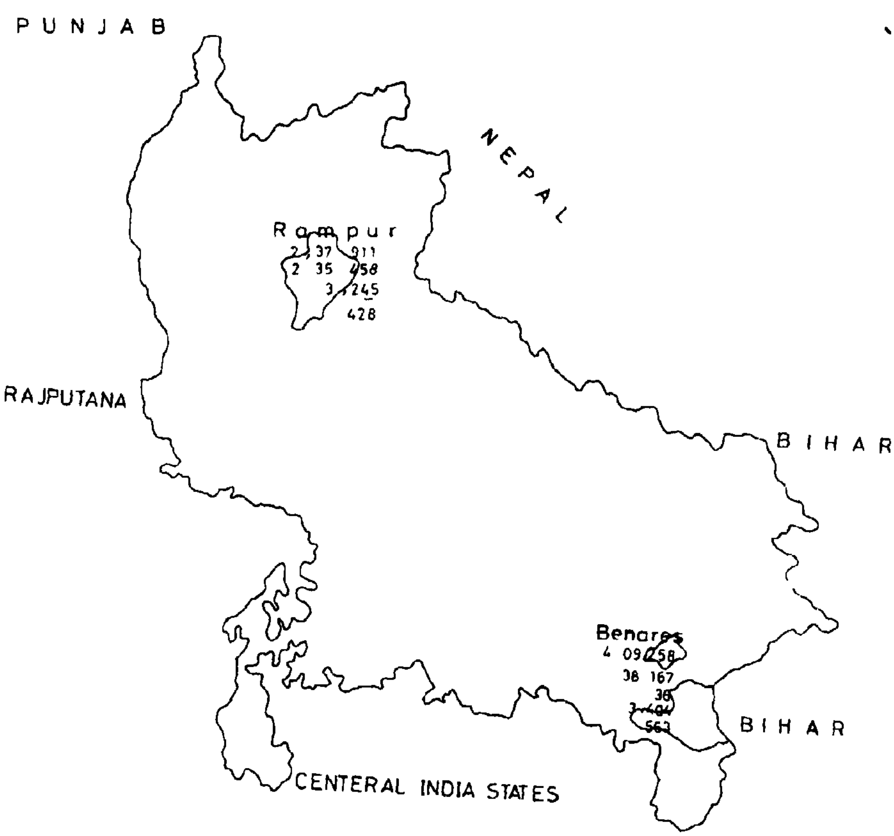
Map 23


PUNJAB STATES
Present Estimated Population
KASHMIR
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE
BALUCHISTAN
Chamba
1 67 930
13 302
162
1036
Mandi
2 37 101
4 586
2
854
Kapurthala
67 695
2 35,124
1 803
1 11 577
Bilaspur
1 13 820
1 57 5
5
480
Suket
76,964
974
254
Tehri Garhwal
4 22 971
2,140
5
86
Sirmur
1 50 586
7 622
52
2 772
Faridkot
23 951
67,492
264
1 27 510
Malerkotla
24 181
34 898
118
31 552
Patiala
6 57 238
4 80 194
1 552
9 90 900
Kalsia
31 694
26 606
53
13,144
Nabha
1 59 506
76 700
231
1 34 098
Jind
2 84 44
54 032
142
44 901
Dujana
24 671
7 217
Bahawalpur
1 99 442
12 96 598
3 464
8314
Other Punjab States
3 59 320
11 232
104
3 224
Loharu
26,313
4 350
9
Pataudi
18 967
1 907
9
35
Khairpur(Sind)
56 052
2 75 371
105
883
1 839

Map 24

UNITED PROVINCES STATES

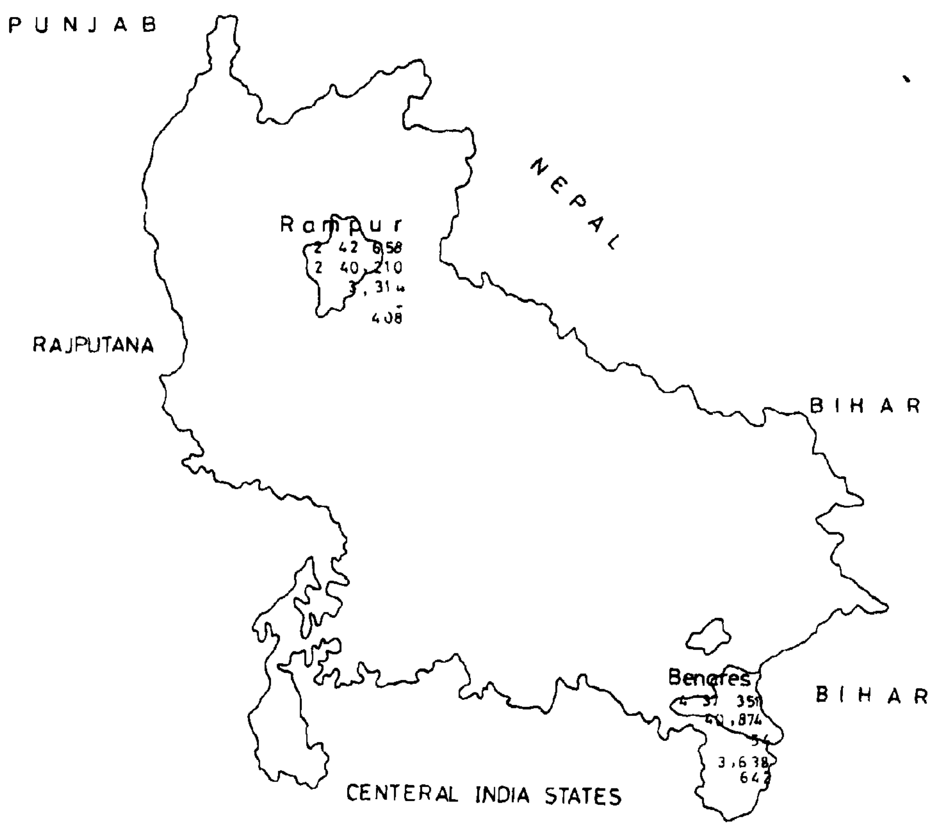
1941 Statistics



Map 25

UNITED PROVINCES STATES

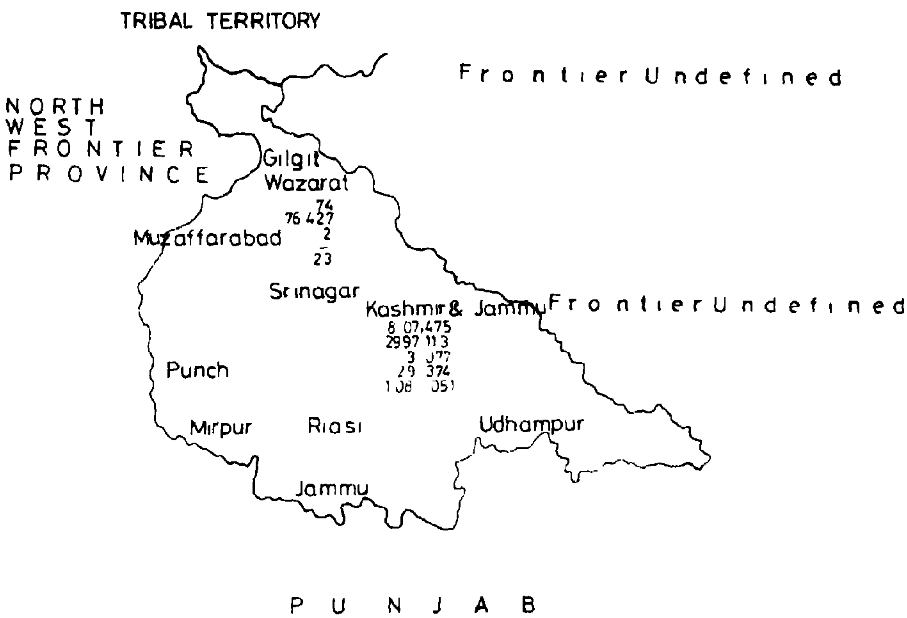
Present Estimated Population



Map 26

KASHMIR AND JAMMU STATE WITH FEUDATORIES

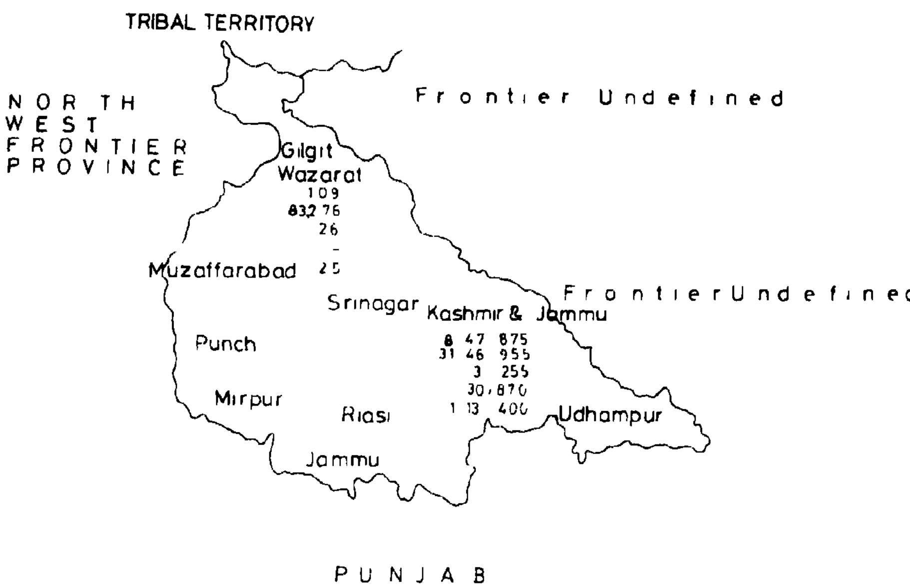
1941 Statistics



Map 27

KASHMIR AND JAMMU STATE WITH FEUDATORIES

Present Estimated Population



Map 28

BALUCHISTAN STATES

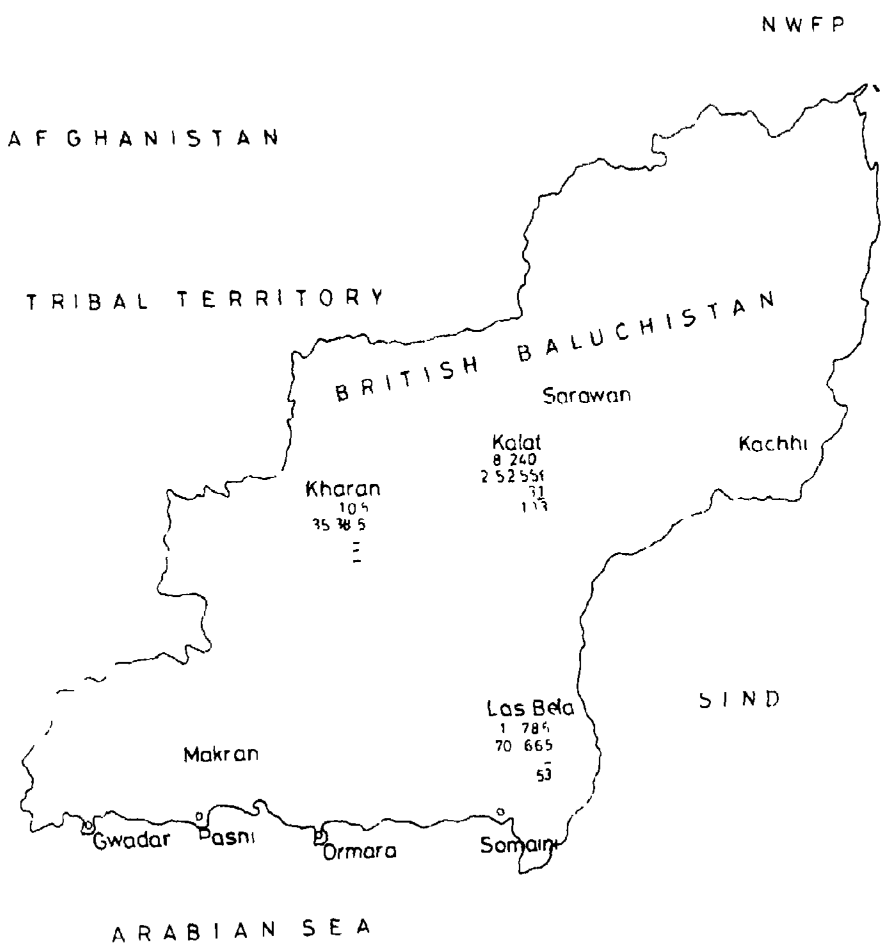
1941 Statistics



Map 29

BALUCHISTAN STATES

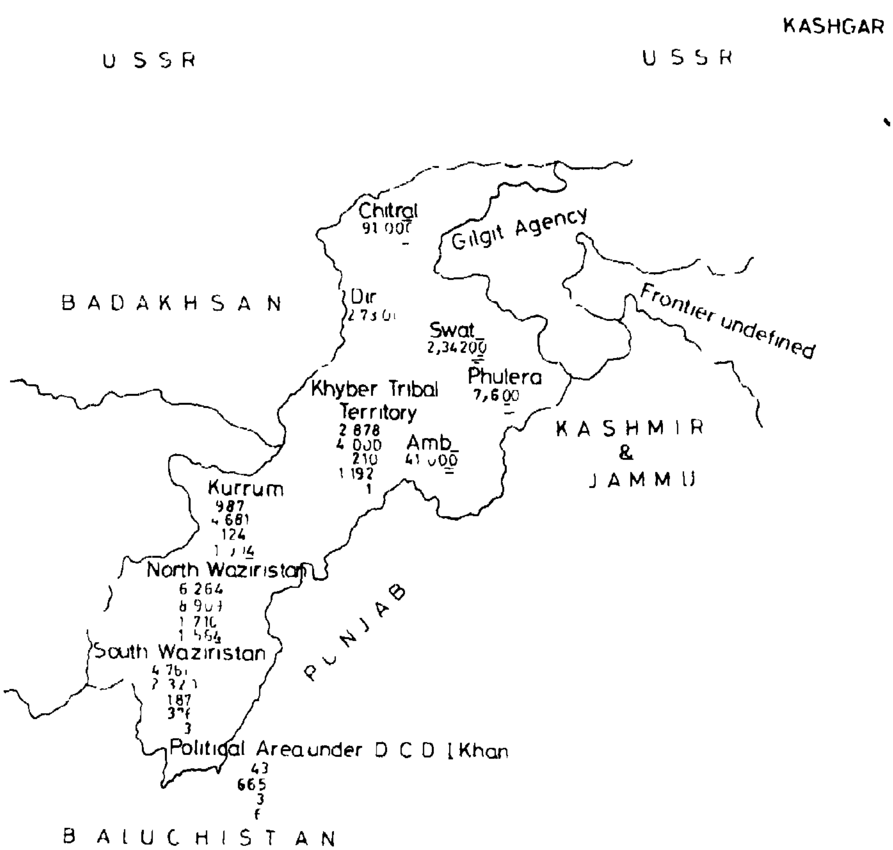
Present Estimated Population



Map 30

NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE STATES

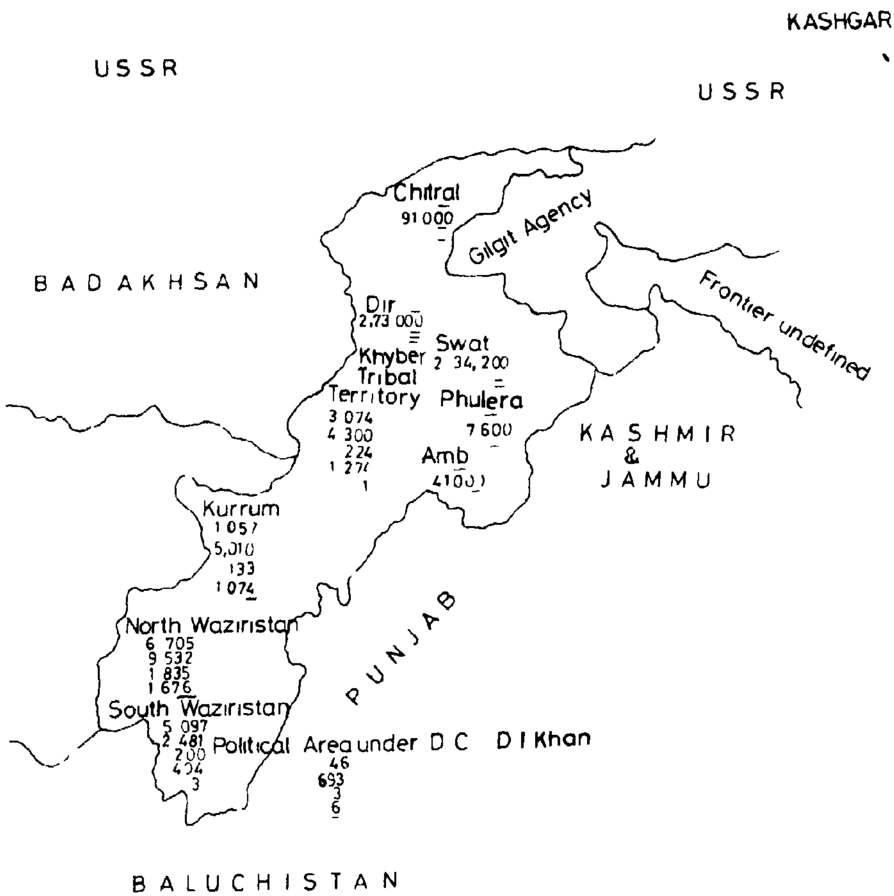
1941 Statistics



Map 31

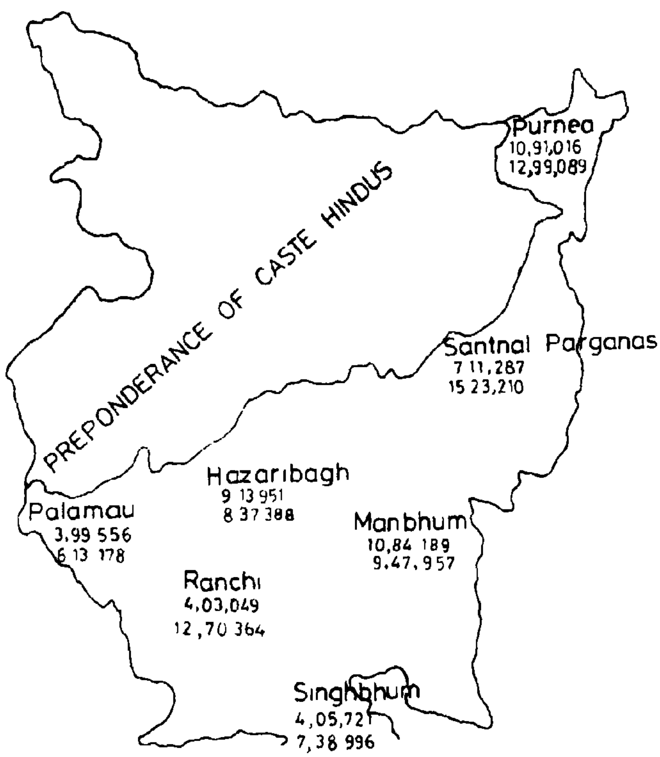
NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE STATES

Present Estimated Population



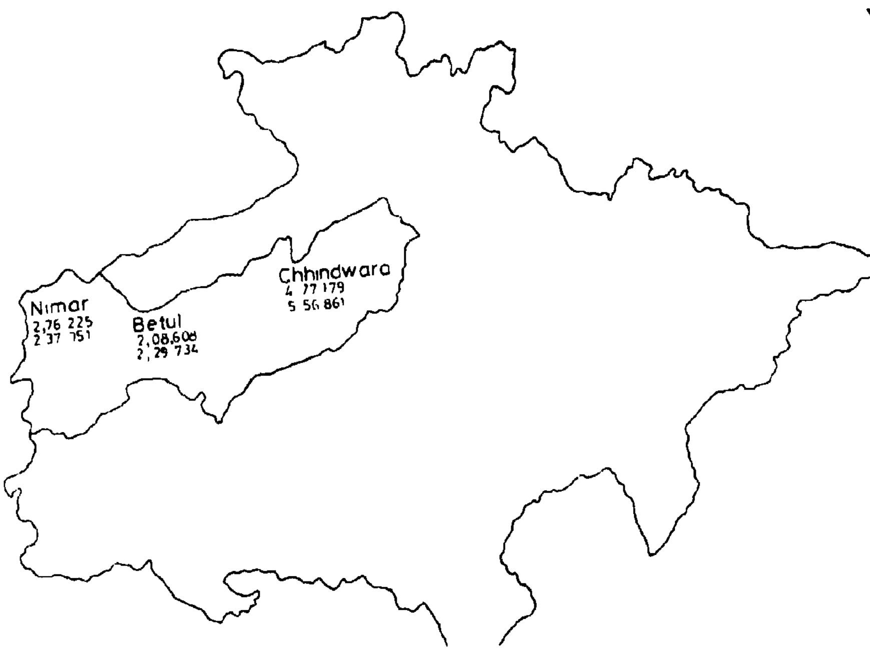
Map 32

MAP OF BIHAR, SHOWING A PART WHERE CASTE HINDUS & SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY



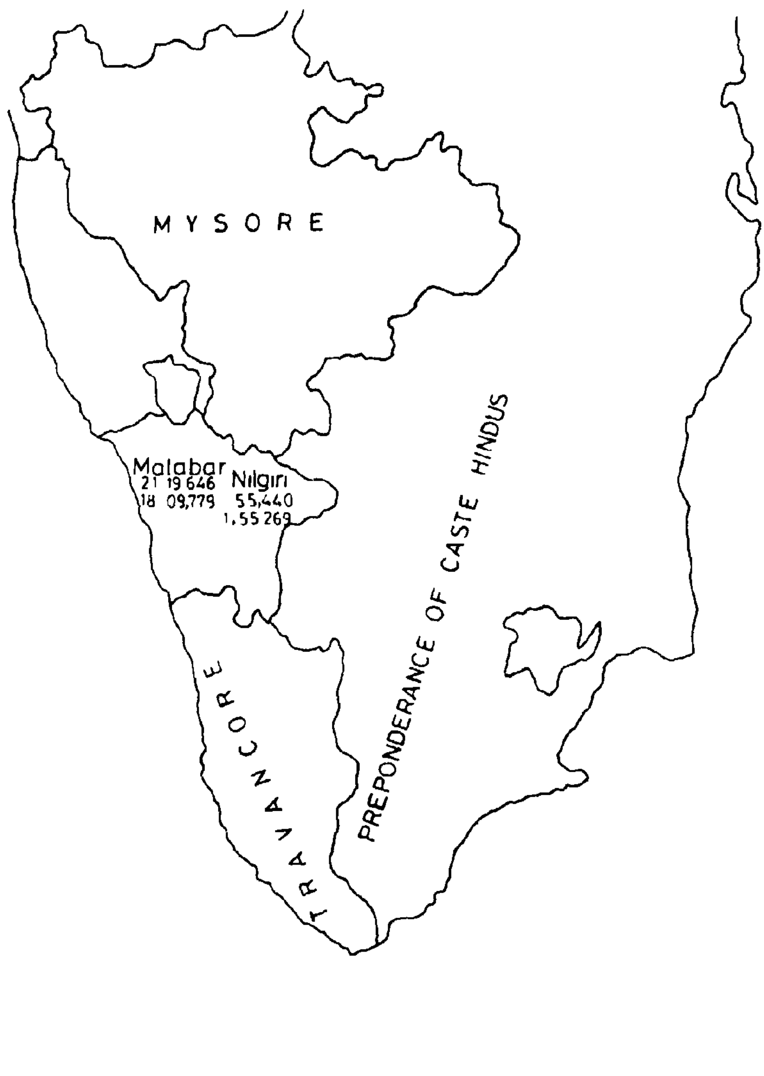
Map 33

MAP OF C P & BERAR, SHOWING A PART WHERE CASTEHINDUS + SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY



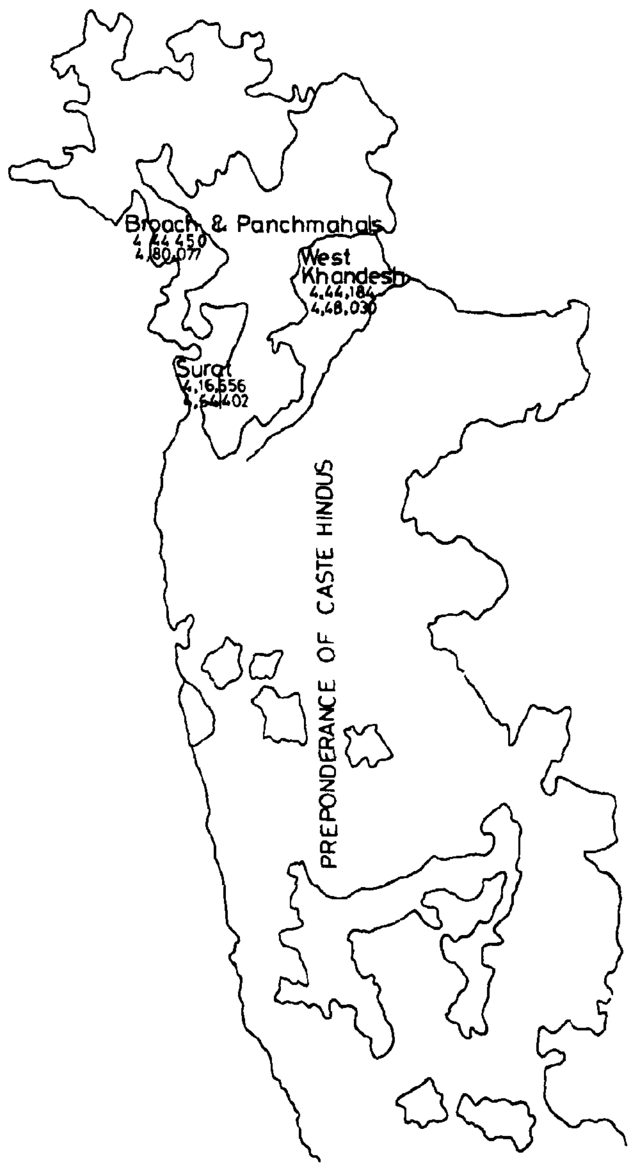
Map 34

MAP SHOWING POPULATION OF CASTE HINDUS + SIKHS & OTHERS IN A PART OF MADRAS PROVINCE



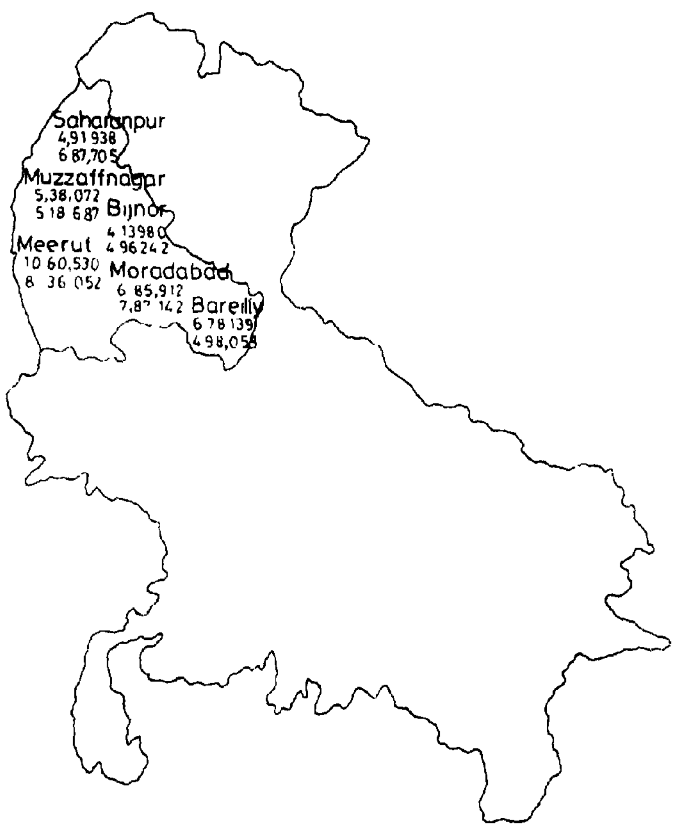
Map 35

MAP OF BOMBAY PROVINCE IN A PART OF WHICH CASTE HINDUS + SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY



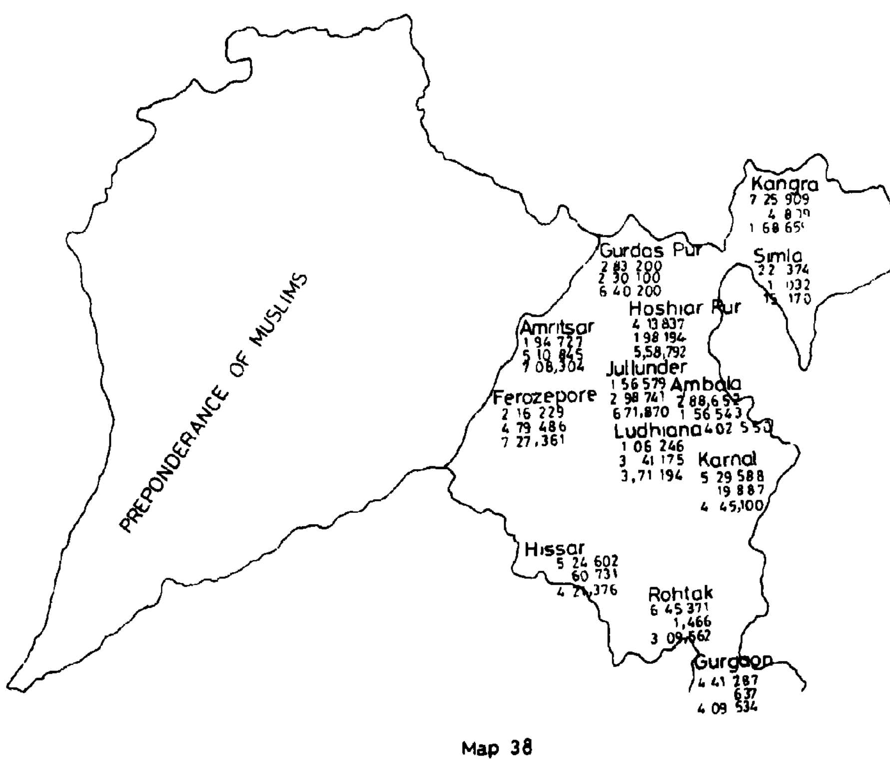
Map 36

MAP OF U P SHOWING A PART WHERE CASTE HINDUS AND SIKHS DO NOT FORM A MAJORITY



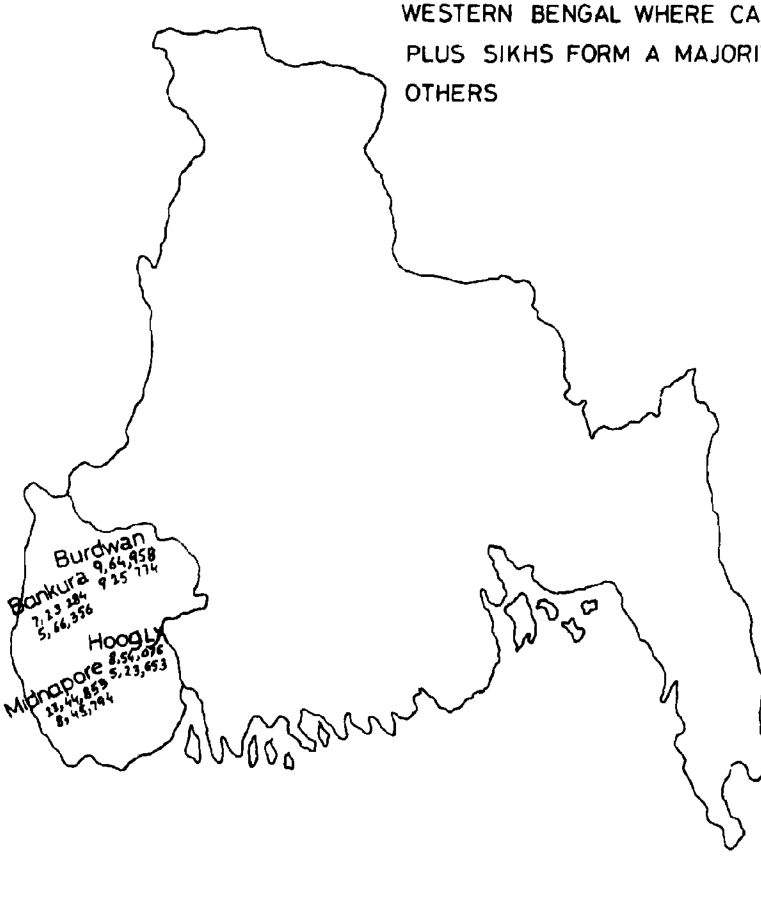
Map 37

MAP OF PUNJAB, SHOWING POPULATION OF CASTE HINDUS + SIKHS & OTHERS IN THE EASTERN DISTTS



Map 38

MAP OF BENGAL SHOWING A PART OF WESTERN BENGAL WHERE CASTE HINDUS PLUS SIKHS FORM A MAJORITY AGAINST OTHERS



Map 39